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EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

By WILLIAM PATON

IT has been part of the consistent policy of this Review, though issued and controlled by the International Missionary Council, not to be identified with it in the sense of directing attention only to those matters which from time to time enter into and shape the policy of the Council. It has sought to give on an international scale a review of the Christian missionary enterprise, and to provide a forum for the discussion of that enterprise from different points of view, thus fulfilling one of the chief ends of international missionary co-operation. Yet, as our Africa number of July 1926 showed, the Review can from time to time without deserting its proper work devote special attention to the major concerns of the Council, and for this reason and in view of the great significance and importance of the meeting to be held at Jerusalem from March 24th until April 8th, 1928, the present enlarged issue is closely related to that meeting. It may, therefore, be well to show, first, why the meeting is being held and what is its significance and, secondly, how the contents of this issue of the Review are related to it.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

It is an *obiter dictum* of Mr J. H. Oldham that international missionary co-operation is both necessary and impossible. This aphorism may be explored. Why impossible? Because the variety of peoples, organizations and individuals concerned, the great differences between them, the cost of securing personal contact and the futility that ensues on doing without it, the endless opportunities for misunderstanding—all these and many other difficulties give colour to the view that international missionary co-operation is, if not impossible, at least so difficult as not to be achieved without a high cost in thought, labour and prayer.

Yet the necessity is still more obvious than the impossibility. For the nature of Christian missionary work and the circumstances in which it is carried on in the world to-day call urgently for the greatest possible achievement in co-operation, and on a truly international scale.

It is a significant fact that science was never more international than to-day, nor literature, nor, let us add, finance. Socialism is international, and continually endeavours to repair the breaches in its international unity. This development is not accidental, nor is it due only to the activities of those who 'like conferences.' It is a reflection of one of the most important facts in the world, namely, that something like a world society is coming into being. The economic interdependence of the world is a truism, but the world is becoming the common subject of many influences other than the economic. Such a phenomenon as education—one of the modern world's great enthusiasms—is in every part of its range international; pupils in every land are benefiting by the experiments and researches of educators of all countries. Governments develop educational policies, they learn from and copy one another, and the mission school is vitally affected.

The travelling of merchants, students, officials and others from North to South and from East to West conduces to the growth of a common culture, both in lower and in higher

forms. The film star and the poet both have their international audience, and each helps to create a world more unified, more conscious of common issues, common dangers, common hopes.

In this kind of world God has set the Christian Church with its universal mission, and who shall say how much the Christian mission, with its uplifting of that one incomparable Figure, the world's cynosure, has contributed to bring about the very conditions which now necessitate greater international consciousness on its own part? Either the Church must become more truly united in work, thought and prayer as it faces a world that calls aloud for a common redemption, or it must sink into futility and see the Divine Spirit choose other instruments.

If, then, there is to be international co-operation in missionary work, what is involved in it? It can be fostered in many ways. Literature, the travel of chosen officers, the international sharing of the results of discussion carried on in one or another nation—all can do much to bring nearer the time when the best that the Church throughout the world can give is available for the needs of any part. But it is certain that it cannot be done unless there is the actual personal meeting of some, at least, of those mainly concerned.

Religion, and most of all the Christian religion, is nothing if it is divorced from personality, and except as persons act, feel, think, will in relation with God and with one another there is no religion. Co-operation of different races, and of different Christian groups, ought to mean great enrichment of religious life, but it can only so result if it is carried up into the realm of personality and personal intercourse, love and trust. Otherwise it must infallibly appear to those who take part in it as something below the best they know, less important than the things they really care about.

Therefore the Council is to meet once again. It met last in Oxford in 1923; after five years it will meet again in Jerusalem. On this occasion it will be enlarged, mainly

by the invitation of delegates from the ' mission fields ' in Asia and Africa, and of these delegates it is desired that not less than two-thirds should be nationals of the countries from which they come. This fact adds greatly to the significance of the meeting. It records the conclusion at which most students of missionary work have arrived : that it is no longer possible to discuss profitably in an international meeting the building of the Kingdom in India or China or Africa in the almost complete absence of Indians or Chinese or Africans. This meeting will bring together a considerable number of those who, as missionary administrators or missionaries or leaders in the indigenous Churches, are mainly responsible for the direction of Christian missionary work in all parts of the world.

The published literature of the meeting states that it is not a conference, but a meeting, which doubtless seems to many a quibble. There is much criticism of conferences nowadays, and undoubtedly many good people are suspicious, and rightly so, of the extension of the habit. The criticisms are not always just and often they fail to show any sense of one really fundamental fact : so long as the Christian Church is divided and is conscious of the ultimate unity of the task that engrosses it, it must either consent to certain failure or resort to some means of achieving at least a measure of the unity of thought and work which its divisions threaten to deny it. Hence the conferences, and surely their worst enemies will admit that there is a case for them.

But there is a just ground for criticism when time and money are spent on *ad hoc* gatherings, imperfectly prepared and weakly followed up. A friendly but critical observer of a recent meeting of the League of Nations Assembly commented on the curious fact that in the Assembly atmosphere eminent diplomatists vow enthusiastic allegiance to principles and even methods which they have no real intention of carrying out when they return to their posts. That there is danger in such an atmosphere (we do not for

a moment endorse the view that it is typical of the League) cannot be denied, and we ought candidly to admit it.

The International Missionary Council, however, is a permanent body, organized to carry on a continuous work and equipped with a secretariat. It meets to do business, and its officers are appointed to carry out into practice the decisions to which it comes. There is a real difference between this and the type of conference to which criticism is directed.

The main subjects which will be before the Jerusalem meeting, and are now being prepared, are: The Christian message in relation to non-Christian systems; religious education; the relations between the older and the younger Churches; the race problem; the Christian movement and the growth of industrialism in the East and Africa; the problems relating to the life of rural communities; the future organization of the International Missionary Council.

It is needless to do more here than to indicate briefly the importance and significance of each of these subjects. The first is fundamental to the whole Christian enterprise in the world. Christianity has always spread in the world on the basis of a clear-cut conviction about Jesus Christ. In so far as that conviction comes to be feebly held (it may be re-stated in new terms and retain all its power) the missionary movement must fail. That the missionary conviction is being attacked all over the world, and is subjected to most subtle and destructive influences, is beyond question. The papers which are to be presented to the Jerusalem meeting will seek to approach this great question from the point of view of spiritual values. The enquiry will be directed to finding out not merely the points of a formal comparison of Christianity with the non-Christian system, but rather the positive spiritual values by which the Hindu or the Musalman or the Buddhist lives, and alongside of these to show the spiritual values which are found in Christ and only in Him.

In this issue of the Review Professor Heim of Tübingen

deals with the fundamental missionary message as expressed in the New Testament, Dr Reischauer of Japan with certain aspects of the missionary's relation to other faiths, Mr Parekh and the Bishop of Dornakal in different views of the naturalization of Christianity in India, and Mr Tagawa deals with another aspect of the work of evangelism.

The conveying of the message is only less important than the message itself. It is a matter not only of the school and the teacher but also of the home and of the preacher. Religious education, its principles and practices, relate not only to the school, but to the whole future of evangelistic work. The growth of the science of education offers to the missionary movement a weapon of great power and one whose potency is not yet fully understood. Along with this challenge to the Christian educator to avail himself more adequately of the resources of modern psychological study goes the other challenge that comes from without, from the growing national systems of education, creating, whether by difficult regulations or by heavy competition, situations in which it is vitally necessary either to define with greater clearness our purpose in religious education or to cease to play any important and distinctive part within those systems. Dr E. W. Wallace writes out of a long experience in Chinese education about the methods for Christian education in China.

The relations between the Church in the lands which have sent missionaries and the Church in the lands where the missionaries have worked are a matter of continued discussion, and, as has been again and again pointed out in these pages, no more vital problems present themselves to the lover of missionary work than these. For the Church is the house of the spirit of Christ, and mankind mainly apprehends the Christian message by the earnestness and reality of the life of the Church. How does the connexion of indigenous Churches with foreign missions influence those Churches in the performance of their task? What

do they want from the older Churches of the West? How are they affected by the growth of nationalism? What of the question of Christian unity in the surroundings of the work overseas? To the discussion of these subjects we offer here Professor Latourette's paper on the lessons of history, the Bishop of Bombay's and Dr Timothy Lew's treatment of the unity problem in India and China as illuminated by the recent Faith and Order Conference at Lausanne, while the papers by the Bishop of Dornakal and Mr Parekh also bear on this topic.

We turn now to certain of the special opportunities or needs which appear as we consider the Church's work. There is no more grave and pressing problem in the world to-day than that of race, and its connexion with the missionary movement is intimate. Not only, to take the matter in the narrowest way, is it certain that the rise of feeling against the white race must predispose members of other races against the religion mainly associated with the white race, but the fundamental Christian ideal of brotherhood is challenged by the growth of racial ill-will and distrust. The Jerusalem meeting will have before it accounts of certain of the practical efforts being made in the Southern States of North America, in the Pacific Basin and elsewhere to promote sounder racial relations, and in our next issue Sir F. Whyte will, it is hoped, estimate the Honolulu meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations from this point of view. He was prevented from completing his paper for this issue.

We have recently dealt at length with the opportunity offered to the Church by the development of eastern industrialism, a subject to which special attention will be given at Jerusalem. Sir Atul Chatterjee writes out of an unusual experience and suggests the claim which he, from a detached position, feels the subject makes upon Christians.

Great as are the problems of the rising industrial life of the East, Asia, like Africa, still is and for generations will be predominantly rural. Special studies are being made for the Jerusalem meeting concerning the rural life and the

development of Christian work among rural communities in Asia, and we publish an article by Mr Rheinallt Jones on similar issues in South Africa.

Medical work does not figure as one of the major topics in the Jerusalem programme, but the programme is so arranged as to allow for ample periods when matters of interest to the delegates can be discussed in groups. One such issue is dealt with here by Dr Frimodt-Möller, who is a leader in the international work of combating tuberculosis, and is himself the best known missionary dealing with the subject in India. Dr Lerrigo shows the value of a medical training to the African himself, a point which might be overlooked in estimating the obvious value to the community. While opinion is divided on the question of the advisability in these days of missionaries taking the initiative in providing training, no doubt exists as to the urgent need of an African medical staff.

As a background to all these discussions, the Editors have prepared a survey of the situation which presents itself to us as we look at the world and missionary work throughout it at the beginning of 1928. That survey deals hardly at all with the work of Roman Catholic missions, and we repair the omission by an article on recent developments in the far-flung missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church.

In offering these papers as a contribution to the study and discussions at Jerusalem, we join with others in the appeal that those in whom the scope and intention of the meeting stirs any chord of response may join in insistent and continuous prayer for those who will come together for this meeting. Out of the fusion of careful investigation, hard thinking and prayerful dependence upon God may the Christian Mission be born again in many hearts, its range widened and its passion made more profound.

WILLIAM PATON

A WORLD SURVEY

INTRODUCTION

THE survey which is here attempted differs in one respect from those which appeared in the Review in certain previous years. It is not a survey of 1927, nor of any specified period. It is an attempt to describe the scene as it is at the time of writing, exhibiting the facts and movements which, to the best of our ability to judge, are of real importance.

It will be found that the proportion of space given to political and social movements is in some sections considerable, but those sections deal with the countries in which such developments are of prime importance and necessarily affect the progress of Christianity very nearly.

There is variation also in the extent of the past which is brought into account in endeavouring after a picture of the present. In certain cases it seemed best to show the genesis of movements which have become of high importance for practical policy, but have their roots some way back in the past. Especially in the case of China, where the situation changes daily, it appeared most useful to show the chain of events lying behind the present situation, in the light of which alone that situation can be understood.

The survey in its treatment of missionary work deals almost entirely with the work of non-Roman Churches. We desire, however, to do more than acknowledge in a phrase the vast work of Roman Catholic missions, and have therefore devoted a separate article to this subject.

It would occupy a considerable part of our space if we were to record the names of all those who by letters and memoranda, written mostly on the field, have helped us to gain information and facts more recent than books and

journals might contain, and still more have shared with us their estimates of movements and events. They include some of the best known missionaries in all parts of the world, and some of the best and most responsible Christian leaders. We have had to use our own judgment in employing their material; none of our correspondents is quoted by name or made responsible for our presentation. We cannot express too warmly our sense of gratitude to them and appreciation for the stimulating quality of their help.

I. THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

Japan

WITH the accession of H.I.M. Hirohito to the throne of Japan on December 25th, 1926, a new era began, designated by himself the *Showa* Era (Radiant Peace). The new Emperor is in sympathy with the progress which Japan is making towards the realization of western political ideals. The franchise was extended in 1925 to all males over twenty-five years of age, increasing the number of voters from about three to approximately ten million. The first general election under the new Act is to take place in the spring of 1928. The Government is nervous of testing this greatly enlarged electorate of which the new elements mainly consist of representatives of labour. Secret societies are forbidden, literature is censored and a strict watch is kept to prevent entry into the country of communistic literature. Taxation is high, due partly to the war and partly to the disastrous earthquake of 1923. Add to the above the social unrest inseparable from a growing industrialism, the impossibility of continuing to support the population by agriculture and the restrictions imposed by other nations on emigration from Japan, and it will be understood why, below the surface, there is great restlessness. The endeavour to suppress socialistic ideas has led

inevitably to their wide prevalence, especially among students and in labour circles. Much unrest also exists among the smaller farmers and peasants whose economic position is growing more and more untenable.

A moderate labour party, led by men with Christian ideals, has lately been formed and bids fair to become a force in the political life of the country. Men like Kagawa are hoping to bring about a union between this and the older left-wing parties.

There has been on the whole a wonderfully rapid recovery from the devastation caused by the earthquake of 1923, in spite of set-backs from recurring earthquakes and storms. The increased use of electric light (made possible even in country places by an abundant water-power), of bicycles, motor-cars and of radio all point to apparent material prosperity, but industrial problems are acute, and bank failures, loss of employment and strikes have resulted in much poverty.

A marked feature of to-day is the growth of an international spirit. Relations with China and with western Powers, notably the Naval Conference, have received the closest attention. Public opinion, as far as it can be said to exist, is opposed to a strong military policy; the desire for peace is steadily growing, especially among members of the younger generation.

Industrial Conditions.—A short study of the industrial situation has recently appeared in the Review.[1] In 1926 Japan adopted some of the suggestions of the International Labour Conference held in Washington in 1919. The employment of children under fourteen years in industry is not now generally permitted; women, and children under fifteen years, may not be employed at night, nor for more than eleven hours a day. The country is becoming rapidly industrialized, and legislation on housing, wages, hours of labour and protection from accident is badly needed. The Bureau of Social Affairs, recently

[1] See IRM, 1927 (Oct.), pp. 550–1.

founded by the Government to care for labour welfare, has already led to some ameliorative legislation.

Christian Social Service.[1]—Christians number only 0·5 per cent of the population, but their influence is great in proportion to their numbers, and would probably be far greater if they were not so divided among themselves. A Bill to provide for the total abolition of licensed prostitution within five years was introduced into the Diet in 1927 by Christian members, and although, owing to pressure of business, it was not brought up for discussion, a similar Bill is to be presented each session until it becomes law. In the meanwhile new ordinances have been enacted in several of the prefectures to reduce the evils of the system. Christians have been to the fore in organizing relief work for sufferers in the Tango earthquake.

The chief Labour Federation, an organization which has grown out of the labour union founded in 1912 by Mr Suzuki, exists in order to help the industrial worker by adjusting disputes, giving technical advice, helping the families of workers during strikes, conducting night-schools and in similar ways. Its aim is to bring about social reform constitutionally. Branches of this and other labour unions exist all over Japan. Mr Kagawa is also planning the establishment of a Christian College giving short courses on economics and other subjects to labouring men.

Religious Movements.—There is in progress a revival of Buddhism on its intellectual side, as seen in its daily and periodical press, its religious literature for the masses, its summer schools and lecture courses. The wide social activities of recent years are also sustained.[2] Buddhist centres of social service far exceed those of Christians owing to greater financial resources. At the same time, Buddhism as a religious force appears to be waning, partly as a result of secular government education, partly because social welfare activities are opposed to fundamental

[1] See also IRM, 1926 (Oct.), ' Christian Social Service in Japan,' pp. 714–9.

[2] See IRM, 1926 (Oct.), ' Social Service in Japanese Buddhism,' pp. 704–13.

Buddhism, and it is difficult to see how the two can flourish side by side. The influence of Christianity on Buddhism has been, and is, great. 'It will be a more or less Christianized Buddhism with which the Church of Japan will have to deal.'

Shintoism, fostered by the Government as a patriotic cult, is becoming steadily less of a religion, although Shinto shrines of various sorts are still visited by multitudes.

The modern Japanese is in too many cases growing up without religious beliefs of any kind; but there is evidence that the better minds are perturbed at the situation. For example: in the late summer of 1926 a representative meeting of all six parties in the House of Peers met to consider the need of waking up the nation to the urgent need of moral reform; in May 1927 a meeting of elementary school teachers (women) from all parts of Japan discussed plans for cultivating in their pupils some form of religious belief, which they fully admitted was an essential of education; again, letters received at the headquarters of the newspaper evangelism movement show how widespread is dissatisfaction with a non-religious life. There is on all sides a readiness to recognize good in Christianity, which has found expression in an attempt to produce a religion conserving Buddhist ideals of doctrine and philosophy, Shinto ideals of patriotism and Christian ideals of life.

A Religions Bill was introduced into the House of Peers in January 1927. It was feared that the Bill would violate religious freedom and hamper the growth and life of the Church if passed into law; it was therefore vigorously opposed by both the Christian and the Buddhist leaders. As a result, the Bill was shelved, probably not to be revived.

The Church.—The progress of evangelism, judging by numbers, is slow, being most effective when carried on by individual, personal contact. The National Christian Council organized an evangelistic campaign for Tokyo in 1927, which included mass meetings for different groups, street preaching and tract distribution. The campaign did

not succeed to the extent hoped for, but it was helpful to the Christians who took part. The Nippon Sei Kokwai (in communion with the Anglican Church) marked its fortieth anniversary by holding a mission of its own throughout the country, the pastor in each area being appointed missioner-in-chief.

The National Christian Council still does not represent a number of the Christian bodies in Japan, a disadvantage which becomes apparent when concerted action is called for on the part of the whole Christian body. 'On matters pertaining to the relations between Church and State, no self-respecting government would send a representative to each separate sect in turn; it would ask them to give a united opinion, or none at all.' A fear still exists among those outside the Council that it may usurp functions which the Church should carry, such as evangelism, and that by providing co-operative activities it may effectively postpone the consideration of the more serious problem of unity. In addition, there is among the Japanese no inherited tradition of a corporate religious life, that they should earnestly desire it. The activities of newspaper evangelism and the Federation of Christian Missions provide other and valued foci of co-operation, though chiefly for missionaries.

The opportunities before the Church are great. Profession of Christianity is no longer a bar to social intercourse, and all classes are accessible. There is, however, too commonly a spirit of complacent approval of Christian ideals without an inward conviction urging to action. The need exists for a note of decision in positive preaching of the Cross. An urgent need also exists for evangelistic work in rural areas. The work of the Church is still far too centralized in the towns. Although accessions to the Church have been slow, much interest is shown in Christian teaching; many people welcoming evangelistic addresses.

The Church is increasingly coming under Japanese leadership. The Nippon Sei Kokwai has now two independent dioceses with Japanese bishops, under whom are

Japanese and foreign clergy. The Kumiai Kyokai (Congregational body) has now a large share of authority. These examples are symptomatic of the whole situation. Relations between Japanese and foreigners in the Church are marked with great friendliness.

One of the outstanding needs of the Church is that for Christian literature. The demand for books exists, but as yet is not being in any adequate way satisfied. Much of the literature issuing from non-Christian sources is sensational and unedifying. That wholesome Christian literature would be welcomed is evidenced by the willingness of the daily press frequently to publish religious articles.

Education.—The complete system of government education provides Japan with schools of all grades, and private schools—under which category come missionary institutions—have had a hard struggle to provide the necessary staff and equipment to fulfil the conditions for recognition. Many Christian parents send their children to government schools for the sake of some fancied secular advantage. On the other hand, many non-Christians prefer the mission schools for the sake of their moral influence. The missionary kindergarten is popular, over twelve thousand children being enrolled. The gain of starting these young Japanese on right lines is incalculable.

In view of the fact that Japanese education is largely in the hands of the Government, the need for Sunday schools, Christian hostels and the work of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. is great.

Formosa

While material progress has been made during the thirty years the island has been under Japanese rule, which is appreciated by the people, there is a certain discontent at the absence of representative government and a political movement for Home Rule exists. As repressive measures obtain, the movement is likely to grow.

The question of compulsory attendance of school children at Shinto shrines on national holidays is a burning one for missions, and has yet to be solved. Evangelistic work among the aboriginal people of the central district, and among students, has been little developed.

Friendly relations exist between the Christian Church (already largely self-supporting), foreign missionaries and the Government. The outlook for Christianity is bright.

Korea

Political relations between Japan and Korea are becoming better adjusted and trade is developing, both imports and exports showing a steady increase. At the same time, there has been a rise in the scale of living and correspondingly high prices prevail. Railways, afforestation and new industries are being developed. The policy of Japan is to advance the economic prosperity of the country, and the days of extreme military severity would appear to be past. Under the efficient administration of Admiral Saito there has been a consistent effort to remove abuses, an effort which has not been without good effects. There still exists much poverty for which Koreans are apt to lay the blame, perhaps unjustly, upon the Japanese rulers.

The Church.—The influence of Christianity has reached all parts of the country and has been welcomed by the government authorities. Christianity can always get a hearing, but Koreans of late appear to feel little need for religion and do not readily become Christians. The Korean evangelists, far more than the foreign missionaries, are credited with having furthered the recent growth of the Church, from which some missions report a serious leakage.

The Church in Korea is beginning to meet with the critical attacks which it has had to face in other parts of the world. A strongly marked line divides the thought of the older Christians from that of the young generation growing up in a modern scientific educational atmosphere

and higher educational qualifications in the pastors are being demanded. There is also a demand for scientific and progressive religious and philosophical literature.

The Korean Church did not participate in *The Christian Movement in Japan and Formosa* for 1927 as it hopes to publish an independent year book for Korea.

EDUCATION.—A government system of education, similar to that of Japan, has been introduced and will eventually become compulsory and effective as there is an increasing desire for education. A school may be registered under the educational regulations which require optional attendance at all religious teaching. The Government, however, has undertaken to recognize private schools which meet certain conditions as to equipment, standards and results, but which have full liberty of religious teaching and worship. Some missions have taken the former course of registering their schools, others seek recognition only.

SOCIAL WORK.—At the request of the Churches and missions, the Korean Y.M.C.A. is planning work in the villages, treating each community as a social unit, and through a combination of applied science, religion and education helping to raise the standard of living. Through the co-operation of the International Missionary Council the rural situation was studied in 1927 by Dr Brunner, whose report will be available at the Jerusalem meeting.

Korea as yet remains an agricultural land, industrial problems, therefore, do not as yet exist. The greatest problem is the extreme poverty of the mass of the people.

II. CHINA

ANY attempt to estimate the present situation in China with regard to public affairs in general, or the Christian movement in particular, is likely to be out of date as soon as it is written. The attempt, however, must be made to survey the main forces operating in China, at

the risk of statements becoming obsolete during the lapse of a few weeks.

The present situation can only be understood in relation to a series of movements that have taken place since the beginning of this century. The complete failure of the Boxer rising left China disillusioned, her attempt to push back the tide of western invasion foiled and a humiliating treaty forced upon her. This position stimulated into life latent forces. Men who had studied abroad took up the battle against illiteracy, sought expert advice from the West, studied foreign educational systems and within a few years set on foot educational projects, whose influence is now felt throughout China, comprising the establishment of teachers' training institutions and a complete system of government schools and colleges, the adoption of a modern curriculum, the use of a simple vernacular in place of the ancient literary language in publications of all descriptions and the development of a popular press. Another group interested itself in applied science and industry, with the result that communications improved and large industrial enterprises began.

The political movement began with the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. This revolution, led by Sun Yat-sen, was historic because it afforded the first demonstration of the newly forged weapon of public opinion, a result of the preceding intellectual revolution.

The hopes centred in the new republic soon proved illusory. Yuan Shih-kai succeeded Sun Yat-sen, and by his vigorous and autocratic actions led to the creation of the Kuomintang or democratic party, which, on being expelled from Parliament, formed an opposition government in Canton under Sun Yat-sen. The next few years saw both governments pass through a series of vicissitudes. Yuan, ignorant of the strength of public opinion, attempted to revert to the monarchical system and died broken-hearted at his failure. His successors, all recruited from the corps of provincial military governors which form Yuan's most tragic legacy to his country, were soon far more

occupied with their own intrigues than in the development of constitutional government. Sun Yat-sen met similar difficulties in Canton.

The entry of China into the world war and the injustice of the terms of the Versailles Treaty enormously hastened her advance into the forefront of the international arena. The decision that Japan should retain the former German concessions in Shantung aroused passionate anti-Japanese and anti-foreign feeling throughout China, the clamour created resulting in the repair at Washington of the injustice committed at Paris.

From this time began the outcry against the 'unequal treaties.' Some of the Powers delayed in implementing the recommendations of the Washington Conference 'to respect the sovereignty and the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China,' and the chance of dispersing the clouds of anti-foreign suspicion was lost.

Meanwhile, German residents settled down to their new status in China on terms of racial equality, the Soviet Government in 1924 completed a new treaty with China surrendering special privileges, and Sun Yat-sen, whose political star was now in the ascendant in South China, invited Russian aid in training military officers and in using political propaganda, and permitted Chinese communists, who had drunk deeply of Russian political and economic theories, to join the ranks of the Kuomintang.

Two events of 1925 exercised a far-reaching influence. The first was the death of Sun Yat-sen. Shortly before his death he had published his now celebrated book on the 'Three Principles,' in which he expounded at great length the programme of racial equality, democratic government and economic uplift as the goal towards which the efforts of all true Chinese patriots should be directed. He bequeathed the nation the sacred task of carrying this programme to fruition. No sooner were the contents of this unique will made known than he became canonized as the

greatest national hero of modern times. The Kuomintang solemnly dedicated itself to the task for which he had given his life. Memorial services, including the reading of the will and public obeisance before his portrait, were ordered to be observed at all civil and educational functions within the jurisdiction of the nationalist party. At the same time, the new Russian-trained armies addressed themselves to the conquest of the rest of China.

The second event of importance was the shooting of a party of students in Shanghai on May 30th, 1925, by the international police of the Settlement, in what was believed to be a dangerous attack on a police station. This incident, exaggerated and distorted by every form of propaganda, kindled a new blaze of anti-foreign feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country, and intensified the demand for the surrender of the foreign concessions and settlements to China, and the revision of all treaties with foreign Powers.

Startling success attended the initial efforts of the nationalist troops. Within a few months the whole of China south of the Yangtze had joined the nationalist party. The adoption of Sun Yat-sen's programme soon won the enthusiastic support of the student classes, while extravagant promises of improved labour conditions rallied to their side peasants and labourers.

The nationalist troops had scarcely reached central China and established themselves in important centres when a serious change took place in their conduct of affairs. The left or communist wing of the party, hitherto kept in check by the more moderate elements, now gained the ascendancy. Local committees organized on communist lines, including within their ranks men of no education and totally unfit to govern, were placed in charge of important matters, including those involving relations with foreigners. Anti-foreign and anti-Christian excesses became the rule. Churches and mission buildings were seized on the slightest pretext; foreigners had to flee at the peril of their lives and

the loss of all their possessions. Christian leaders were persecuted, and unruly mobs invaded the foreign concessions. On March 24th a serious outrage occurred at Nanking, where a large force of communist soldiers, acting under orders from Hankow, attacked the foreign residents, killing and wounding some, whilst the remainder barely escaped with their lives under naval protection.

These outrages, perpetrated by the left wing and coinciding with the serious deterioration in discipline and conduct of the southern troops, revealed the existence of a deep division in the nationalist party. From this time onwards the more moderate section of the party, headed by Chiang Kai-shek and C. C. Wu established a rival government in Nanking, whilst the communist group, still dominated by Borodin, held sway in Hankow. The breach continued to grow wider as Chiang Kai-shek took drastic anti-communist measures, and the hostility between the two groups helped towards the failure of the Peking expedition.

Since then disintegration has rapidly taken place within the southern forces. The Russian advisers have been expelled from Hankow, but their sympathizers have brought about the fall of Chiang Kai-shek, thus eliminating the most forceful military leader of the south. At present in both the northern and southern armies jealousy and self-seeking appear to dominate the leaders. Little is heard of the idealistic programme of Sun Yat-sen. His principles still survive, but amongst civilian patriots rather than military commanders. Whether the months before us will see the emergence of a united Government of China on a basis of moderate nationalism is at present impossible to foresee, but it does not seem probable that it can come to pass for some time, militarism being so firmly entrenched.

Western China has been comparatively peaceful, less of an anti-foreign and anti-Christian spirit being shown than anywhere else in China. Manchuria and Northern China have been controlled by Chang Tso-lin, whose power is military and not based on national sentiment.

Estimates of the political situation and of the degree of moral vitality in the nationalist movement naturally differ considerably with the local experience of different witnesses. Those who have experienced anti-foreign and anti-Christian boycott will view matters differently from those who have experienced only a general feeling against foreigners. While the attitude of missionaries towards the revolution is therefore not unanimous, the missionary boards have adopted an attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards the Chinese determination to secure freedom from foreign control. Missionary bodies both in North America and in Great Britain have passed resolutions to that effect. Action taken by missions, especially in regard to education, will go far to determine the Chinese attitude to Christianity.

THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK.—The anti-Christian movement has caused great anxiety to all concerned in Christian work. One of the most experienced missionaries in northern China sums up the situation as follows :

> The recent revolutionary developments in China have in general two objectives, which if not in conflict with each other are at least sufficiently unlike to have made it desirable that they be not both attempted at the same time and by the same organization. One of these is the nationalist movement, aiming at revision of 'unequal treaties' with foreign countries and the securing for China of political independence in international relations, while ridding the country of the internal oppression and strife caused by rival war-lords. The other is a social revolution in the interest of peasants and labourers as against *bourgeoisie* and capitalists. The opportunist technique of unifying public opinion by directing attention to grievances against foreign countries and of arousing mob violence has been used by those working for both of the above objectives, and Christian agencies have been involved in the attack on both counts with of course slightly varying emphases. . . . The true meaning of all that has been happening in China will be largely missed unless we recognize that it implies no essential antagonism either to foreigners or to Christianity except in so far as either is felt to be in conflict with the underlying aims of the nationalistic uprising.

Different observers report a decay in the part played in the life of the people by religion as seen in the practices of Taoism and Buddhism. Even Confucius is attacked by

radical thought in student circles, and irreligious and anti-religious sentiments are widely expressed. There are, however, signs of religious aspiration shown in various societies, professing to be synthetic of the teachings of the world's great spiritual leaders. A new and reformed Buddhism ably expounded by some of its leaders has influenced many besides its scholarly devotees. Islam, found chiefly in Kansu, is stronger as a social than a religious bond, and in Chinese Turkestan reports come of increased readiness among Moslems to listen to the Christian message.

In Manchuria the old religious ideas still hold in the country districts, but there is little religion among the educated city dwellers.

The ferment of new ideas, sometimes associated with Bolshevism, is found principally among students, who are susceptible to intellectual influences, and among organized labourers, who have been the special object of communistic education.

The Christian Church.[1]—Throughout this period of political upheaval the Chinese Church has been markedly affected by the nationalist movement, especially in the more progressive centres. The attitude of Christian leaders has been an unqualified approval of the nationalist programme as laid down in Sun Yat-sen's 'Three Principles,' and the attacks made on them as 'running dogs of foreign imperialism' has naturally served to deepen their desire to demonstrate their essential patriotism. Delegates from Christian schools have co-operated in most of the public demonstrations, and the international issues involved in the whole of the treaty question have been burning topics in Christian circles.

When the southern troops began their northward expedition, Christian leaders in both north and south were inclined to regard it as a great patriotic crusade. Gradually, as the details of the Nanking outrage, the attacks on churches and hospitals, the persecution of Christian leaders

[1] See also pp. 90–100 of this issue.

and the wanton conduct of the southern troops came to be widely known, the Church became disillusioned. Disillusionment has led to a deepened conviction that it is by spiritual principles alone that China can be unified and stabilized. Meantime, Christians who are aware of the issues are keenly sensitive on international questions, and the demand for the recognition of China's sovereign status finds a ready response in the Churches. The new responsibilities borne by Christian leaders during the absence of missionaries from so many centres in 1927 will probably add to their desire for fuller autonomy in the work of the Church, and have already proved a steadying influence.

Everywhere the question of the place of the missionary in relation to the autonomy of the Church is being discussed. There is ample evidence that many missionaries desire to place themselves at the disposal of the Church to the full extent of its power to take the lead. Such changes may be carried out in diverse ways, but the principal need is for that spiritual attitude in the missionary which will enable him to adapt himself to new conditions, and for a realization by the Chinese leaders of the actual needs and abilities of the Church. In any case the Church has now silently and quietly become the centre of Christian work in China. The ideal of church autonomy, be it remembered, is no new one, but has been sedulously pursued in some missions for many years, and great advance has been made towards it.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has provided funds for holding a conference of Chinese ministers and laymen, with no missionaries present, to advise it regarding the policy to be followed in China.

It is not unnatural that a slackening in evangelistic work should have taken place. The Church, faced by great and strange responsibilities and trying to find its foothold in a world of unfamiliar powerful movements, must necessarily take time to reorganize its work and to define its own attitude and policy.

During 1927 a large proportion of missionaries of all

nationalities and denominations retired from their stations, either to port towns or to Japan, Formosa, Hong-Kong or the West, usually under vigorous consular representations. There is now, as conditions begin to be more stabilized, a steady return. The general policy was to withdraw missionaries only when, and for as long as, their continued presence might seriously embarrass the safety of their Chinese fellow-Christians. The presence of a large number of missionaries in Shanghai was utilized for holding a special training course in language and Chinese studies. Nothing needs more thought than the question of the functions which the missionary can most profitably perform, and will be asked by the Chinese to perform in the Church of the future.

Education.[1]—The Chinese are said to care more about education than about religion. Whether or not this is true, there can be no question that the educational work of the Church has been in the forefront of the discussion throughout the revolutionary movement. Both the northern and southern governments have issued regulations which are to be applicable to private, including missionary, schools. Some of the regulations, especially that insisting on a Chinese principal or vice-principal for each institution, have been widely welcomed. The regulations stating that the institution registering 'shall not have as its purpose the propagation of religion,' and that 'it shall not include religious courses among the required subjects,' have led to much debate. Dr T. T. Lew secured official assurance that the purport of these regulations is that a school shall have an educational purpose, i.e. that it shall not be used simply as a pretext for evangelism. If they believed that such an interpretation could be relied upon generally a chief difficulty in the minds of many missionaries would be removed. The southern regulations only demand a statement of the purpose of the school. It appears that the urgency with regard to registration is being lightened,

[1] See also article on pp. 205–17 of this issue.

for applications for postponement may be made to the authorities, and the view in many quarters is that a decision cannot be made until the final form of the regulations, both national and provincial, is certain. The general Chinese Christian view is that schools will register or must close.

The appointment to the Chancellorship of Nanking University, by the Nationalist Government in Nanking, of a French educated man with a French attitude to education, Tsai Yuin-pei, causes fear in some minds that future years may see prohibition of the use of educational buildings for any religious teaching.

Another matter which has been the cause of much discussion is the custom enjoined in some quarters of obeisance to the portrait of Sun Yat-sen. Here again opinion and experience vary. Some hold that the observance can be so conducted as to connote nothing more than regard for a national hero; others take the view that it closely resembles idolatry.

Education in Manchuria has been less troubled than in the rest of China, and the opinion of both Chinese Church and mission favours registration.

Almost all the Christian colleges in China have been closed for shorter or longer periods during recent months, though many were able to carry on for considerable periods, after the departure of missionaries, under Chinese leaders who were mostly men of outstanding influence and capacity. The principal issue and policy confronting missionary education is defined as follows:

> Underlying all these external details [of registration, compulsory instruction, etc.], is the far more pertinent question as to what we ourselves really desire these schools should become in the slightly more distant future, and what are the conditions under which they can survive. It would seem that colleges and universities founded by Protestant missions have broadly two courses from which to choose. Having gone into the field of secular education with all the accessory features, these institutions may look forward to a permanent place in Chinese life as private institutions, complying with all government regulations, receiving all students who meet the academic requirements, distinctive only in the

opportunities for Christian worship and for studying Christian subjects, including vocational training for Christian service, and in the character and influence of the boards of control and faculty members with the consequent formation of a Christian atmosphere. The guarantee of the continuous maintenance of its Christian character would seem to be a blend of the authority of the western controlling body of trustees or founders, dependent as this will be on financial resources, and of the tradition built up among the executive officers and faculty, which to be effective must be spontaneous and based on personal religious conviction and experience. . . . The other course will be to keep them frankly as church-controlled propagandist schools, primarily for the sons and daughters of a Christian constituency and for supplying Christian workers, avoiding registration if possible, and more or less self-controlled within the circle of western-organized Christianity, unrelated to the general public. These aims are not neglected in the former course, though less exclusively emphasized, nor need the latter be deficient in its scholastic standards. But these institutions will do well to adopt consistently one or the other policy, whereas those now in existence have in the main developed according to the exigencies of inner needs or outer environment without facing the implications of tendencies followed. The embarrassments they are now experiencing are due in no slight measure to the attempt to venture out upon the former of these two courses while holding on to the earlier conceptions of the second course which were associated with their origin. One may hazard the prediction that once Chinese ideas assert themselves the former course is certain to be followed so that the establishment of the highest possible Christian standards and the generation of the finest possible quality of Christian life would seem to be the wiser emphasis for those now responsible for them.

Theological education is still being maintained at some colleges but under limited conditions. Only two Y.W.C.A. centres are carrying on training classes, although correspondence classes are still maintained with a diminished enrolment. The serious result is that the supply of personnel for Christian leadership is decreasing.

Industrial Conditions.—Industrial development has been considerable in recent years and has attracted the attention of Chinese Christians ; the Shanghai Child Labour Commission revealed appalling evils to a wide public. Throughout the revolutionary movement a close connexion has existed between industrial unrest and revolutionary activity. The National Christian Council appointed an

Industrial Commission, which has given intensive study to the relation of the Christian movement towards industrial development. An important conference held in August 1927 dealt with the whole range of economic need, rural and industrial, and outlined the relations of the Christian Church towards it.

Medical Work.—Medical missionary work has been hard hit, but Chinese Christian doctors have in several large centres been able to maintain the work, and their success in doing so has more than ever directed attention to the extreme importance of training Christian medical men. The *China Medical Journal* in 1927 reported that of 170 hospitals in the southern, central and western provinces, 35 were running more or less normally under the permanent foreign or Chinese staff ; 71 were continuing under temporary arrangement with the Chinese staff and 55 were closed ; a larger proportion of hospitals in the north were still running.

Among the Moslems of Chinese Turkestan, as in other outlying places in the world, medical missions prove to be among all classes the most effective means of approach.

Literature.—There is universal agreement on the great need for Christian literature in China and on the evil of the existing paralysis in its production. The development of the vernacular literary movement, led by Dr Hu Shih, has accentuated the need for good Christian literature. In ten years the despised vulgar tongue has been established as the respected and even fashionable literary medium of China. The formation of the National Christian Literature Association was expected to lead to the development of a more vigorous non-official literature production, but it does not appear that the problem has yet been solved.

Opium.—Mention should be made of the continued labours of the National Anti-Opium Association. The need for money has led certain military chiefs to make the production of opium virtually compulsory, and need continues for vigilant activity on the part of the anti-opium forces for

the sake both of China and of the world, for the smuggling out of China of illegal production affects the opium situation throughout the East. The Association has a four-year educational policy which included the organization of an anti-opium week in October last. A new quarterly magazine, *Opium : A World Problem*, began publication in July 1927.

Co-operation.—Chinese Christians from some sixteen denominations held the first General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China in 1927. Co-operation between the missions is vigorously developed by the National Christian Council, by educational, medical and other associations. The former has sustained severe strain through the diversity of opinion among missionaries regarding certain pronouncements it has felt itself compelled to make on public issues. While the Council is charged in certain quarters with having exceeded the powers invested in it by the bodies which support it, many missionaries, and the great bulk of Chinese Christians who are in touch with it, feel that it has done much during these days of stress to enable nationalist-minded Chinese to see in Christianity something more than a foreign religion. The meeting of the Council in October 1927 was marked by constructive, well-considered discussion.

The loyalty of Chinese Christians to their religion, and to their missionary friends, has been magnificently demonstrated in scores of centres, where they have risked wounds and death to befriend and save the missionaries, and have uncomplainingly endured the taunts of traitorous complicity with foreign domination. This has caused no surprise but is nevertheless a matter for profound thanksgiving. It is widely recognized that the initiation and direction of the Christian movement in China has now passed to the Chinese Church, and while the Church is in many places ill-equipped to bear the great burdens laid upon it, confidence for the future rests on solid foundations when the constancy of many Chinese Christians under severe trial is gratefully remembered.

III. INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

India

THE political stage in India has been occupied recently by discussion of the proposed work and personnel of the Statutory Commission which is to report in 1929 on the progress of the Reforms, and by the rivalry between the two great communities, Hindu and Moslem. The Commission was appointed in November 1927, Sir John Simon being Chairman. The character of the Commission is purely parliamentary, no past or present official being among its members. The non-inclusion of any Indian met with immediate strong protests in many quarters of India. The British Government have, however, suggested that the Commission invite the Central and Provincial Indian Legislatures to appoint Joint Select Committees, chosen from their elected and nominated unofficial members, to lay their views before the Commission.

Participation in the work of Government has passed through three stages. First came non-co-operation, now almost dead, in spite of lip-service still paid to it by certain leading men. It was followed by the policy of entering Councils with a view to obstruction, in accordance with the views of the late C. R. Das. This policy is also moribund; it brought no tangible benefit to the country, and was not logically followed by those who, professing to accept it, in practice participated in the work of legislation wherever they considered it advisable. The Congress of December 1926 invited to a policy of discriminating obstruction, asserting the nationalist claim to Swaraj and denouncing the diarchical system of the Reforms, but leaving the way open to co-operation in legislation for the good of the country. Dr Ansari, the President of the Congress of December 1927, has spoken out strongly in favour of either frank non-co-operation on Mr Gandhi's lines (which he prefers but does not consider the country

wants or understands) or frank co-operation with Government. There is a progressive development in opinion towards 'responsive co-operation.' It does not denote, in most cases, any increased belief in diarchy as an instalment of Swaraj, nor any slackening in the demand for Swaraj, at least through contentment with British overlordship. It does denote an increasing desire to take such chances as present themselves of engaging in practical work for the country, and a recognition that the Assembly and the Councils afford such opportunities. It is noteworthy that the Assembly is now coming to occupy in the public eye a place of more real importance than the Congress, though without its glamour.

The political outlook, in some ways unusually hopeful, is clouded by the Hindu-Moslem tension which grows worse rather than better. Between August 1923 and July 1926 seventy-four communal riots took place, resulting in the death of 258 persons and the wounding of 2811. These conflicts still continue, and were the subject of the deeply moving and impressive appeal made by the Viceroy at the opening of the Legislature in August 1927. To this appeal, made with a religious earnestness which recognized the depths that are stirred by even a perverted religious emotion, certain of the leaders have made some response, but it does not appear that any noteworthy action is to be taken. The cases of the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Rasila Vartman* pamphlets (where, in the one case, an attack on the prophet Muhammad was adjudged by the Panjab High Court not strictly to fall within the terms of the Penal Code and, in the other, a conviction was obtained) roused violent passions, including the demand for the removal of the High Court Judge, an Indian Christian. A new law has been passed to supplement deficiencies of the Penal Code and make it indisputably penal to lampoon the founder of a religion.

Proposals were made by Moslem leaders for the acceptance of the principle of joint electorates, with reserved seats

for the minority community, instead of communal electorates, but the proposals were accompanied by demands for a separate province in Sind, which is mainly Moslem, and have now been dropped. The policy of the Hindu Mahasabha is to strengthen and consolidate the Hindu community, that of the Moslem League to strengthen and consolidate the Moslem community. The rivalry has not only religious but social, educational and economic sources, as witness the agrarian aspects of the Moplah trouble; the strife for government posts in which Moslem youths, conscious that their fathers took a large share in the work of government, find themselves worsted in examinations by more intellectual Hindus; and the passions generated by a marriage in Poona between a Moslem bridegroom and a bride of a well-known reformed Hindu family.

The relation of Brahman and non-Brahman, perhaps through the accentuation of the feeling of Hindu solidarity, has become somewhat better. The non-Brahman administration in Madras fell at the last elections, owing to the public weariness with its excessively communal outlook. The non-Brahmans of the south have decided lately to cease their abstention from the Indian National Congress, thus drawing nearer again to the Brahmans.

Out of the intensification of Hindu feeling as shown in the increasing anti-Moslem attitude the outcastes seem likely to gain some improvement of status. The famous Swami, Shraddhanand, who was murdered at the end of 1926 by a Moslem, was a champion of the Arya Samaj policy of strengthening Hinduism by reclaiming its lost children, and a resolute defender of the Shuddhi movement and the inclusion of the outcastes. He stood for a 'casteless Hinduism.' The Mahasabha takes a more cautious view, but is being pushed by the exigencies of Hinduism into a policy of full condemnation of untouchability. What is lacking is any constructive policy for the moral and social uplift of the outcastes.

Indians Overseas.—One of the brightest spots in

recent history is the great improvement in the relations between India and South Africa. The settlement of 1927 has been accepted, not unanimously but by an overwhelming majority, in both countries, and it reflects great credit on all who took part. The appointment of the Rt Hon. Srinivasa Sastri as the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa has met with general satisfaction. Indian public opinion is awake to the grievances under which Indians labour in Fiji, Mauritius, East and South Africa and other countries. Great interest is being shown in the Commission now visiting East Africa. There has been perhaps no public issue in recent years concerning which the Government of India have been able to reckon on the support of the Indian public as they have been in their efforts to champion the rights of Indians overseas.

Religious Conditions.—The communal spirit so powerful in both Hinduism and Islam has exerted its natural influence on the development of the religious consciousness. Hinduism is now assertive and aggressive. Its present temper has been summed up as follows :

> The Reform Movements within Hinduism have not ceased to exist, but they and the whole of the religion that includes them within itself have suffered a change which is unmistakable and significant. This change may, perhaps, best be indicated by saying that in the earlier period the life and movement within Hinduism can be taken as represented by Mr Justice Mahadco Govind Ranade, while to-day we should rather have to choose the very different figure of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The former claimed to be true to the . . . Hinduism purified and transformed that he laboured to create. To the latter the chief concern is not the reformation of the religion, but its establishment in power and prestige. The Hindu Mahasabha . . . aims not at purging Hinduism of its grossness but at reinforcing its waning energies and equipping it to resist its rivals and establish an unquestioned supremacy in the land. The effect is a profound alteration in the whole spirit of articulate and active Hinduism. Its first concern is no longer now to amend its ways but to assert its claims.

Such a spirit obviously calls for the most earnest attention of the Christian missionary. In Islam not less marked

is the spirit of assertion and politico-religious unity. Moslem sects in India are closing their ranks. The Shias, out of a desire not to exacerbate the feelings of the Sunnis (orthodox), are abandoning their ancient practice of cursing the first three Caliphs. Efforts are everywhere made to represent Islam as a religion of the pure spirit of reason. Muhammad is idealized as perfect humanity and the Moslem ethic advanced as a combination of lofty ideal with true practicality. Along with this new apologetic there is also, centring in Delhi, a propaganda of defence of the old Islam with its saints and amulets, together with violent attacks on both Arya Samajists and Christians.

An important element in Indian Islam is its world outlook. Over two hundred Moslem papers containing news from all parts of the Moslem world present a daily or weekly panorama of Moslem affairs. Particular attention is devoted to the criticism of Christian books on Islam. *The Call from the Moslem World* received an immediate reply in the form of an open letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, from Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. The propaganda of the Ahmadiyas, both of the Qadian and of the Lahore school, is unremitting in and beyond India. They describe themselves as ' true Moslems ' and often as ' true Christians,' and they organize their reform propaganda with an iron discipline.

Education.—The chief efforts of all educational authorities are directed to the extension of free elementary education. Most provinces have some scheme in hand for achieving a compulsory system, but progress is necessarily gradual. Undoubtedly the conviction of the importance of mass education is spreading among all classes.

There is a gradual swing of public opinion towards the larger use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. It is now used in all Bengal high schools ; the proposed Telugu university plans for a Telugu medium as soon as books can be prepared ; the Osmania University of Hyderabad has always worked in Urdu. The lead has been given by schools under Indian management outside the government

system, such as Rabindranath Tagore's school at Santiniketan (now affiliated) and others. The question at issue is of great importance for education. The advantage of the vernacular is the lessening of the linguistic burden on the pupil, together with the psychological gain of using the mother tongue. The difficulties are chiefly the lack of a technical scientific vocabulary and of suitable text-books, together with the fact that in some places students in one institution may represent several language areas.

A conscience clause is in operation in the United Provinces and in single school areas in Bombay and Madras. Provided the clause is so drawn up as to throw the burden of claiming exemption on the pupil or his guardian, the system has caused no difficulties to mission schools. There is in India practically no desire for purely secular education.

The most difficult problem facing missionary education is the disparity between the quality of education as given to Christian boys and Christian girls. Schools for girls are usually better financed and better staffed than schools for boys. One missionary writes: 'Where a girls' school will absorb almost the entire time and attention of from two to five European missionaries who are trained educationists, corresponding schools for boys will probably be managed by one evangelistic missionary with no educational training, who looks after school accounts and discipline in the intervals from caring for a station and a district.' A recent Educational Commissioner with the Government of India urges that mission schools for boys should set an example in regard to a side of school life lamentably neglected in India: 'The mission school should . . . stress the corporate life, and attempt to establish school traditions. . . . The influence of the school could be made more effective if teachers realized that during term the school has the first claim on their time, and that their responsibility for their pupils does not end with the last lesson of the day.'

Advance in boys' schools in India probably depends upon a clearer definition of the object which schools are

intended to serve, and upon closer co-operation between missions in order to secure efficiency.

In the sphere of village education, acknowledged to be one of the principal needs of the Indian Christian Church, missionary experiments have been acknowledged on all hands as of the greatest value. The work at Moga in the Panjab has been cited by missionaries, Indian educationists and government officials, and has been made the subject of an official booklet by the Government of India Bureau of Education. Similar experiments in other provinces have been warmly supported by Government, and the *Village Teachers' Journal*, in English and five vernaculars, has become a medium for the wide dissemination of live ideas on village education. The type of education suited to village conditions, for which the Village Education Commission of 1919 and many missionary conferences since have asked, is becoming consciously desired by educational authorities, and courses with an agricultural bias are being undertaken by government departments. As yet, however, a mere beginning has been made. Perpetual agitation and propaganda are needed to keep the matter before the eyes and minds of the public.

One aspect of the communal struggle has been the desire of many Moslems for an increase of literacy in their community, especially for improved education for their girls.

Religious Education.—The enquiries set on foot in preparation for the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council have stimulated the already considerable interest in this subject. In many centres groups have been working and efforts have been made to adapt to Indian conditions the recent work in the West. Special interest has been aroused in the endeavour to develop in schools the spirit of worship, and a fresh impetus has thereby been given to the Indianization of Christian institutions. Attention has also been given to the training of teachers in methods of religious education, and a conference is planned

for an early date in 1928 to gather up recent Indian experience on the subject.

Movements among Women.—The near future seems certain to show an advance in the position and education of women. University education has advanced with great rapidity in recent years, Christian institutions bulking large in the total. Of the seven women's colleges in Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow and Lahore, four are conducted by missions, while in Bombay women are attending Wilson College in considerable numbers, and in Calcutta the numbers attending the Scottish Churches' College show rapid increase.

One sign of the spread of reform is the increasing conviction in the Hindu community that Hindu widows should be educated, and that among them may be found a great potential supply of teachers. There is also an increasing demand for courses for girls to be differentiated from those for boys, but the problem is not one which is likely to be solved except by educated women themselves.

One effect of education, among Indian women as elsewhere, is the increase of the spirit of freedom. The winter of 1926–27 saw a remarkable series of twenty-two conferences on social reform and education, attended altogether by 5000 women, culminating in an All-India Conference held in Poona, attended by Hindus, Theosophists, Moslems, Parsis and Christians, including some women missionaries. Women who had studied abroad, together with women educated only in the vernacular, joined in insistence on the raising of the age of consent and other related reforms.

Women now have the franchise in four of the Indian States and in six Provinces, and the Legislative Assembly has granted the Assembly franchise to the women of those Provinces.

Evangelistic Work.—The size of India makes generalization as impossible in evangelistic work as in other things. The mass movement continues to afford

a great opportunity to the Church in the Panjab, the United Provinces, Hyderabad, the Telugu country, Travancore and, to some extent, in Western India. The increase in the Christian community is more marked in the Telugu country at the present time than in any other part. The attention of missionaries and of Indian Christians is mainly directed more to building up the new Christian communities through education and the development of church life.

A feature of the movement among the outcastes in the Telugu country has been the definite interest taken in the Gospel message by large numbers of Sudras (the large section of the Hindu population above the outcastes), numbers of whom have been attracted by the obvious influence of Christianity upon the outcastes, and have been baptized.

The widespread interest created by Dr Stanley Jones' book, *The Christ of the Indian Road*, indicates a turning towards Christ on the part of many of the educated classes. Dr Jones and others who have undertaken evangelistic work of this kind have found in many cases a regard for the Person of Christ varying from whole-hearted belief down to critical interest. The movement, if it can be so called, is largely divorced from contact with the Church. Efforts are being made to keep in touch with such enquirers and to band together in some kind of spiritual fellowship those seeking for truth who have begun to find it in Christ.

There is a steady growth in efforts to adopt methods in harmony with the Indian spiritual tradition. *Ashrams* have been started in several centres, and this movement has received a considerable stimulus through the recent founding of the *Christa-Seva-Sangh* (Society of the Servants of Christ), led by the Rev. J. C. Winslow, a brotherhood in which Indians and Europeans live a common life. Such movements as lyrical evangelism are being increasingly practised, and schools are now held for training teachers, pastors and others in these methods.

The new aggressiveness of Hinduism referred to above

has accentuated discussion among missionaries, Indian Christians and others in touch with the Christian movement concerning proselytism and evangelism. It is claimed that no attempt should be made to detach a man from Hindu society, but that he should be left free to express his Christian devotion in such ways as seem to him good. This subject cannot be discussed here, but it may be said that ideas of conversion and of baptism must depend for their vitality upon the life of the Indian Church, and the clearness with which the Church is seen as a genuinely spiritual society. The bane of India is communalism, and in so far as the Church appears to be one more among many communities, baptism and church membership are obscured in the minds of those to whom Christian communalism does not appeal.

It is impossible to escape the impression that, in spite of political feeling and aversion from western ideas, there is a steadily maintained and widespread interest in the teaching and Person of Jesus Christ, and that to a remarkable degree the permeation of Indian society by His principles has been attained. A celebration at Ahmedabad of the birth of Christ on December 25th, attended by people of all religions, is one small sign of this interest.

German missionaries of the Leipzig and Basel societies —which have received official 'recognition'—have been returning to their stations and receiving a welcome.

Relations of Church and Mission.—Every denomination in India is wrestling with the problem of the devolution of authority from bodies composed entirely or mainly of missionaries to the Church or bodies set up by it. As these methods differ with each type of organization they cannot be summarized.[1] The process goes on steadily all over India. Many feel that in order to make it effective much more thorough work needs to be done in the provision of theological and other training for Indian leaders.

Co-operation and Unity.—The National Christian

[1] See article on this subject, 'The Indigenous Church,' by William Paton in the Review for January 1927.

Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, with its ten provincial councils, has become a real and indispensable force. On religious education, rural education, medical work, industrial conditions and in other directions it has recently promoted investigation and made possible interchange of experience which has been of great value. Dr Macnicol succeeded the Rev. William Paton as secretary in 1927.

Negotiations are on foot between the South India United Church, the Anglican Church and the Wesleyan Church, on the subject of the possibility of finding a way to unity. A Measure designed to give autonomy to the Anglican Church in India is before Parliament at the present time.

Medical Work.—The Medical Missionary Association in India has become the Christian Medical Association of India, and is open to Indian members. The Association has co-operated with the National Christian Council in promoting an all-India survey of medical missionary work. The share of missions in combating tuberculosis has been acknowledged by the warm support of Government for sanatoria in South India and in Bihar, and in one proposed for the Panjab. Missionaries have also shared in leprosy work, which it is hoped will lead to an increased measure of public attention accorded to this terrible disease. Also, in common with medical missionaries in other parts of the world, they have given help in enquiries recently set on foot in regard to cancer.

Literature.—The opportunity for Christian literature in India is almost unlimited and is imperfectly used. Workers, some being missionaries but most being Indians, have been set to work in practically all the language areas, but they are still far too few and funds are not available to make possible the production of enough books at a rate within the means of the poor. Burmese workers have shown the possibilities of good vernacular novels which have had a large sale and have shown the way to a type of Christian literature greatly needed for young people.

Social Reform.—The outcastes are making their own demands felt. The Untouchability Conference held in September 1927, attended by prominent leaders such as Pandit Malaviya, pronounced strongly in favour of the immediate abolition of untouchability, and it is becoming difficult to find Hindus who defend it. The work of actual uplift does not, however, make rapid progress.

A Private Bill is before the Assembly to raise the age of Hindu marriage (girls) to fourteen years, and the movement for raising the age of consent above the present limit of thirteen years in marriage and fourteen years outside marriage steadily gains in force. Women's conferences pronounce strongly on these matters and on the purdah system. Moslem women at an Aligarh College examination forcibly tore down the purdah separating them from the men. The publication of Miss Mayo's book, *Mother India*, has created a storm of indignation by reason of the wildness of the generalizations made, and the lack of appreciation of Indian efforts at reform. Mr Gandhi, however, with characteristic courage, while condemning the book as full of errors and deploring its circulation in the West, has stated that he hopes it will be read by Indians, and that they will put their house in order. A resolution has been passed in the Council of State advocating the abolition of *devadasis* (temple girls). A Trade Union Act has been passed and a labour movement in India is a reasonable certainty in the near future.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture continues its investigations, and is expected to report shortly. It is hoped that it will give a stimulus not only to agriculture, but to the education of the rural populations.

The export of opium from India is being progressively abolished at the rate of 10 per cent a year. Committees also have been set up to examine into the consumption of opium in all those areas which show an excess.

An industrial survey of India is in progress, undertaken by the National Christian Council through experts.

Burma

Since 1923, with the introduction of the reform scheme, Burma has had a Legislative Council, the majority of the members of which are elected and from which the four Ministers are chosen. The Council was at first boycotted by the Home Rule party, but at the second election (1926) the party made a complete *volte face* and entered the Council.

The Burman temperament favours autocracy; this cannot be changed by legislation in one generation. Change must depend upon the spread of the principle of the worth —and the duties—of the individual. This, being a Christian principle, is the point where missions can make their contribution in times of political change, and as a matter of fact, there is a better hearing for the Christian message now than there has been for years. A campaign by Dr Stanley Jones in Rangoon, Mandalay and Moulmein, in 1927, resulted in much quickening of religious life.

Burma is a stronghold of Southern Buddhism. By its rules no priest should engage in political agitation, but in the past few years such agitation has been carried on by men in the yellow robe, thereby bringing discredit upon the priesthood. The more conservative Buddhists wish to have the *Wini* (book of discipline for priests) included in the priests' examination that it may not be disregarded so easily as it has been of late.

The relation between missions and the indigenous Church has never been so burning a question in Burma as in India, but here also the problems of devolution are receiving thought and attention.

As regards education, most of the Anglo-vernacular and English education of Burma is carried on by missions under a grant-in-aid system. As there is a great desire to learn English, on account of the advantages accruing therefrom, an increasing number of children are attending these schools. Vernacular education has been passed over by the Government to school boards. The Minister of Education has

authority over the Director of Public Instruction and may be a man without special educational experience or training, in which case difficulties are liable to arise.

Burma has not yet reached the industrial stage. The Burman does not take kindly to industry, and when the industrial age comes—if it should come—labour will probably be supplied by the Indian immigrant.

Ceylon

There has been a general movement towards Ceylonese control of government, the Legislative Council being in practical control of finance. The Reform Commission now visiting the colony is giving special attention to the questions of a responsible executive and the representation of minorities. There has been no attempt at non-co-operation, and but little racial antagonism.

A certain revival both of Hinduism and of Buddhism is taking place, the religious leaders—unusually enough—being laymen, in whose speeches Christian influences are apparent. While Buddhism in Burma has a strong political trend, its influence in Ceylon is largely cultural.

Evangelistic work is slowly yielding fruit from all classes. The most fruitful work is that among Tamil (Hindu) immigrants, the least that among Moslems. There are indications that opposition to Christianity may take on a political aspect.

The indigenous Church has through the last forty years progressed on sound lines to a position approaching self-government, and the Wesleyan Church sends the eminently satisfactory report that 'the liberality of the people has increased in far greater proportion than the number of adherents.' The different missions co-operate in training teachers and the Ceylon Christian Council is doing good work.

Missions in Ceylon take a large share in education, but recent years have seen the establishment of a number of schools by adherents of other religions. The declared policy

of the Government is to take over all vernacular education. A conscience clause is in operation and may make difficulties for Christian schools, as opposition to these schools is increasing, on the part not of the parents but of central organizations.

Medical mission work has not been greatly developed as there is a strong government medical department. There is not the opposition of social custom to western medical treatment for women such as exists in India; a certain amount of medical work for them is, however, being done by several missions.

There is as yet but little Christian literature in Sinhalese, but the Ceylon Christian Council has the matter in hand.

IV. THE NEAR EAST AND EGYPT

THAT a spirit of change and unrest permeates all parts of the Moslem world has become a truism. The Angora Government, under the strong leadership of the Ghazi Pasha Mustapha Kemal, has led the way in a revolution at once political, religious, intellectual and social. Turkey has become a republic; the *Shariat* has been replaced by western legal codes; religious toleration has been proclaimed; the Sultanate, the Caliphate and the monastic orders have been abolished; the seclusion of women is being abandoned; the fez and other articles of eastern dress have disappeared—failure to comply being a criminal offence; the Gregorian calendar has been adopted; the Islamic ban on statues has been relaxed so far as to permit of a statue of the Ghazi to be erected in Constantinople, and the Latin script is being used on postage-stamps. Jews, Greeks (Orthodox Church) and Armenians renounced their minority rights in 1926 in return for an assurance by the Minister of Justice that the new legal code was applicable to all citizens of the Turkish Republic 'without distinction of race, nationality or religion.' Ecclesiastical schools and

colleges have already been partly replaced by secular institutions, and all education has been brought under the Government.

While Turkey has thus led the way in thorough-going change, Moslems in other lands have followed the lead—some more and some less closely. For example, we are told that 'beyond the Dardanelles is New Turkey; if you desire the old, seek it in Europe.'[1] In India, again, the Moslem has not thrown off his oriental garb—physical or mental—for reasons most of which are obvious. Even in Turkey the westernizing process is not complete; no political conference in the West would listen patiently to a long daily oration continued for six days, such as was delivered by the Ghazi at the Kemalist Congress held in Angora in October last. Yet the whole of the population of the Near East, in whatsoever country, is in a plastic condition and ready for change in any direction.

There is a demand on all sides for education of a western type (even El-Azhar in Cairo has had to give in to the demand for the inclusion of modern subjects in the curriculum), and little short of a passion for the press.

The effects of the new movement on religion are varied. The old orthodox position, based on the literal acceptance of the Koran, is maintained by some; others hold by an entirely modern interpretation. The Ahmadiya sect in both its branches is particularly active, while an indifferent or agnostic attitude to all religion is not uncommon.

From almost every part of the Moslem world comes the same report of a new readiness to listen to the Christian message where it is sympathetically delivered.

The Christian Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa has finally been constituted and its first meeting was held at Helwan in May 1927. Its four sub-committees on Literature, Evangelism, Education and the Relations of Missions and Governments had previously been at work.

[1] Dr Zwemer in 'The Moslems of South-Eastern Europe' (IRM for October 1927, p. 495), an article which may be read in connexion with this section.

The Literature Committee, indeed, has been functioning as a vigorous and separate entity under another name for some years. An Executive Secretary has been found in the person of Dr Robert Wilder, the founder of the Student Volunteer Movement, the funds of the secretariat in Cairo being provided for three years from American sources. The large majority of missionary agencies at work in the area are co-operating in the work of the Council. The Committee on Education hopes to issue, at the beginning of 1928, the report of a two years' study on the relation of missionary to governmental educational policies.

The whole of the Moslem world is keenly alive to the worth of literature. It is said that over twenty-five million newspapers and periodicals passed through Egypt in one year recently. Hence, increasing attention is being paid to the subject of Christian Literature for Moslems. The Central Committee for this work (serving also as the Literature Committee for the newly constituted Council), met for two days in May 1927 for hearing reports and for deliberation and planning. A wide programme of subjects for future publication has been adopted.

Brief reference to recent events and conditions in certain Moslem countries of the Near East follows. The survey does not profess to be exhaustive.

Persia

The political situation is confused. In June a new contract was presented to Dr Millspaugh — the American Minister in charge of Persian finances since 1922—on the approaching expiry of the former contract. Being unable to accept the emended terms Dr Millspaugh left Persia in July, the Mejlis appointing the Prime Minister to act in his place. There is a general disposition to assertions of independence.

The commission appointed by the League of Nations in 1925, to enquire into the production of opium in Persia,

reported in December 1926. A policy of progressive limitation in cultivation of the poppy was recommended, to begin at the close of a three-year preparatory and transition period. Recommendations for substitute crops were also made. The Persian Government proposes to carry out the recommendations for limitation in cultivation by ten per cent per annum (the position to be examined and reconsidered after three years of reduction), and to exempt from land taxes areas diverted from poppy to substitute crops. Meanwhile, the Mejlis has prohibited the sale of *soukhteh* (the residue opium after smoking) and abolished the government monopoly of *shireh* manufactured from it, involving a heavy loss in revenue, and has undertaken to put a stop to opium smoking within Persia as soon as possible. A new railway is being built from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, which will open up the country and encourage the cultivation of crops other and less easy of transport than opium.

There has been a marked increase in the accessions to Christianity during the last year or two, and in Ispahan between thirty and forty baptisms were reported within a short period. On the other hand, some concern has been caused by an order issued by the ministry of education in Teheran in May 1927, which required the programme of the ministry of education to be carried out in all departments in mission schools, and the headmaster and teachers to give satisfactory answers to questions put by the examiners of the department of education. The schools are to be examined at the end of every year in accordance with the regular examinations of the department, and the teaching of the *Shariat* (Moslem Law) to Mohammedan pupils is made obligatory in each school, the teaching of non-Mohammedan religions being forbidden. The order states that in any case of failure to comply with these rules the school will, on a second warning, be closed.

These provisions threaten not only the religious and educational liberty of Christian missions but the Persian

Christian communities. The matter is receiving the earnest attention of the British and American societies working in Persia, and it is hoped that some arrangement may be come to by which they will be able to carry on their work.

Iraq

Technically a mandated territory since 1920, Iraq has had her own Parliament since 1924. In the autumn of 1927 negotiations on Anglo-Iraqi affairs took place, the question of military defence, the transfer to Iraq of the ownership of the railway system, and her admission to membership of the League of Nations being paramount. Sectarianism between Sunni and Shiah Moslems in the Cabinet causes frequent difficulties, the former having a majority in the Government, but the latter in the country.

Arabia

In April 1927 the Wahabi ruler Ibn Saud assumed the title of King of Hejaz and Nejd ; and in May a treaty was signed at Jeddah, between Great Britain and the King, which recognized the absolute independence of the kingdom of Hejaz and Nejd, defined the frontier between Hejaz and Transjordan and secured the promise of mutual co-operation in suppressing the slave trade.

It had been feared that the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina might suffer under the rule of the new King, and the Egyptian Government, resenting the restrictions imposed on the escort of the Holy Carpet while in Hejaz, decided to send neither the Carpet nor the Mahmal to Mecca in 1927. The number of pilgrims by sea to Jeddah, however, exceeded all records, numbering 130,000. An additional 70,000 travelled overland. Improved sanitation and modern amenities of travel are being adopted for the pilgrimage ; a service of motor-cars from Jeddah to Mecca and Medina is now established.

Turkey

The remarkable revolution in Turkey has been referred to in the opening sentences of this section. Realizing that the one hope of the Republic to become a western nation lies in the education of the people, the Government is laying great stress on this department. All education has been secularized and elementary education is free and compulsory ; vocational education is being carried on ; foreign teachers are employed ; students are annually sent abroad for special study and a large sum is set aside for educational purposes. Government support and encouragement are being given to agricultural development, to transport and to commerce. Most remarkable is the change in mentality from a fatalistic attitude to one of energy and resourcefulness, an immediate result being the development of a health conscience in the leaders, and an endeavour on their part to create it in the masses. Foreign experts have been called in to advise in the organization of a public health service.

A census of the Turkish population was carried out in October 1927 under the direction of a Belgian expert. The whole population obeyed orders to stay indoors during the day when it was in progress, which facilitated taking the census but created a *dies non* in all other affairs. The population approaches fourteen million.

In Turkey the emancipation of women has progressed more than in any other of the Moslem countries. The professions and public services are now open to women and are being entered by them.

The rapid changes in social life and in the relationship of the sexes have inevitably brought about moral dangers. Alcoholism, gambling and relaxation of moral standards have increased, but the Government is becoming aware of the need for combating demoralizing tendencies and can safely be left to deal with them by its own characteristic thoroughgoing methods.

Missionaries have found themselves in new relations to

the Turkish population since the reduction in the numbers of Greeks and Armenians, among whom much of their work lay before the war. Moslems are now taking much fuller advantage of their schools and hospitals. Government grants liberty to carry on missionary work, so long as it does not include a propagandism which would lead to strife. 'There is liberty also for the non-partisan press.' The American Board faces its future work optimistically.[1]

Syria and Lebanon

With the close of the war in Jebel-el-Druze at the end of 1926, the whole country began to enter upon a somewhat calmer and more constructive period than it has enjoyed since the establishment of the French Mandate. The semi-autonomous character of the Lebanon Republic is retained. The condition of the Armenian refugees, of whom over 100,000 have entered the country since the world war, is gradually improving as they become economically absorbed into the population ; a movement has been started to place refugees on farm lands. Missionary work is being everywhere resumed.

As in other Moslem groups, contact with western science and customs and the abolition of the Caliphate are having a disruptive effect on orthodox belief and social life ; on the other hand, the recent political troubles have broken down barriers between rival sects and led to a greater unity of spirit. There is a great opportunity for missions at present in educational and social work. The Mandatory Power has been generous to mission schools, which are popular, and there is a great demand for secondary and higher education both for boys and girls. The emancipation of women is proceeding rapidly and parents are willing for co-education. The American University and St Joseph's University in Beirut have recently admitted women, and women teachers are being trained in a government college at Damascus.

[1] See also IRM for 1927 (Oct.), 'Missionary Problems in Turkey,' pp. 481–94.

Palestine[1]

The Government is still obliged to function without Arab co-operation, but the political position is improving and far less bitterness exists now than a year or two ago. Although the Palestine Arab Congress sent a petition to the Permanent Mandates Commission in April 1927 complaining of excessive immigration of Jews, in the opinion of careful observers the stage of mutual toleration as between Arabs and Jews is almost reached. The Arab finds he has nothing to lose and much to gain through the general prosperity of the land through the Jewish colonist.

A destructive earthquake occurred in Palestine in the summer of 1927, causing much loss of life and property. Relief work was started at once by governmental and philanthropic agencies. The fellowship both of a common suffering and of a common practical sympathy has further served to draw the Arab and Jewish communities nearer together.

The elective basis now granted to municipalities provides a measure of self-government and is a first step towards a Legislative Council. Palestinian nationality is applied for cautiously by Jewish colonists—probably from a fear of burning their boats—but is becoming appreciated by other classes; a group of Arabs living temporarily in Honduras felt it worth applying for in 1927.

A proposal which is on foot to dam the Jordan, just south of the Sea of Galilee, to obtain electric power for the whole of Palestine, and a concession which has been put out at tender to develop the rich potash resources of the Dead Sea area indicate material prosperity in the future.

As regards medical work, the Government since the war has opened hospitals and organized welfare work supplemented by widespread Jewish provision for their own

[1] For information regarding the Jews in Palestine see the section on the Jews, pp. 66–8.

race. The physical need for medical missionary work has in consequence become less urgent (this does not apply, however, to Transjordan), and missionary opinion is in favour of concentrating on existing work, increasing staff and developing the evangelistic side of mission hospitals.

Missionary educational work suffered severely during the war, and has had to be built up afresh in the last decade. The Arabs as a rule prefer to send their children to the newly established government primary schools, where the Koran is taught; the Jews, where possible, provide their own schools. The mission primary schools therefore chiefly serve the Christian community. Some of their outstanding higher educational institutions are popular with all classes and creeds. The Government recently published a draft educational ordinance which, if adopted, will give the department of education increased control over all types of local schools. Approved schools after government inspection will be registered. By the draft ordinance every municipal council will act as the local educational authority, with rating powers.

Evangelistic work among Moslems meets with far less hostility than at any previous period, especially in country districts; but with a greater readiness to hear goes a reluctance to accept Christianity, and converts are few.

Plans are on foot for a school of missions in Jerusalem where Arabic and Islamics will be studied. Provision is to be made whereby missionaries to Moslems in other lands may spend short periods for study in Palestine, with the school as a base. It is hoped that the school will open early in 1928. The British and Foreign Bible Society are planning to open a Bible House in Jerusalem while the International Missionary Council is in session.

A new Orthodox church at Beisan, towards the building of which the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal Churches contributed financially, is to be available for use by both the above-named Churches.

Transjordan

A Treaty is under negotiation and is expected soon to be concluded between Great Britain and Transjordan, by which the autonomy of the latter state under H.H. the Emir Abdullah will be recognized. The administration will still be carried on under the terms of the Palestine Mandate, as in recent years. Great progress has marked the rule of the Emir; there is a growing sense of public security and the territory is rapidly opening for tourists. The exceptional archæological wealth of the country is becoming recognized. Satisfaction is felt at the recent settlement of the Transjordan-Arabia and of the Transjordan-Hejaz [1] boundaries, the former of which will ensure immunity from the former grave menace of Wahabi raids.

The bulk of the population is Moslem. The Christians are practically all members either of the Roman Catholic or of the Orthodox Church. Protestant missions are carrying on pioneer medical and evangelistic work.

Egypt

One of the outstanding events in 1927 was the death, in August, of Saad Pasha Zaghlul, the leader of the *Wafd*—that body first constituted to lay the case of Egypt before the Peace Conference of Paris, and continuing as a permanent organization, the standing expression of Egyptian nationalist public opinion. Zaghlul Pasha had retired from the office of Prime Minister the previous year, but the influence of his strong leadership, which made nationalism a dynamic force, was still great. He is succeeded by Mustapha Pasha Nahas.

The appearance in 1925 of Ali Abd el Raziq's *Islam and the Foundations of the State*, which by its criticism of orthodox belief made a great stir, was followed in 1926 by Dr Taha Hussein's *Essay on Pre-Islamic Poetry* which by reason of

[1] See Treaty of Jeddah, p. 50.

its provocative style and even more critical attitude made a yet greater stir. A demand was made, but not acceded to, that Government should remove the writer from his position of Professor of Arabic Literature in the state university of Cairo. Private proceedings were instituted against Dr Hussein. Both books received the support of the student body and intellectual classes.

The demand for modern education is great. The government budget for education has been doubled within the last five years. Missionary educational institutions report good progress; the American University at Cairo, only in its ninth year, has made a place for itself and attracts a good type of student.

The medical work centred in the Old Cairo Hospital continues to serve large numbers, and its spiritual influence is both wide and deep. A new form of missionary work is that of child welfare centres, five of which have been opened in Cairo itself, in addition to those operated by Government (in which, however, no teaching is given). The practical nature of this much-needed work, as well as its evangelistic character, appeal strongly to the women who attend.

In circumstances which foster timidity and a sense of inferiority, in the midst of an antagonistic Moslem population, there is every outward inducement to the Church in Egypt to hide its light, and its greatest need is an accession of missionary zeal.

V. AFRICA [1]

THE extent of the African continent and, more particularly, its lack of homogeneity make generalization almost impossible. A few outstanding instances only have been chosen, to indicate significant movements and situations. New forces are at work everywhere throughout the continent. Whether they are in the first instance political,

[1] In connexion with this section the report of the Conference at Le Zoute may be read: *The Christian Mission in Africa*, 2 Eaton Gate, London, 3s. 6d.; 419 Fourth Avenue, New York, $1.00; also IRM, 1926 (July), Special Africa Number.

economic or social, they will inevitably be educational—for the good or ill of the African.

With almost the whole of Africa under their direct rule, a serious responsibility rests on the European nations. There is happily evidence of a growing sense of moral trusteeship for the African in the case of the majority of the governments. The records of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations have only to be read with care to prove that that body also has a full sense of the high duties and responsibilities attaching to it.

The increasing recognition in some parts of Africa of the right of Africans to participate in government, seen, for example, in the Native Council of Transkei and the elected membership of the legislative councils in parts of West Africa, is in contrast to the racial animosity seen in other parts, which inevitably affects both legislation and administration. Inadequate provision for African education, forced labour and other forms of exploitation still exist.

In South Africa the quadrilateral racial problem between British, Dutch, Indian and African is still grave. The situation was somewhat cleared between British and Dutch by the sudden solution of the flag question, after long and heated controversy, in October 1927. The situation between South African and Indian was also relieved by the Hertzog-Habibullah Agreement of May 1927, followed shortly after by the appointment of the Rt Hon. Srinivasa Sastri as Agent of the Government of India in South Africa.

The Colour Bar Act, excluding Africans from certain skilled occupations, was passed in 1926; the four Bills on Native affairs introduced in 1927 are still under discussion at the time of writing. They are: the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill, the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, the Natives' Union Council Bill and the Natives' Land Act, 1913, Amendment Bill.[1] The four are to be taken

[1] See IRM, 1926 (July), 'The South African Problem'; and IRM, 1927 (Apr.), 'The South African Race Problem in the Light of General Hertzog's Proposed Legislation.'

together and represent a desire to separate Native interests from those of Europeans—among whom the 'Coloured Persons' would in future be numbered; to set up for Natives institutions for local and national government parallel to the provincial and parliamentary institutions of the European; to give Natives limited representation, by Europeans, in Parliament; and to release certain lands for their occupation. The Bills have met with united opposition from Africans and from others, who do not see in them sufficient promise of compensation for the proposed loss of the present Native franchise in the Cape Province. The successful working of any such policy of segregation would depend almost entirely on the possibility of setting apart for Natives sufficient land to give them space to live and to develop their own institutions and culture. That this possibility no longer exists is the opinion of many.

The British Government appointed in 1927 a Commission to East Africa—of which Mr J. H. Oldham is a member—which is at the moment pursuing its enquiries in Africa. The terms of reference include the question of closer co-operation between the Central and East African Governments and, what is of great importance, the securing of the position of Africans in relation to future political developments.

Industrial, Labour and Land Problems.—In many parts of Africa demands for Native labour arising out of industrial enterprises are rapidly increasing. Interesting examples of philanthropic undertakings on behalf of African employees are seen in the hygienic housing scheme at the Katanga copper mines, the recreation centres for the Johannesburg gold miners and settlers' schools for Natives in Kenya. Grave dangers, however, exist by the very fact of diverting the African from an agricultural to an industrial life; it is significant that in South Africa the ebbtide from the mines to the kraals at seedtime and at harvest has led to a protest to Government against the restrictions imposed on recruiting Native labour from Portuguese territory.

The question of forced labour applies in a special degree to Africa, and it is a matter for some regret that the question will not come up before the International Labour Conference until 1929, instead of in 1928 as was hoped. The committee of experts appointed by the governing body of the International Labour Organization has, however, declared its opinion with no uncertain voice, and some kind of international agreement may be looked for after the conference of 1929.

The exclusion of Natives from the trade unions in South Africa has been a factor in the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.).[1] Organized a few years ago by a Nyasaland African to protect the interests of all Native workers, the I.C.U. has rapidly increased in membership and extent, especially since the passing of the Colour Bar Act, and has now spread into rural areas, where it is being opposed by the farmers. Though without official status, ridiculed as 'a half-baked organization' and poorly led, the movement cannot be ignored. 'It is the inevitable protest of the black folk against conditions of life which have become intolerable' —conditions, that is, of overcrowding in the reserves, of poverty and of unskilled employment in the towns.

Although the over-population of the Native reserves remains an acute problem in some parts of the continent, in other parts, as in French and Belgian territory, the problem is rather that of arresting depopulation from disease and a declining birth-rate.

Evangelism and the Church.—The celebrations in 1927 of the jubilees of the Nyasaland Mission of the Church of Scotland and the Uganda Mission of the Church Missionary Society were at once a reminder that the Church can strike roots, grow and bear fruit in Africa and that the process demands the best that man has to give—even to life itself. The retirement of Dr Laws of the Livingstonia Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1927, after fifty-

[1] See also p. 180.

two years of service, cannot be omitted in any mention of the Church in Africa.

On all sides, the question of the place of Native custom in the practice of the Church is under discussion, and every shade of opinion is held, from that of strict exclusion to that of wide but discriminating inclusion. The separatist churches continue to attract many in whom is a growing racial consciousness. Unhappily, these churches too often permit a low standard in morals.

A joint Native and European conference was summoned by the Dutch Reformed Church early in 1927, in Cape Town, to consider the proposed Native legislation. While the conference was unable to agree on the franchise question, it achieved a gratifying degree of amity and marked a new attitude which is of the greatest import.

The absence of transport facilities and other causes preclude the formation of any body in Africa approximating to the National Christian Councils of the Far and Near East. Their place is, however, taken to some extent by the African regional conferences. The jubilee of Congo missions is to be celebrated in 1928, and a conference is planned for August, including delegates from the other conferences, the home boards and from French, Belgian, Portuguese and Liberian territory in West Africa.

Following upon the removal of discrimination against them in 1924, the German missionary societies have been gradually returning to their work in territories under British rule in Africa. Some work, started only shortly before the war, is having to be built up again from the beginning, but in the older areas the Christian Africans did excellent work either under the supervision of one of the other societies or, as in the Berlin Mission at Dar-es-Salaam, entirely alone. The German staff is not yet up to its former strength. In Belgian and French territory the door has not yet been opened and the Protestant missions of both countries are carrying a heavy burden.

EDUCATION.—The subject of education has been to the

fore in the thinking both of governments and of missions in recent years. The Phelps-Stokes Fund of the United States sent two commissions—the first to West Africa in 1920, the second to East and South Africa in 1924—to make a survey of educational conditions and opportunities. Their reports ' crystallized conceptions of education which had long lain in solution in many minds, missionary and official,' and laid emphasis on character training as the true objective of education. The Secretary of State for the Colonies (London) appointed in 1923 the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa, which produced in 1925 a statement of its educational policy (*Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*), laying the strongest emphasis on character training and recognizing the importance of religion in the education of Africans. Of experiments which are being made, the Jeanes School at Kabete, Kenya Colony, for training supervisors of the ' Jeanes ' type, and the Prince of Wales' College at Achimota, Gold Coast, are noteworthy. The College is significant for the future of education in West Africa and is being closely watched by educational authorities in other territories. Both the French and the Belgian Governments have framed and are carrying out active educational programmes. The French policy is to train the African to a full French citizenship ; the Belgian, on the other hand, is to develop an African culture. The importance of factors outside the school—the home and village environment and so on—are receiving greater emphasis in Africa than anywhere else in the world.

The question of education occupied a leading place at the conference held at Le Zoute in 1926. The policy of closer co-operation with governments, and of concentrating especially on village, intermediate and secondary schools and on the training of teachers was particularly stressed. This policy is being put into practice in several areas.

Under the heading of education mention must be made of the recently established International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (again, a result of missionary

initiative), not least because it is concerned not only with educating the African but with educating the rest of the world about Africa. The Institute, under the direction of Professor Westermann and M. Henri Labouret, represents and is supported by some score or more of societies—religious, educational, scientific—representing the best thought in America, Great Britain and Continental Europe. The Institute has already instituted linguistic, literary and educational lines of study, and has launched a quarterly—*Africa*—with the beginning of this year.

Religious education has been the subject of much enquiry in recent years, and, as regards Africa, the enquiry has revealed widespread dissatisfaction with the present position.[1] A survey of the field of religious education in Africa will be included in the wider survey now being pursued.

Medical Work.—The question of adequate medical measures to meet the great need of Africa still remains a problem. Diseases both endemic and epidemic continue to sap vitality and take a heavy toll of life.

Among government medical services that of Belgium in the Congo is worthy of special notice. Wide employment of African assistants, an auxiliary medical staff organized through the missions and a hospital boat plying on the Congo are among its methods. In most parts of Africa a deficiency of trained Africans is reported, alike for subordinate posts and as qualified medical officers, and the question of training an African medical staff is under consideration by various bodies.

Surveys have recently been made of the incidence and treatment of leprosy and cancer in Africa, leading to the adoption of measures to combat them. An enquiry into sleeping sickness is at present being made, under the direction of the Public Health Committee of the League of Nations. Missionary co-operation has in each instance been sought and given.

[1] See IRM, 1926 (July), 'Religious Education'; and 1927 (July), 'The Bible in the Religious Education of Africa.'

Grants-in-aid to medical missions for salaries, maintenance and training purposes have recently been sanctioned by Governments in some parts of the continent. It is recognized on all hands that medical missions have done and are still doing first-class work in all departments. A recent development, in Africa as in other parts of the world, is the establishment of infant welfare centres and training in mothercraft given to older girls in the schools, generally under the supervision of qualified European or American nurses.

LITERATURE.—The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (see pp. 61–2) has made a study, with missionary co-operation, of existing African school books. A memorandum just issued [1] gives the results of the study, with recommendations on the character and composition of new books more suited to African children than many which are being used at the present time. The Institute has made proposals for a common system of practical script, and in other ways also is already justifying the hopes reposed in it of becoming a most valued body. Local committees of educationists, representing government and missions, are producing school text-books and other literature. In Belgian Congo missionaries of different nationalities are co-operating to produce vernacular literature, and proposals are on foot in London for establishing a central committee on African Christian literature, with a full-time organizer. The conference of 1926 at Le Zoute laid especial stress on the necessity for discovering and encouraging African authorship, and on the acquisition by foreign missionaries of a real mastery of African speech and thought in view of the great and urgent need for suitable books in the vernaculars.

The Bible Societies are steadily going forward in producing translations of the Bible, in whole and in parts, in different African vernaculars.

[1] See *Africa*, 1928 (Jan.), 'Text-books for African Schools.'

VI. LATIN AMERICA

A NEW sense of solidarity is beginning to permeate the South American republics, and efforts are being made to increase inter-communication and mutual knowledge, although the recent failure of arbitration to settle the Tacna-Arica dispute has exacerbated the long-standing trouble between Chile and Peru. A feeling of suspicion as to the future policy of the United States, while crippling the pan-American movement, has led to the formation of unofficial organizations, e.g. the Latin America Union, which is establishing an increasingly closer contact with European countries. The early months of 1927 also saw the establishment of the Anti-Imperialistic Revolutionary Association with the object of emancipating the Latin American republics from the 'thraldom of foreign finance.'

The educated classes and the larger universities are in close touch with the world's culture; for the last century French books, and more recently Spanish translations of European classics and contemporary works, especially German, have had a wide circulation. The younger generation is looking towards Germany, Russia and the Orient—'the New Asia and those of the old European countries which tragedy has made new'—for a lead into the future. A strong youth movement is growing, imbued with high ideals of social service, being especially strong in the Pacific coast republics. Anti-clericalism and hostility to the outward forms of religion is widespread, but great interest is shown in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. There is also a ready audience for a Christian man with a message, be he priest or pastor, if he is willing to speak without the accompaniment of any religious service. The Y.M.C.A. has been taking advantage of this readiness in organizing meetings throughout the continent.

The political situation in Mexico is grave, revolution and drastic attempts at suppression, wholesale executions and the overriding of constitutional by military methods

have led to a state of unrest, apprehension and resentment. The clash between Church and State has continued for many months and feeling is greatly embittered. The Government, in spite of denials by the episcopate, has declared that the Church is backing the revolutionary movement, and has retaliated with repressive laws. The example of Mexico in limiting the political power of the Church has been followed in other States—in Chile, Equador and Guatemala.

The Government is carrying out constructive work in the development of rural education designed to raise the whole social life of the rural communities which are chiefly Indian. In Brazil and Chile, also, special attention is being given to educational problems, especially in the former, where the situation is rendered more complex by the thousands of immigrants from Europe, the Near East and Japan yearly pouring into the country.

Protestant missionary work has been carried on less among the fifteen million Indians, mostly pagan, than among the Spanish-speaking population who are, at least nominally, Roman Catholic. This continues to call forth strong protests from the Roman Catholic Church and much mutual criticism is indulged in. There are at present signs of a renewal of interest by the Roman Catholic Church in a continent where she has been admittedly less assiduous in shepherding her members than in other parts of the world. It is also clear that the Evangelical Church has a real place in the life of the continent. A measure of mutual toleration would therefore seem to be advisable. In Brazil the Presbyterian and in Mexico the Methodist Churches are autonomous, the former supporting its own foreign missionaries; in Mexico, too, the Baptist evangelistic work is all directed by Mexicans.

The Montevideo Congress (1925) called for the development of missionary work in the almost untouched field of South American Indians. It also emphasized the need for greater co-operation in all missionary work, especially among students and in the fields of Christian literature,

medical service and agricultural education. The Congress also laid stress on the need for furthering religious education, and three regional conferences on this subject were held in 1927. A central committee of representatives of the regional committees has agreed upon an extensive programme of preparation and publication of materials.

The Committee on Co-operation in Latin America furnishes a means of co-ordinating the work of mission boards and Churches. The ability to speak with a united voice and show a united front enables the evangelical forces in Mexico especially at this time to occupy a position of influence.

VII. THE JEWS

SINCE the world war the Jews have found political and social freedom and have taken advantage of the unwonted atmosphere. Many have migrated to America, to Palestine and from one European State to another. There are about fifteen and a half million Jews in the world to-day, of whom some four million are in the United States. A revolutionary spirit is working throughout the whole of Judaism: politically, many Jews are found within the ranks of bolshevism; intellectually, the leaven is at work driving them in such large numbers into the universities of America and Europe that the authorities are becoming disquieted; spiritually, the old authority of Talmudic teaching is gone and there is a distinct break away from the synagogue, in many cases towards rationalism. There has been a great movement of Jews into the Christian Church in Hungary during the years since the war, and many in America have joined the Christian Science body. The Jews as a race are at the present day more open to Christian influence than at any earlier period.

The spirit of nationalism evident throughout the world finds its outlet among the Jews in the Zionist movement. Since the Balfour Declaration about 150,000 Jewish immigrants from Europe alone have entered Palestine. In

1924–25 the number of immigrants was unusually large, owing mainly to economic conditions in Poland from which many came. As funds for which they had hoped were not forthcoming, and as many of them were unsuitable as colonists, many left Palestine later (as many as 10,000 in 1926). The policy of the Mandatory Power in restricting Jewish immigration, while attacked in certain quarters, is approved generally. Decidedly, the colonists as a whole are making good, in spite of the high price of land and the heavy customs on imports — not excepting aids to civilization. There is, however, much unemployment.

The Jewish colonists have supplemented governmental education and health services by providing additional schools and hospitals for their own race. A Hebrew university was founded in Jerusalem in 1925, but is at present restricting its activities to post-graduate research work. A Hebrew quarterly periodical has been planned.

The fifteenth Zionist Congress met at Basel in August–September 1927. One of the chief items of business at the biennial meetings is the election of an Executive, which has hitherto been synonymous with the Jewish Agency, with which body the Mandatory Power negotiates regarding all matters concerning the Jews in Palestine. In view of the part taken by rich non-Zionist Jews in helping Jewish colonists, the Congress last year, after prolonged and heated discussion, agreed to an equal representation of Zionists and non-Zionists on the Jewish Agency. Later in the year signs of dissatisfaction with the personnel of the Executive became vocal.

Two conferences, at Budapest and Warsaw, were held under the auspices of the International Missionary Council in March–April of 1927 to consider the presentation of the Christian message to Jews. Readers are referred to the official report for details.[1] It is believed that the

[1] *The Christian Approach to the Jew.* London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1; 2s. and 2s. 6d. New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel, 419 Fourth Avenue; 75 cents and $1.00.

frank discussions and detailed consideration of the many questions involved will lead to a renewal of missionary activity characterized by fuller co-operation of societies and the employment of new methods. Each conference put on record the goodwill of its members towards the Jewish race and deplored the long record of anti-Semitism on the part of professedly Christian people.

The publications of the Jewish missionary societies have a wide circulation. Hebrew has been determined as the language of Palestinian Jews, and delay in the publication of Christian literature for their use is due to a lack of knowledge of that language among writers and translators. The difficulty is, however, being overcome.

VIII. THE PACIFIC AREA

THE Institute of Pacific Relations held its second session at Honolulu in July 1927, discussing in a friendly spirit many questions affecting the countries in and bordering the Pacific. The significance of the Institute lies in the fact that it is steadily gaining the interest and support of men and women who count in the public life of their respective countries. The Institute's method of friendly diplomacy gives some real promise of influencing thought and human relationships in the Pacific area.

Fiji

Fijians.—The last fifty years have seen a transformation in the whole situation in the islands. Fijians to-day show evidence of fine possibilities of development. As teachers and missionaries they are found in distant island groups; a medical practitioner is in Papua; some are studying in Australia and New Zealand; one has taken an Oxford LL.B. degree. Agriculture is being developed, social life re-adjusted and the race is shaping towards becoming an

educated, self-reliant rural community. The opportunities before the Church are great, especially in the directions of education and the training of a ministry.

INDIANS.—The Indian community, descendants of the indentured labourers of earlier days, are a social entity apart from the Fijians. While certain Hindu customs, such as early marriage, still prevail, widow remarriage is common, caste rules are disappearing and there exists an increasing desire for the education of girls. The disproportionate number of young men to young women is a grave problem and has evil consequences. The group is prosperous and has communal representation in the Legislative Council. The educational and medical work carried on by missions is greatly appreciated, but converts to Christianity have as yet been few. The New Zealand Y.M.C.A. has established branches among the Indians in the islands; Boy Scout troops have also been introduced.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

A survey of conditions, including recommendations for economic development and improvements in administration, was made and presented to the United States Congress in 1926–27. The great national resources of the islands were reported to be insufficiently developed owing to political instability and consequent lack of capital. The demand for immediate political independence continues unabated on the part of a large section of Filipinos. A pan-Malayan—and consequently anti-American—movement flourishes, being especially strong among students. The United States Government, backed by public opinion, does not feel that the time is ripe for granting further measures of self-government or for proceeding with 'Filipinization' of the services, owing to lack of homogeneity in the population, to bitter religious differences between Christians and Moslems and to other causes.

A survey of the educational system of the islands was

carried out in 1924 and the published report may be read in connexion with this section.[1] The educational work of missionary societies, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, met with the commendation of the commission. Ample opportunity is given to mission schools.

Samoa

The New Zealand Government, as Mandatory Power, appointed a commission in 1927 to enquire whether any just cause of grievance existed concerning the Samoan administration, as there was much unrest in the island and criticism of the administration had been freely made in the House of Representatives. The report is still awaited.

Hospital and dispensary treatment under trained Samoan assistants, and preventive work in the shape of infant welfare centres and women's committees, carried on by white women doctors, have been developed rapidly in recent years ; a systematic campaign against yaws and hookworm has been most successful. Depopulation is being arrested. A public water supply, electric light, the telephone and other modern conveniences add greatly to the amenities of life ; plantations are flourishing and the standard of living is rising.

Samoan Christians contribute generously to missions in China, India and Africa. In addition, they support their own church work and the missionaries of the London Missionary Society working among them. Local church councils are steadily assuming further responsibilities.

New Guinea

As in Samoa, medical work in the mandated territory of New Guinea has received special attention. Missionaries have given skilled help as auxiliary forces. The opening of a new mission hospital at Salamo is reported.

[1] *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands.* New York: Teachers College. $3.00. 1925.

Motor launches have been introduced for coastal communications, as well as for inter-island traffic among the Pacific groups; the telephone has come into common use and aeroplanes are being used to overcome transport difficulties in connexion with the newly opened gold mines.

German missionaries of the Neuendettelsau Society have received permission to return to their former stations.

The year 1927 saw the first complete Bible in Dobuan, a language which reaches many of the inhabitants of the islands off the south-east coast.

Dutch East Indies

During 1927 there were recrudescences of the political disturbances of the previous year in various parts of the islands, especially in western Sumatra. The Government, while dealing promptly and severely with the revolutionary outbreaks, has proceeded to put into force in Java an Act passed in 1925, whereby the Volksraad (People's Council, formerly a purely consultative body) assumes wider powers, including voting on the budget. A proposal is being considered to raise native representation to a majority.

The missionaries of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft, having been at last assured of permission to return to their work after furlough, were able, after a long period of work, to revisit their homes in Germany in 1926–27. Many stations were necessarily left considerably undermanned, but the way in which the native pastorate has responded to the additional responsibility has been most encouraging. Many of the pastors and evangelists are the fruit of the revival in Nias of 1916 and following years, and are a splendid testimony to its reality and strength. On the other hand, such evils as gambling, drinking and inordinate expenditure on feasts, resulting in widespread debt, are beginning again to appear among the people, reintroduced by labourers returned from Sumatra.

Malaya

An article on the problems of the Christian Church in Malaya, as they affect the Chinese, appeared in the Review for January 1927. The population of the Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements is about 3,300,000, of which only one-half are Malays, the great majority of the remaining half being Chinese settlers.

The economic position of the peasants has been steadily improving of recent years, due to the establishment of village co-operative credit societies. The reluctance of Moslems to associate themselves with any scheme involving 'usury' delayed the establishment of these societies for some fifteen years. It was finally overcome by the issue of a special *Fatwa* by the Sultan of Perak—following the precedent of the Grand Mufti of Egypt—giving the necessary permission for Moslems to co-operate in the scheme, to the great advantage of the whole community.

CONCLUSION

What is the dominant impression left in the mind as we conclude our survey of this changing and varied scene? It is of Life, flowing here like fresh sap in the tree that seemed to be dead, or breaking out there like new wine in old bottles, so that the bottles are broken. There are some great words that come to men's lips in all lands—Freedom, Patriotism, Democracy. Shown in crude ways sometimes, still one cannot escape the impression of a surging life, finding ever new modes of expression and incarnating itself continually.

There is, again, the sense of a groping for spiritual certainty and strength on the part of those most conscious of the forces that make for change. In some lands the old religious systems are being cast down or remodelled out of recognition; in others, racial or national feeling has given

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a new assertiveness to faiths which the world of modern thought had sorely shaken. In all there is the same desire of the finer spirits for some fresh spring of truth and faith, some rock on which the nations may build their lives in what is often a strange and menacing world.

Can we perceive something else? It is often said, and with truth, that there is a great turning of men and women to Christ, at least to look at Him, to see whether in Him there be the answer to the soul's cry. But more real and far more wonderful than that is the fact of Christ moving in all this passion of humanity, going where His disciples do not go, found dimly in the hearts of those who do not own His name. 'My Father worketh still, and I work' is His word to-day, and it is the part of the Christian disciple to unite himself with that working of his Lord.

W. P.
M. M. U.

CHURCH UNION:

I. THE DEMAND FROM MISSION LANDS AND THE BEARING OF THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE ON IT

By the Rt Rev. E. J. PALMER, D.D., Bishop of Bombay

IT was Sunday, August the 14th, 1927. The summer sunset was throwing a heavenly glory round the towers of Lausanne cathedral. Any summer evening in the last seven hundred years men might have witnessed and loved that sight. But the scene which we beheld on entering the cathedral was without a parallel in all those centuries. Some two thousand of the citizens of Lausanne, with a good sprinkling of the members of the World Conference on Faith and Order, were listening to addresses from an African, an Indian and a Chinese. Interesting? Yes, but also intensely pathetic, for the subject was 'The necessity of Christian unity for the missionary enterprise of the Church,' and these men were pleading with the largely indifferent Churches of the Old World and America, to allow them—the youngest of the Churches—to fulfil the Lord's own wish and prayer. No one will forget the Bishop of Dornakal's burning words: 'In the West, unity is something desirable; in the mission field, it is a vital necessity. In the West, disunion is a weakness; in the mission field, it is a sin and a scandal.'

The object of this article is to explain and to press the appeal for unity which comes from the mission field and from the young indigenous Churches, and to discuss the bearing of the Lausanne Conference and its reports on the action which we are determined with the help of God to take.

Appeal for Union founded on our Lord's Wish.—We rest our appeal solely on our Lord's prayer and on the reason which He gave for that prayer. That He wishes unity is enough for us. We beg the older Churches to consider whether it is not enough for them. To us the reason He gave is obviously convincing: 'That the world may believe that thou didst send me.' 'The miracle is peace,' exclaimed the Bishop of Dornakal, child of a country furrowed and riven for centuries by impassable gulfs of social and religious division. 'The miracle is peace.' If the Christian Church presented before the eyes of the world that miraculous spectacle, the world would believe in the divine mission of its Founder.

Objection that He only meant Spiritual Unity.—Such is the sword of the Spirit with which we go out to fight this battle for unity. But our brethren of the West often oppose us with a shield which they think is also spiritual. 'Ah,' they say, 'but our Lord did not mean unity of organization: He meant unity of Spirit.' Undoubtedly the unity is founded on an event in the spiritual sphere. 'I manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world.' 'Keep them in thy name which thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me.' The 'name' is the nature of God which He imparted to His only begotten Son and through Him to His other sons, the disciples of Jesus. As one of them wrote later, it was among His promises that we should 'become partakers of the divine nature.' But even that spiritual fact of the imparting of the divine nature was to have its outward side. The meaning of the baptismal formula in plain English is, 'John, I dip thee' (or, as the more cautious East says, 'John is dipped') 'into the nature of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.' For the maintenance of this spiritual fact our Lord provided another outward means. For the gift of His Blood in the Lord's Supper signifies the gift of His

Life. Similarly the unity that is founded on these personal facts needs to be maintained by giving it an outward and bodily counterpart and expression. 'There is one body and one Spirit,' wrote S. Paul. Why? Because they are mutually interdependent and necessary one to the other.

We must appeal for reconsideration of this argument about organization. Those who cling to their separate existences as 'Churches,' find it a sure shield against our unwelcome references to our Lord's wish. I venture to present four considerations against it.

The word 'organization' is used in a question-begging manner. It is always assumed and often said that organization must be a matter of indifference. But the whole question is whether those things which are dubbed 'matters of organization' are matters of indifference. We must have that question faced, not begged.

The word 'organization' is misapplied to the ministry of the Church. S. Paul teaches (Eph. iv) that that ministry is the divinely supplied equipment (ἐπιχορηγία) of Christ's body, the Church, and that it is by the firm-holding grips (ἁφαί) of that living equipment that the body is bonded together and united. If that is so, we have to do in this matter not with organization, but with organs. The Church is not an artificial aggregate, but a natural body. As our Lord left it at His ascension it was an embryo, showing, as yet, only signs of the full future differentiation of function, in the distinction between the apostles and the rest of the faithful. When S. Paul wrote his letter to the Ephesians the differentiation had gone further, but was not yet complete. To set all this aside as organization is unscriptural. The ministers are God's gifts, special organs designed by Him for functions necessary to an organism.

It is exactly and precisely separateness of organization which makes inevitable some of the worst of the Church's present maladies. Competition, comparison, detraction, steady drifting apart, the formation of a different corporate character, the creation of denominational interests and the

fictitious importance of denominational leaders, all these are direct results of separate organization, and most of them could not occur in the absence of such organization. These are obvious enough in the West. In the mission lands we suffer in addition from the confusions due to different qualifications demanded before baptism and different laws of marriage, from differences in moral standard and from evasion of discipline by joining another Church. These difficulties are made possible only by the separate organizations, and would disappear with their disappearance.

Lastly, I submit that it is impossible for the one Spirit to have effective control of the body, just because of these separate organizations. They impair, if they do not destroy, the unity of the body. Consequently there is at present between Christians no real unity in the knowledge of truth or in the knowledge of God. The first requires that constant friendly intercourse which tends to agreement in opinion and to the moderation of such different views as may temporarily exist. The second requires a common inheritance of spiritual treasures and a common actual use of them all. Both these points were illustrated by our experiences at the Lausanne Conference.

Throw away then, Churches of the West, this shield of straw in which you trust, the notion that the unity for which Christ prayed was a unity of Spirit and not of organization. The one Spirit needs the one body as much as the one body needs the one Spirit; and the one Spirit will never bind us together—even in the holiest things—unless we will give Him back the one visible body that He needs.

Appeal of Missionaries.—We found ourselves then on our Lord's wish and prayer for unity and on the conviction that the unity of His followers cannot be complete or secure unless it has an outward and visible expression. Let me now place before the western Churches the appeal from the mission field, first as missionaries would naturally present it, and secondly as indigenous Christians would present it,

premising that each sympathizes with the other's appeal, and, if speaking alone, either would freely use the arguments of the other.

The missionaries' appeal runs thus :

We ought to be able to say to non-Christians all that follows, with the certainty that they will find that our words come true :

Here is the Church of Christ. If you are baptized, you will enter it, and find that it is one supernatural body, a lovable and beloved society, where you will have a home, a welcome, encouragement and support, which will make up for the supports of the social system which you have left.

Here is the Church of Christ. Enter it and see how it reconciles race differences—how truly in it there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all.

Here is the Church of Christ, and, in it, there is fellowship, intense because supernatural, mystically nourished with the one true food, His Body and Blood, which continually renews the one life which keeps the body one.

Here is the Church of Christ. All over the world it is bearing the one message of salvation. Enter it and take your part in the one age-long and world-wide effort of Christ for man's salvation.

It is our right to say these things. God meant us to be able to say these things, and we can say none of them to-day so as to carry conviction because of the divisions of Christendom. The attempt, sometimes made, to say all these things in spite of those divisions lands us in unreality, which is sooner or later found out and hated.

Appeal of Indigenous Christians.—The appeal of the indigenous Christians runs thus :

Christian converts in a non-Christian land are bound together by their sense of common separation from the great non-Christian system that they have left and their consequent overwhelming need of mutual support.

The differences between the indigenous Christians seem

as nothing when they think of their differences from the non-Christians around. Father Nehemiah Goreh, a Brahman convert who was a priest of my diocese, expressed it more than twenty-five years ago something like this: 'The difference between a Hindu who worships a cow and an Indian Christian who has ceased to do so is so great that any theological differences there may be among Indian Christians make no impression on us.' This has had the result of their coming together in conventions and the like, and thereby building up already a common spiritual experience.

The indigenous Christians want to be one Church because they have already to a large extent one social life, and they want it to be part and parcel of one religious society and safeguarded by common religious sanctions. In particular they want uniform marriage law and custom.

The indigenous Christians want their religion to be something that will unite their country, not one more thing that will further divide it. The best young Indians (the Bishop of Dornakal said at Lausanne) will join any sort of society that will unite Indians, but none that will separate them. The enormous strength of caste, which is a cruelly divisive influence, haunts them like a spectre. They fear that the divisions of Christendom will be used to perpetuate the caste divisions. Some missions had their first successes only in one caste and have become accidentally caste missions; others deliberately appeal to one caste only. Federation of separate Churches would be just as dangerous from this point of view as are the present separate Churches. This fear of perpetuating old fatal divisions is peculiar to India. But the desire for national unity adds strength to the desire for Christian unity in other countries besides India, notably in China.

The indigenous Christians want to be free to develop a national Christianity. They think rightly that every great nation has contributed something to the Christian inheritance. They believe that they can only make their contribu-

tion in the strength and freedom that a united Christian Church in a great country will have. I gather that especially in China there is a negative side to this. They do not want Christianity to be presented to the Chinese with certain western characteristics which they detest and believe to be no genuine part of it.

The best indigenous Christians want the strength of unity for the work of the conversion of their countries.

To all this it must be added that the divisions of the West are vexatious to eastern Christians because they are so palpably foreign. These divisions had their origin either in historical circumstances which had nothing whatever to do with India or China or Japan, or in doctrinal controversies which are largely unintelligible to the inhabitants of those countries. 'Why should we be divided,' they cry, 'against our will by the past controversies of foreigners?'

Corporate Unity or Federation.—It cannot be too often repeated that federation would be of no use to us. No Indian has the slightest desire for federation as a solution of the problem of divided Indian Christianity. Nothing but corporate unity will do us any good. By corporate unity we mean organic unity of the Church in every place which has a natural unity of its own, and as between the Churches of distant countries organic similarity and federal unity. Between Churches at great distances federal unity is now, as it always has been, the only practical and healthy form of unity. But within one area having a natural unity of its own a 'federation of Churches' would give to disunion a recognition implying toleration or even approval, and therewith an increase of strength and a new lease of life. I count it among the greatest mercies of God shown to us at Lausanne that no statement favouring federation or assuming it as a step towards reunion appears in the acts of the Conference.

The Cost of Corporate Unity.—Corporate unity cannot be obtained without the revision of our opinions and the abandonment of our separate organizations. The

revision of our opinions means mainly the retractation of exaggerations bred of violent controversy and the concentration on such truth as lies behind them. The abandonment of our separate organizations does not involve necessarily the abandonment of all our characteristic practices and views. Insistence on uniformity is not traditional in the historic Church, though it was epidemic in the sixteenth century. Yet even when these qualifications are made, the cost of corporate unity remains high. Are we all, of the East and of the West, willing to pay it?

I hope I have said enough in the earlier pages of this article to show why we appeal to all the Churches to be ready to abandon the maintenance of separate organizations in the same country. But if that is to be done it must have the intellectual justification that the Churches are in reasonable agreement about their objects and about the most essential parts of doctrine. It is this which makes it necessary for all of us to reconsider our opinions. The Churches at present profess contradictory opinions on some important points. Such opinions cannot all be right. Some must be wrong, and those that are wrong must be changed, not only for the sake of unity, but for that of truth.

Lausanne and the Cost of Unity.—If I am right in saying that revision of our opinions and abandonment of our separate organizations are the cost of corporate unity, the Lausanne Conference did little to show that the Churches represented at it are willing to pay the price. A large majority of the representatives of Europe and America seemed to shrink from one or other of those conditions, and some from both. In regard to revision of opinions, I had hoped that that task would have been begun at Lausanne. Practically speaking, it was not. The representatives of large and important groups refused to take the responsibility of going back home and saying: 'I agreed at Lausanne that this or that which our Church teaches is wrong.' The reasons for this attitude of mind were different in different

cases, but it held back the Conference from attempting to arrive at those truths, agreement on which would constitute a sufficient basis of church unity. The quest of truth was barred because it would have involved criticizing our own and each other's opinions. The majority of the Conference was not ready for that. Consequently the Lausanne Conference reports are statements of opinion rather than statements of truth. Yet they serve the cause of reunion in two respects. It is reassuring to find that so much agreement could be registered, if, as we hope, the agreed statements are mainly true. It will support us isolated and unlearned builders of unity in the mission fields to have the Conference behind us in these numerous agreed statements.

The statements of differences mark very clearly most of the points on which agreement has still to be obtained, in order that the intellectual basis of unity may be secured.

Even with regard to corporate unity itself there was more reluctance than I had expected. On the one hand Lutheranism is so convinced that the Church is essentially invisible, that Lutherans appeared to regard the visible corporate unity of Christendom as a false ideal. 'We cannot say,' added one of their spokesmen, 'that visible unity is necessary to the Church, because we know that it is not necessary to salvation.' In conversation individual younger Lutherans showed themselves really interested in the ideal of the corporate visible unity of Christendom, but in the Conference the Lutheran Churches ranged themselves definitely against it. On the other hand, American Protestantism as a whole clings to its separate organizations, and declares that they are God's will, or at least have been so up to date. Consequently, a good half of the mission-sending Churches represented at Lausanne seemed to be in their hearts opposed to any corporate union of Christendom. Thus, in spite of the very different attitude of all the leading English and Scottish representatives and of the original leaders of the movement of whatever nation, it was no wonder that one of the Indian representatives exclaimed :

'Such a conference as this will never unite the Churches.'[1] It was a wonder that notwithstanding these deep reluctances the Spirit of God kept us together, and kept us working at our programme which had no practical interest except in relation to a future corporate unity. The Holy Spirit brought us to Lausanne, though many came doubtful, or despondent, or nervous, or determined not to give away their case in any point. The ardour of Indians, Chinese, Japanese and missionaries did not overcome those unfavourable dispositions—in some cases it increased them. But the Spirit kept us at Lausanne. We failed to do the most important thing that we could have done. We failed to register the new agreements of which our generation is capable. Yet the Spirit sent us all home convinced that He is determined that we should do more than we have ever done for the unity of the Church.

This brings me to the question: What have we got to do next? To this question I will devote the last part of this article.

Duties of the Churches To-day.—The duties of the Churches to-day are two. In the mission fields we must go ahead with unity, else we shall miss the tide. In the western lands you must seriously tackle the revision of opinions, else you will miss the blessing which our necessities are intended to bring to you—the blessing of corporate unity, which as all your social workers know would immensely strengthen the Church's efforts for righteousness in the so-called Christian lands.

On these two duties I will write a few words. For both these tasks we need: concentration on God and forgetfulness of self; the 'Great Church' mind; the truth-loving mind; the historical mind; the penitent heart; a love of each other in God. The opposite qualities which make reunion work difficult or impossible are mainly: the

[1] Of course the Conference was not summoned for that purpose, but this does not affect the truth of the remark.

tendency to interpret religion as a human (psychological) experience and to insist on the validity of every human judgment; the tendency to consider the interests of our denomination or party and the attribution of denominational motives to others; the refusal to say that we have ever believed or taught what is not true; the refusal to consider Christian history as a whole, and the insistence that only selected parts of it matter; self-complacency and self-justification; the love that will not speak the truth for fear of hurting men's feelings. To allow God to eradicate these faults of character from oneself is a terrible discipline, and wherever this article shows that discipline to be incomplete in the writer, he accepts your condemnation, reader, but he asks for your prayers.

Revision of Opinions.—What really separates the Churches of the West is the controversies of the Reformation age and the opinions that have been developed from them. I submit that we are in a position to revise those opinions, because the atmosphere has changed and we have gained certain powers of better judgment. We do not live in the atmosphere of religious wars, nor, most of us, in that of religious persecution. We have got rid of the virus of uniformity which infected all men on both sides in the Reformation era. Large sections of the Church no longer believe in attempting to compel religious conformity by civil law. The bondage of Churches to States is passing away. All these things distorted the views of the men of the Reformation period. We, through no merit of our own, are free of them. In addition to this we have a new sense of history, of world-proportions and of the value of the Gospel to the world. At the same time the growth and popularization of scientific study has familiarized people with the quest of truth for its own sake, in which the greatest investigators are most open to conviction and least inclined to insist on a view because they have hitherto adopted and taught it. Again, isolation is no longer possible for any man, Church or race. We cannot hide ourselves away

from other people's opinions and actions. The very knowledge of them modifies our own. These are our conditions and they make the revision of our opinions an inevitable and a hopeful task.

If space permitted, I should like to show how on some of the points, on which only differences were stated at Lausanne, truth and agreement in the truth are not hard to find. I hope (as some of the learned Germans suggested to me) that small committees of competent men may take up such points at leisure, and report to the Continuation Committee of one hundred persons who are charged to carry on the work of the Conference. That Committee is large and representative enough to judge of their labours. Or Churches might appoint similar committees for themselves.

That work must be a work of time. Meanwhile we are pressed to go forward in the mission fields.

Forward in the Mission Fields.—Can we go forward ahead of the revision of opinion in the western Churches ?

The indigenous Christians as a whole would say, ' Yes, because we agree enough to go forward, and because we do not wish to take up some of the questions that the western Churches think they need to settle.' These are either questions about controversies which to the indigenous Christians are futile or uninteresting, or questions to which they feel instinctively that they would not return either of the western answers but will in time find a better answer of their own.

Trying to look at the matter from the ' Great Church ' point of view, I think we can go forward, so long as we observe certain principles. We are not attempting to make a new Church. We are attempting to discover God's own one Church as He means it to be to-day. We must always keep in mind the evidence of the past and the present. We must be careful that our action does not needlessly close the door against yet wider unions. Again, truth is one as God is One. We can find that one truth so far as we need to know it, if we really want to do so and ask Him to help us.

But there may be many truths that we shall never know till we are really one body. God gives comprehensive truth to the whole Church, not to fragments of it. This is a justification for leaving such questions as we can leave to be solved after unity is gained.

These are important guiding principles. I will mention one other which is still more apt to our purpose.

God is saving men by a series of facts. If men accept and adhere to the facts, they may be permitted to make various explanatory statements about them, provided that the statements do not explain away the facts or deny their power to contribute to our salvation.

The first fact is our Lord Himself. That was the foundation of every speech made at Lausanne. Jesus Christ, recognized as Saviour of the world, is the foundation of our unity. The early Church soon found that statements about Him, which denied that He was very God come to save us in the flesh, denied His real power to save. Hence the guarding phrases of the œcumenical creeds. Hence, too, our acceptance of them as a condition of union.

The coming of Christ brought into the world another fact—His great good news. He proclaimed those good news and left His Church to proclaim them. We all agreed at Lausanne in a statement of those good news—the Gospel. It is the object of the Church to make those good news tell in the world; and we are all clearly conscious what that message is. Nothing unites men like a common object outside themselves. We have it in the duty of making known the Gospel.

The third fact is the Church. We found at Lausanne that we could state our ideal of the Church with reasonable agreement. We differed in identifying that ideal with one, some, all or none of the existing Churches. That difference need not prevent men who are determined to have one Church in the country to which they belong from attempting to realize the ideal of the Church there.

The fourth fact is the Sacraments of our Lord's institu-

tion. For centuries men have accepted the grace which on our Lord's authority they believe that God brings near to them in those Sacraments, though they have made many differing explanatory statements about them. They can still unite us as accepted facts showing God's will and power to give us grace.

The fifth fact is the ministry of the Church. For fifteen hundred years it was universally regarded as a continuous stream of men given by Christ to His Church, sent and commissioned by Him or by those whom He sent. This symbolized the continuity of the Church with the Church as Christ left it, made up of the apostles and the other disciples, the ministry in the Church, the Church guided by the ministry. There is nothing superstitious, or, in a bad sense, sacerdotal in this conception of the continuous pastoral ministry. If in making our unions we return to it, we have taken a step which keeps open the possibility of union with the most ancient Churches of East and West, when they too are ready to revise opinions and find unity in a new and clearer sense of truth. I should like to ask the Protestant Churches whether they can point to any advantage that they have gained by their separation from the historic ministry. A large part of the blame of that separation rests with the older Churches at the time of each division. If the division was necessary to gain the liberty at that moment to teach 'pure Gospel,' that implied no condemnation of the traditional system of the Church's ministry. The Free Churches seem to have come to a general understanding that the making of ministers is a matter to be arranged by each Church, which means, I think, every society of Christians having a separate organization. On that I would ask them to consider two questions; does not this notion give free licence to indefinite subdivision, and has not unparalleled subdivision actually followed the adoption of it? The backbone of the Church's unity, I submit, was and will be the historic pastoral ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, guarded by its traditional

rules of ordination. This ministry ought to be balanced by a ministry of recognized prophets and teachers who, if they are to form part of the pastoral ministry, will be ordained. (If I had space, I think I could show from history and the reason of the thing that the purpose and effect of the traditional rules of ordination were not to secure the validity or efficacy of the Sacraments but to secure the unity of the Church and the order and reverence of its ministrations.)

About the government of the Church the section on the ministry at Lausanne made an elaborate statement (in part v of its report) to the effect that the episcopal, presbyteral and congregational systems of government must find place as elements in the united Church of the future. This is exactly what our South Indian Union will accomplish in the matter of government, if it is carried out.

It is not difficult, for the episcopate is a 'college,' and —with the exception of the diocesan bishop's executive authority in ordination, licensing of clergy and confirmation —the functions of the episcopate should be performed in accordance with the common judgment of the bishops of a province or larger area. Similarly, the policy of a diocese should have the concurrence of bishop, presbyters and laity. All this is in accordance with ancient custom. True episcopacy seeks neither to deprive the clergy of authority nor parochial congregations of reasonable liberty.

I note here with pleasure that the adoption of this fifth part of the report of the section on the ministry was largely due to the advocacy of a prominent American Congregationalist, Dr William E. Barton.

The sixth fact which we accept is God's revelation about Himself and man recorded in the Bible.

This is in outline the programme of unions in the mission field which I believe could be safely followed. We need to know what the western Churches think about it. They may be able to point out important improvements.

I am aware that the question of the existing ministers

remains. The South India negotiators have proposed that those who in the uniting Churches have hitherto ministered the Word and Sacraments should continue to do so after union without further ordination, but subject to conditions as to sphere which would prevent friction. For my own part I am willing to accept the fact that God has given sacramental grace through the ministration of these ministers, and I am willing to be in the same Church as uses their ministrations, if that Church is pledged for the future to the traditional rules of ordination by bishops. If this is so, then by accepting the ministrations of these particular persons, I am giving no countenance to rules of ordination which I believe to be essentially and historically dangerous to the unity of the Church.

For my own part, I would gladly be ordained again several times, rather than that the Church should fail to be reunited or any disciple of our Lord should doubt that I have received His commission. But that method of obtaining a ministry which would be indisputably universal, fails to commend itself to many men whom I revere.

I am well aware of the dangers involved in the union movements on the mission field. We have an alarming absence of historical knowledge. The real precedents are those of the undivided Church, especially in its missionary epochs and before the fatal patronage of governments degraded the Churches which enjoyed it. The sixteenth century has little to teach young Churches. Yet most Protestant missionaries are preoccupied with that period of church history. Still we must take the responsibility and go forward. The learned and the wise in the West could help us to avoid mistakes, if they will sympathetically study our problems. But if the work is, as we believe, God's, He will, in one way or another, give us the necessary guidance.

I have made many assertions in this article which may appear over-confident or overbearing. Experience has taught me that this manner of exposition is sometimes resented as

dictatorial. In spite of this danger, I have used it again, because a real discussion is, I believe, best started by a clear and decided statement. No one will welcome corrections, refutations, better suggestions more than I.

It is borne in upon me that I have omitted one observation. I have shrunk from making it, but I dare not be answerable to God for omitting it. What we need above all is more contrition about disunion. When we all have a contrite and humble spirit, the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, will dwell with us, and will be able to give us His peace.

EDWIN JAMES BOMBAY

II. LAUSANNE AND CHINA

BY TIMOTHY TINGFANG LEW, PH.D., D.D., S.T.D.

THE Christian movement in China is carried on by some one hundred and thirty separate denominational and institutional organizations, besides the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. The problem of Christian unity has been a real one, confronting every Chinese Christian who takes Christianity seriously, whether he is ecclesiastically minded or not; it looms before him as a vital issue. The common reactions of Chinese Christians toward the divisions and denominations may be summarized somewhat as follows. To many, the differences of the denominations have never been clear; to some, to whom the differences were clearly enough presented, they have never appeared convincing; the few who have been convinced of the reasonableness of the causes for difference never appear to be concerned by them. In places where there is no other denomination than the one to whom the Chinese Christian belongs, appreciation of denominationalism is often developed by missionaries by depreciation and even denouncement of all denominations other than that

to which they belong. Such appreciation is developed at a cost of open-mindedness and Christian charity. When there is more than one denomination planted in any community, the Chinese Christian usually does not see the necessity for divisions, in spite of the pains taken to show him by the teachers of the denominations. In communities where there is more than one denomination established and they become rivals, the sense of rivalry does not usually become keen among the Chinese Christians. They may take part in it, but they do so entirely in the spirit of hired men working for their rival masters; they scarcely feel that it is of real concern to them.

In general, when denominationalism takes root among Chinese Christian communities, it serves more as a hindrance to keep the members from becoming more friendly, than as a spur to urge them on to work for their own denominations. It is largely a negative factor, a burden to progress, and lacks even the positive stimulus to denominational expansion. As a whole, Christian division is regarded as something put upon Chinese Christians by missionaries. They acquiesce in it as a part of necessary limitations, inevitable so long as the Chinese Christian Church is under the complete or partial control of missionaries.

The above do not, of course, exhaust the different reactions of Chinese Christians, but they do give a representative mosaic of denominationalism as seen through Christian Chinese eyes. One thing to be noted, however, is that since 1900 the problem of unity has become a problem of interest in the minds of those of the younger generation who are interested in the Christian movement. Twenty-two years ago, the Federation of Protestant Churches of the Province of Chiekiang even received a formal petition from a boy of fifteen to abolish denominational differences in his province. In 1922 the National Christian Conference assigned the task of presenting the message of the Church to a commission composed entirely of Chinese Christians. That message had two parts. Part I was a message to the

Church and began with a frank statement of church divisions and made a serious appeal for unity. That message was received by the entire conference without a dissenting vote. Since that time much has been written and said by Chinese Christians on the subject of church unity. I have elsewhere presented the salient points of the general attitude of Chinese Christians towards the necessity of unity, and toward the question of faith and order in the reunited Church.[1] Here I shall only discuss it from the point of view of the problems of Christian missions.

Among the many pressing questions facing the Christian missionary movement, three call for immediate attention. First, that of the future of Christian institutions—educational, medical and others—which have contributed so much to the development of the Christian Church in China. They are to-day the most convincing testimony of the value of Christianity to the upbuilding of a new Chinese nation. Even non-Christians, who are not interested in the spiritual value of such institutions, appreciate their contribution to the process of modernizing China. These institutions were built up through long years of toil and devotion. All thinking people, even some anti-Christians at heart, would like to see them preserved, improved and made permanent. The different denominations which established schools, colleges and hospitals on sectarian lines, long ago faced the difficulties involved, and the value of union was steadily made evident even to the most strongly denominationally-minded. Many of these institutions have become union institutions. Their continued existence and development is due solely to the union plans which different missions have adopted. Their future can only be assured if they are well supported and achieve a higher degree of efficiency, so high that they can stand the competition of similar institutions, established under non-Christian auspices, which

[1] ' Christian Unity and Chinese Christians ' : An Address delivered at the Cathedral of Lausanne before the World Conference on Faith and Order, *Chinese Recorder*, 1927 (Oct.).

will grow in number and strength. Only the best can survive, for only the best have the right to claim existence. Further co-ordination, consolidation and unification are immediate necessities. Any hope of conserving the values of these institutions and of assuring their future, calls for greater support, financial and otherwise, and support equal to the demand can only be possible if there is further unity between missions. A divided Church at home will always be a source of difficulty and limitation to union work in the field, however skilfully and effectively carried on. Chinese Christians who appreciate the value of the Christian education and contribution to social life through these institutions not only see the limitations, but begin to be annoyed by them. So are the missionaries who know their task. In the next few years nationalism in China will scrutinize all these Christian institutions with a critical, perhaps over-critical, eye. Only a united front, such as a united Church in the West could give, will help these institutions to weather the storm.

Secondly, the question of the future of the missionaries. That the Christian movement in China will need missionaries for years to come is evident. Notwithstanding all criticisms and demands for better qualifications, Chinese Christians who have put their own shoulder to the load realize more than ever the importance of fellowship in their work with well-qualified and truly consecrated missionaries. Missionaries, like Christian institutions, can hold their own in China and successfully promote Christian progress only if they are really good. Theirs also is a case of the survival of the fittest. A much longer period of preparation and better equipment, in addition to spiritual and other necessary requirements which are taken for granted, must be emphasized. Such an improvement can only be brought about by a radical shuffling of the index cards of the missionary personnel, a better co-ordinated and unified policy of mission boards and a stronger material support. All this can be effected satisfactorily only when the Church

has given up all denominational considerations and carries on the missionary enterprise with a united effort, putting the development of a united Christian Church in China as the chief objective.

Thirdly, the question of the future of the Christian message. We should thankfully acknowledge the Christian message as it is presented by missionaries representing different denominations. Denominationalism has helped to emphasize the many-sidedness of the Christian message, and its ability to meet the many different needs of the people. But without losing this richness, a united front is an absolute necessity in facing present-day China. The anti-Christian and communistic movements have made a strong appeal in China, partly because of the definiteness and unity of their message. Humanly speaking, the survival of the Christian message and the effectiveness of its appeal in China in the next few decades will depend largely upon unity—unity which does not sacrifice freedom. While we do not want uniformity, or enforced conformity, by any means, we cannot afford to have factors of dissension. Such differences as the present denominational system emphasizes, which separate Christians of one communion from those of another and keep them from entering into full fellowship and a complete sense of brotherhood, are hindrances to the effectiveness of the message. The Christian message of love, of reconciliation, of redemption and of sanctification cannot be adequately presented and made real to non-Christians when the inner life and fellowship of Christians themselves contains an element that does not promote the spirit of the message.

Fourthly, the question of the future of the relationship between missions and the Church in China and between the Church and the nation. Chinese nationalism springs from the passionate desire of the Chinese people for national unity. It has been made possible because there is an essential unity of the Chinese people. All nationalists in China will seek in the next few years to counteract any

forces in China that perpetuate or cause disunion, whether from individual ambition, political theory, social dogma or religious belief. A persistent argument of those who insist that there should be no alliance between religion and education is that religion has divided people instead of uniting them, and they point to political struggles, divisions and wars in western nations, due to religion, as a proof of the soundness of their argument. They also point to the denominational divisions and lack of harmony among Christians as an important argument for the anti-Christian movement. We, who believe in Christianity as a religion of love, must prove that it is a force for co-operation and harmony and unity. The relationship between the Church and missions, on one side, and the Chinese nation as a political entity, on the other, would be much simplified if there were no complication of denominational division. Such simplification is essential to proper adjustments; these will be many and difficult in days to come, when the misunderstood Church faces the sensitive political body in an atmosphere tense with nationalist emotion.

These are immediate and pressing problems for the mission-supporting constituency in the West. The relationship between missions and the struggling infant Church in China is so vital that all who are interested in missions cannot shirk the responsibility.

What do the Chinese expect, then, from the West? We expect Christians in the West to realize the importance of the evangelization of China and its effect upon the future cause of Christianity in the world. We expect their interest in Christianity to be great enough to overrule their differences and to lead them to make a special effort to come together. We expect enough men to have enough love for our Lord to show their sacrificial devotion, so that His prayer could be answered. In this age, when tolerance and co-operation have become a watchword, when Christian co-operation in many different forms of service in the mission field—not only in China but in other lands as well—has

demonstrated the possibilities of reunion, when the call of the non-Christian world is so persistent, the least the Church in the West should do would be to permit a free hand in experimentation on unity in the mission fields. Christians in China looked forward to the World Conference on Faith and Order with prayerful expectation. What did we find ?

We found the Conference of great educational value to all who were present. To those who have worked hard for the cause it was a great educational experience, a chance to test what are the available resources and what the limitations. To those also whose loyalty to their respective communions has dominated their life more than their loyalty to the Christian cause as a whole the Conference was a great educational experience ; it gave them an invaluable experience of fellowship. To those also whose enthusiasm for church unity is greater than their knowledge of church history, and whose appreciation of the value of unity is greater than their experience of the strength of human prejudices, the Conference was of great educational value ; it opened their eyes.

On the whole the Conference was a success, in the sense that it gave five hundred delegates, representing over seventy autonomous Churches from all parts of the world, an opportunity to meet each other, to enjoy three weeks of fellowship and to learn from each other. But from the point of view of anyone facing pressing issues of the Christian movement in China, it was an experience which gave pain and anxiety as well as hope and appreciation.[1]

To a Chinese Christian the whole history of western denominationalism was made concrete by the Conference. It helped him to understand, more vividly than anything else could, the difficulties western Christians are facing. He realized that it is easy to talk about church unity in the abstract, but to carry it out in practice is quite another matter. Understanding the difficulties helped him to

[1] See also ' What happened at Lausanne,' T. T. Lew. *Chronicle* (L.M.S.), 1927 (Oct.).

appreciate the courage of those who advocate church unity ; the possibility of holding such a conference at all after so many centuries of division is something to be appreciated.

Recognition of the difficulties, and appreciation, are, however, based on the painful admission that the division among the Christians of the West is real, deep-seated and not easily healed. There is hope of healing, but it will take time and, it may be, a long time. This is verified by discussions with many delegates. The leaders both of the Church of England and of the Free Churches explicitly said that ' church unity will never come in our life and generation.' It appears so easy and yet so extremely difficult, so near and yet so far. This feeling and the painful realization of the situation among Christians in the West leads to an inevitable conclusion that if we Chinese Christians cannot have church unity until western Christians have it we may not have it at all in this generation. If we do not have it, there are only three ways open to us.

First, to ask Christians in the West to allow us to go forward, to achieve unity in our own manner without putting obstacles in our way, and to recognize such unity when accomplished. That is to say, that if we Chinese Christians should come to an agreement on questions of faith and order, then we could go forward to inter-communion, open pulpits, mutual recognition of orders and the validity of all other ecclesiastical status and regulations ; and further, that missionary representatives of the various branches of the divided Church of the West, working in China, would be allowed to work with the Chinese according to the Chinese way.

The necessity of such a step seemed to present itself to many delegates. Section VII of the Conference, after lengthy discussion and careful consideration, prepared a report containing these words :

> We note with gratitude to God the effective co-operation and union prevailing in the mission fields. The purpose of all Christian missions is to carry the eternal Gospel in manifold ways to the ends of the earth.

The greatness and urgency of this task is leading to the speeding up of unification which has already set an example to the older communions and shall not be retarded by their long-standing divisions.

The report was presented to the Conference and carefully discussed, new suggestions were incorporated and all possible modifications made. When it was presented there was evidently a general sentiment to receive it. When it was presented for reception—for the word 'adoption' was avoided in all reports—to the great surprise of many and consternation of not a few, one of the delegates at the last minute resorted to parliamentary tactics to obstruct its reception. The delegate had not availed himself of the many opportunities for expressing his opinion, nor taken the trouble to send in any suggestions to the committee entrusted with the responsibility of revising the document. A strong protest against such tactics was made from the floor, the assembly responding with hearty applause.

The report was finally received but not to be sent out directly to the Churches. It was referred to the incoming Continuation Committee to deal with as it sees fit. Just how far the objection to the report on the part of that delegate, and probably half a dozen others who agreed with him, was due to the paragraph referring to the mission fields, has not been ascertained. The objection to other parts of the report may be stronger, but this much seemed clear: there are leaders in the Churches of the West who are not willing to give permission to Chinese Christians to decide the question for themselves, nor to approve their plans and recognize their results.

The second alternative is to take the matter into our own hands, to go ahead with plans and experimentation for church unity and disregard the wishes and desires of the Churches in the West. If, by the grace of God, we achieve church unity, we should not care what Christians in the West think of us or whether they recognize us or not. Such action, if adopted by Chinese Christians and those of other mission fields, will certainly not be blameworthy in present

circumstances; the responsibility lies on the Christians of the West. Such sentiments seemed to be in the air. One of the most eloquent addresses at the conference was made by the Bishop of Tinnevelly and Madura, an Anglican delegate from India. He said: 'Remember, with the urgency of the situation of the mission fields the restraint from the pillars of the Church at the home base is becoming intolerable. We must obey God rather than man.'

There are, however, two obstacles in the way of taking such a step. The first is that the Churches in the mission fields, particularly in China, are still young and in some parts even infantile. They still have to depend financially and for personal service upon the help and support of the Churches of the West. Unless these western Churches agree to give permission to the Churches in the mission fields to go forward and experiment with plans for unity and to achieve it, it would mean a break. The missionaries and the financial help would both be withheld and the work jeopardized. Therefore, unless the Chinese Christians are prepared for a break, such an alternative would be damaging to the Christian movement in China in these hard times. When the Chinese Church becomes fully independent such a break would not be so serious. Independence, however, is not going to be achieved successfully unless church unity is achieved.

But, greater than the difficulty of losing the service of missionaries and their financial support, is to my mind a second loss which we Chinese Christians do not wish to face, and that is the loss of spiritual fellowship. I, for one, believe strongly in historical continuity and world-wide fellowship. I do not wish to achieve church unity in China by creating new divisions in the Church Universal.

The third alternative is for us to wait—it may be fifty years, or it may be several centuries. We wish we could wait, but all indications are that we cannot afford to wait. All through China we are fighting for the very life of Christianity, its right to existence in the coming new social order. Divisions, disunion are fatal.

Meanwhile, two factors must be taken into consideration. In the first place, the rapidly changing conditions of ruthless propaganda, the rapid ascendancy of group and mass control, the increasing intensity of the nationalistic feeling, the onrush of anti-religious ideas from the West—these and other factors are making the demand for a vigorous, Christian message from a united Christian Church greater than ever. If we believe Christianity can save China, no time must be lost. Secondly, the various branches of the Christian Church in China are going through a period of devolution of missions and evolution of Church. In this process the subtle influence of denominationalism is at work. The age of plasticity may soon pass after organizations are effected. The Chinese are also human, they will escape no more easily than the Christians of the West the power and the clutch of ecclesiastical machinery. Loyalty to denomination will be developed unless loyalty finds expression in serving a United Church.

Divisions in the West have done damage to the Christian cause. The reason for the divisions stands eternally as a shameful mark of some Christians in the past. The actual division itself did testify to the vitality of the Christian conscience and devotion to truth, but the fact that such protests against abuses and errors of the Church did not reform the Church and keep it together, but broke it into pieces, is a ringing rebuke. Once more, let us recognize the value of denominationalism in its emphasis upon the various neglected phases of truth, and its effort to correct abuses and errors. So long as it perpetuates disunion it has, however, not achieved complete success. On its good side denominationalism in China has made some of the contributions which it has in the West, but the evils of disunion and division may become greater in China, in course of time, than in the West.

The responsibility is clear. It rests upon the Christian Churches of the West.

TIMOTHY TINGFANG LEW

P C 4

HISTORY AND THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, Ph.D.

IN all the discussion that we have had in Protestant circles concerning the indigenous Church, there has been scant reference to history. We have faced our problem as though it were entirely new, or at least as though the experience of the Church between the age of the apostles and the dawn of Protestant missions had little to teach us. Surely the centuries of missionary effort between Paul and Carey should, if carefully studied, shed some light upon our problem. While no one writer and no short article can cover adequately this immense territory, in the few pages that follow it ought to be feasible to sketch the rough outlines of the subject, to point out some of the similarities and the differences between the situations confronting previous generations of missionaries and our own, and to suggest possible lessons.

In general, the problem that confronts us to-day in each nation to which missionaries go may be said to be one of adjusting Christianity to a different cultural background and making the accommodation in such a way that the Gospel as presented shall retain its essential characteristics and vigour, become permanently an integral and transforming part of the national life, and in time win the entire people to a vital Christian faith in fellowship with the Church Universal. It is obvious that the Church has faced this task from the beginning. At four great epochs, however, it has been especially prominent, namely: when the Church won the Græco-Roman world; when the Faith was carried into northern Europe; when, with the age of discoveries and the beginning of the expansion of the peoples

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of Europe, the Faith spread into the Americas and into southern and eastern Asia; and when, following the industrial revolution, the renewed expansion of Europe and the religious awakening in Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, there dawned the present age of missions.

In the first of these periods, that of the winning of the Roman Empire, the student is immediately impressed by the rapidity with which Christianity ceased to be predominantly Jewish and was supported and propagated by Gentiles. Viewed from the outside, Christianity began as a sect of Judaism, but it quickly broke the bounds of its parent faith. The Church was between three and four centuries in winning the majority of the citizens of the empire to even a formal allegiance, but the purely Jewish churches made little if any financial contribution to the work of missions and as early as the first century were themselves the recipients of aid. After the first generation, moreover, most of the missionaries were not Jews, but Gentiles. The organization of the Church was largely the work of Gentiles, and the historic formulations of the Faith which are still accepted by the majority of Christians were framed by others than Jews. There were no great mission boards, no elaborate machinery for the collection of funds and the recruiting of missionaries and no prolonged supervision of native churches by a foreign clergy. There was, to be sure, a sharp struggle over the question of whether the Gentile Christians should conform to Jewish standards, but that was soon over, and those Christians who adhered to Jewish customs rapidly sank into the position of a small and uninfluential minority and were frowned upon by the majority of the Church as heretics. It was somewhat as though in India or China to-day the majority of Christians were to abandon many features of the Faith which have a distinctly occidental flavour—some of our denominational divisions and peculiarities, for example—and were to regard as heretics the minority who cling strictly to all which they have obtained from the missionary.

Some missionaries of the present day, looking back upon these early centuries, have viewed them as ideal, have believed that the rapid triumph of Christianity was due to the fact that it so soon became indigenous, and have asserted that if we are to have similar success we must adopt the methods of the apostles. Those who would have us return to the program of the primitive Church, however, forget that the achievements of the first missionaries were in large part due to certain favourable conditions which do not exist to-day and which we cannot hope to see duplicated.

In the first place, the proclamation of the Gospel was not associated with the impact of the culture of a conquering and aggressive nation upon that of subject races. It did not face then the type of resentment with which the missionary is often confronted to-day. Similarities, to be sure, are not lacking. By educated Greeks—as by many of the educated in Asia to-day—the Gospel was regarded as 'foolishness.' As often in the East since, the bitterest persecutions of the Church, whether by Jews or by Romans, were on the ground that it denationalized its adherents, that Christians were a third race who were undermining the very bases of existing society. However, the missionaries were usually of the same blood as those to whom they went, and, where they were not, they did not face the intense racial prejudices which are so marked a feature of our own time, nor did their nationality put them in a separate and ruling caste.

In the second place, as a rule the missionary did not have to learn a new language or to adjust himself to a different culture. Nearly all the early missionaries seem to have used Greek. Even when, like Paul, they were Jews, Greek was familiar to them from childhood and often came more naturally to their lips than did Aramaic. For decades the Church, even in Rome, was Greek-speaking, except in Palestine, and no marked linguistic difficulty was encountered when the Faith spread among those whose native tongue was Latin. Moreover, in the subtler and even more important realms of habits of thought and manners, no such gulf

separated the missionary from those to whom he went as exists between foreigners and natives to-day. He did not need to devote years to the study of alien religions, customs and history, and then only half understand the hearts of those to whom he went. Paul could be content with a standard of living like that of his converts without serious danger to health or physical efficiency.

In the third place, in every community to which they went the early missionaries found a group prepared for their message. In most cities of the Roman Empire—and it was upon the cities that the missionaries first concentrated their attention—were found Jews, representatives of the *diaspora*, and associated with these were 'devout persons,' Gentiles who, with the hunger that characterized so many of the more thoughtful in the first centuries of our era, had turned to Judaism for moral and spiritual salvation and as a possible answer to the riddle of the universe. It was to these groups that the missionary first went, and while the majority frequently rejected his message, a minority usually accepted it, and it was around them that the Church first clustered. The Church, indeed, took over the Jewish scriptures, modelled its earliest organization on that of the synagogue and, after the fall of Jerusalem, became in large part the heir to and the successor of the Dispersion. Some similar preparation has been made for the missionary of to-day, for example, in the widespread use of English, the popularity of western thought and science and dissatisfaction with the older faiths. It has not, however, been as extensive as that in the Græco-Roman world.

In the fourth place, the Church and the Faith were much less rigid in the days of the early missionaries than they are now. We have inherited the formularies and the organization of previous generations of Christians, and on them is still the impress of the geniuses who created them and of the political, social and intellectual environment of the age and country in which they arose. Early Christianity, to be sure, was also stamped with the marks of its Founder

and the religious experiences of its first propagators, but Jesus Christ left behind Him no elaborate creed and only the simplest organization. The early missionaries had great latitude in adjusting Christian expression and practices to meet particular situations.

In spite of all the advantages which the first missionaries had over those of to-day, judged by its results the process by which the Church became indigenous was by no means perfect. Organization and leadership certainly passed quickly into the hands of Gentiles, but accompanying and following the transfer was an unfortunate and dangerous decline in the quality of the Church. No one can read the writings of the post-apostolic age without becoming aware that even in the best of them the Gospel was being misunderstood. Jesus Christ had tried to set men free from legalism but Christianity was hardening into a new law. By the majority of second and third century Christians to the Sacraments were ascribed magical as well as their proper virtues; baptism, it will be recalled, was supposed to wipe away the guilt of all previous sins, and, since it could never be repeated, was often postponed as late as possible.

Given the rapid transfer of authority to those who had not the background of the first missionaries, such a decline in Christianity was inevitable. Those who before their conversion had been steeped in the beliefs and practices of the non-Christian world could not fail to bring into the Church many of their earlier conceptions. For example, what for many became the accepted pictures of heaven and hell were of Orphic and Platonic origin, and the veneration of the saints in its popular form took over not a few of the features and beliefs of an earlier polytheism. The tragedy has been that from that time to this, Christianity has borne the impress of this accommodation and that the majority of those who to-day call themselves Christians are hampered in reaching a clear understanding of Jesus Christ by the misinterpretations of the second and third centuries. The corruption that is sometimes popularly supposed to have

come in the age of Constantine had begun much earlier and was an accompaniment of the process of 'indigenization.' Witness what took place in Pontus under Gregory the Wonder-worker. This corruption may have been unavoidable and it was certainly preferable to having the Church remain a sect within the fold of Judaism, but it was regrettable.

To-day there is even more danger that in the conscious effort of missionaries and especially of native Christians to free Christianity from its occidental trappings, to make it the fulfilment and crown of the spiritual and moral development of a particular race, so to present it that it will not offend sensitive and sometimes exaggerated national consciousness and pride, the Gospel will be even more denatured. There are some who would advocate the permanent carrying over of our western ecclesiastical forms into non-occidental lands, but in quarters called progressive our present tendency is to go to the other extreme. The Gospel is revolutionary: it cannot be faithfully followed without leading its adherents to break with much of their past. Now, as in the first century, an intelligent and loyal acceptance of it makes foes of a man's own household. If all of us, native and foreign Christians, are not careful to avoid any conscious compromise of essential Christian principles, what is called Christianity may be absorbed into newly emerging national cultures without having any important permanent influence or, if it does not disappear, it may misinterpret the Gospel to future generations and stand even more seriously in need of reform than does what is to-day called Christianity. Protestantism, which is a product of the making of Christianity indigenous in the West, has often departed from Jesus Christ—and that in spite of repeated attempts to bring it back to His standards. So at least we are told by many in Asia. Is there not quite as much danger of that same development occurring in Asia and Africa? Protestantism, being more flexible than Roman Catholicism and in some of its branches more subservient to nationalism, must here be particularly on its guard.

We must always remember, moreover, that the Græco-Roman Church stood loyally by what it understood, with the aid of the best scholarship at its command, to be the actual teachings of Jesus Christ and the apostles. Gnosticism and other attempts at syncretism which did violence to this heritage it sedulously eschewed. To guard against a denatured Christianity these second and third century Christians clung tenaciously to the earliest verifiable documents of their Faith and to the organization which they believed was in continuous succession from Christ. We of to-day are grateful that they did so. With all its faults the Church is infinitely better than it could be if these early fathers had not been so painstaking to determine and abide by the apostolic doctrine.

To-day many alluring attempts at syncretism present themselves to those who would follow Jesus and at the same time be loyal to the best of their nation's past. The methods of Gandhi, of the Tao Yüan and of many others of varying degrees of winsomeness, and the widespread profession of a desire to accept Jesus Christ but to have no fellowship with the historic Church have a strangely familiar sound. We do not need to believe that outside the Church there is no salvation or that the Church is perfect to see perils in these movements.

It is, of course, much easier to recognize dangers than to formulate workable safeguards. These must be found by those actually on the spot. One may, however, venture to point out that an essential is continued intimate contact between the newer Christian communities in Asia and Africa with the older ones in Europe and America. The latter should certainly not seek to impose their will upon the former nor insist that they are nearer to Jesus Christ's ideal. Only by close fellowship, however, can excessive nationalism and compromise be prevented. Here is one reason for the continuation of the missionary for a generation or more to come. The missionary may unexpectedly be found, at the same time, to have performed this same function for the

branch of the Church that has sent him out. Here, too, is another reason for preserving an intimate continuous relationship with historic Christianity as expressed in organization, the Scriptures and the Sacraments.

In the second period of the expansion of Christianity, that during which the peoples of northern Europe were won, the process of 'indigenization' was not as rapid, nor was it ever as thorough as in the first Christian centuries. The main outlines of the formulations of the Faith and of church organization that had been developed in the Græco-Roman world were carried over and perpetuated, and not until the Protestant Reformation, four centuries after the process of nominal conversion had been completed, did any large part of Europe insist upon a re-examination and free adaptation of what had been given it. Even to-day the majority of northern European Christians—if one includes in that term all those living in Europe outside the former boundaries of the Roman Empire—hold to the creeds and to the ecclesiastical institutions which they inherited from Rome and Constantinople. Not all Protestants, even, have broken radically with the forms which Christianity acquired between the first and fifth centuries. In at least one respect, however, the Church did quickly become indigenous in northern Europe: within a generation of its introduction into a country the majority of the clergy, including the higher clergy, were natives. That, for example, was the situation in Great Britain and Ireland and in Scandinavia. Often practically all the foreign clergy had disappeared before the majority of the nation had come into the Church. In some instances, within two or three generations of the introduction of the new Faith not only were the large majority of the priests and monks natives, but missionaries were going forth to other lands. Thus Boniface, the apostle to the Germans, was born in England less than a century after the landing of Augustine.

This rapid transfer of leadership to natives can probably not be ascribed, at least not primarily, to those motives that

to-day impel to this end. To be sure, what would to-day be called nationalism affected the spread of the Gospel. Saxons, Scandinavians and Bohemians, for instance, at first objected to the new Faith on the ground that it was an agent of Carolingian imperialism. There seems to be no clear indication, however, that because of this nationalistic feeling missionaries set about deliberately on any large scale to raise up a native priesthood. The transition appears to have been due primarily to the dearth of missionaries and the necessity, if the Church was to go on at all, of having a clergy that had been recruited from the soil. Nor was the spread of the Faith due primarily to the fact that most of its agents were indigenous. Christianity was accepted partly because of the zeal of the missionaries, partly because of its inherent quality, partly because it was espoused by rulers—usually from mixed motives—and partly because it was the vehicle for a higher culture, the one civilization which most of these barbarians knew and which, as they abandoned their rude ways, they adopted.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that this native leadership did not mean the rapid conversion of Europe. The Church was fully a thousand years in winning even to nominal allegiance the peoples of northern Europe, and during these centuries the population of all Europe was not as great by half as is that of India or China to-day. Moreover, the average quality of Christian living was low, much below what would be tolerated in most Churches in mission lands to-day, and the understanding of the Gospel was meagre. The Church was at times all but feudalized and absorbed into secular society. There were splendid individual characters, but before the Protestant Reformation the large majority of the great spirits of the Catholic Church, ike Francis of Assisi and Bernard of Clairvaux, arose from within what had been the borders of the Roman Empire and not from the newly Christianized lands.

The greatest institutional factor in preventing the complete degradation of the Church and loss of distinctively

Christian characteristics at the hands of these native leaders was the Papacy. The Papal curia sometimes fell to a low moral level, but the chair of Peter was often occupied by able and high-minded men and it was the acknowledged centre of western Christendom. In the East, Constantinople provided no such effective control, and that, along with the Tatar and Turkish invasions, may in part account for the fact that there has been more vitality and propagating power in the Christianity of western than in that of eastern Europe. This must remain debatable, and the exact extent of western Europe's debt to the Papacy must also be in dispute. That there is a debt, however, and a great one, that without Rome Christianity in the West would have fallen much further below the standards of Jesus Christ and would possibly have disappeared, is indubitable.

For Protestant missions of to-day the lessons, if there be any, would seem to be as follows. First, a completely native leadership does not necessarily mean the speedy conversion of a country: the departure of the missionary may even retard the progress of the Faith. Secondly, we must not be surprised if the transfer of leadership to the native Churches is accompanied by a decline from the ethical and spiritual standards to which the missionary with greater or less success has endeavoured to hold his converts. That, for example, could scarcely be otherwise in a land like India, where the majority of Christians are from the depressed classes, or in Africa, where the Church is at best only three or four generations removed from barbarism. Europe is not really Christian after between one and two thousand years of professed Christianity. Thirdly, the Protestant Churches must find some substitute for Rome. We cannot go back to the Papacy, as our Roman Catholic friends would have us do. If we did, we should be traitors to much of what we believe to be of the essence of Jesus Christ's message. Nor is it likely that more than a small minority of the non-episcopally governed Churches will ever consent to seek the centre of fellowship in episcopacy: the earnest efforts to

bring that about give as yet scant promise of success. It seems of prime importance that if Protestant Christians are to make a permanent contribution to world-wide Christian unity, and if the rapidly increasing self-consciousness in Churches in ' mission ' lands is not to introduce fresh divisions among us and to result in the compromise by these young bodies of Christian standards, some fresh machinery must be devised. It may be objected that the true unity is of the spirit and that organization is unnecessary and sometimes harmful. It must be clearly recognized, of course, that this sense of spiritual brotherhood is primary, but it must also be as clearly seen that this has, historically, never existed apart from some kind of visible body. This unity cannot be obtained by the absorption of all Christian groups by any existing one: that is a vain dream, as the centuries have clearly shown. Nor can it be achieved by the permanent domination of the Churches in Asia and Africa by those in the Occident: the present form of organization on the ' mission field ' is clearly transitional, as the necessity for the use of these quotation marks evidences. What that new organization will be no one can foretell. May it not be, however, that in the co-operative machinery for the conduct of missions developed in the past sixty or seventy years we have the beginnings of it? Here are organizations through which more of Protestant Christendom works together than it does, or ever has done, elsewhere. They are young, they are still limited in their functions to missions, but is there not here in operation a set of institutions in which Protestant Christians from all lands are joining, which are for free fellowship, and which do not seek to supersede or to impose their will upon any existing ecclesiastical body? Unity may not come through them, and it certainly will not come through them alone, for Protestants are co-operating in many other ways, but they are the most hopeful group of agencies that we have to-day.

The third period of the expansion of Christianity began with the European age of discoveries, in the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, and extended through the eighteenth century. It was marked by the spread of the Church by emigration, chiefly to the Americas, and by the propagation of the Faith among non-European peoples. It is only with the latter phase that we are here concerned. As we all well know, practically all the work done was by Roman Catholics. In India, Japan, China, in North and South America, and here and there along the coast of Africa missionaries laboured. Some of the most heroic pages of the Church's annals were then written. As a result of these three centuries of effort, the majority of the Indians of what we now know as Latin America, a few of those in Canada, scattered groups of Chinese, most of the people of the Philippines and the bulk of the population in the Portuguese settlements in India accepted the name of Christian. Much of this Christianity was superficial and semi-pagan, but it marked an advance over the faiths that it displaced and worked important changes for good. In every country, however, it made much slower progress toward becoming indigenous than had Christianity in the other two great periods of extension. When the Græco-Roman world was being won, the Church quickly passed out of the control of the Jewish Christians in leadership, organization and formulation of doctrine. When northern Europe was accepting the Faith, the local leadership soon became native, but the doctrines and organization framed in the Græco-Roman world were in their main outlines accepted. In this third period not only were the doctrines and organization of the Roman Catholic Church taken over without fundamental changes, but the leadership also remained foreign. For years in Latin America few mestizos and fewer pure-blooded Indians were admitted to the priesthood, and although in the course of the centuries this was partly changed, the bulk of the higher clergy continued to be of pure European blood, and down to the nineteenth century a fair proportion of the bishoprics went to whites of European, as against whites of American, birth. In the Philippines, by 1898, a large proportion of the parish

priests were Filipinos, but the great Orders and the Church as a whole continued to be dominated by clergy from Spain. In China vigorous and persistent efforts were made to train up a native clergy, but until 1926 only one Chinese had been raised to the episcopate.

In all these countries the Church remained in effect European. Rome looked forward to the time when an entirely native hierarchy could be developed, and in many respects it permitted its missionaries to accommodate themselves to local customs, but it insisted upon Latin as the ecclesiastical language and declined to compromise any of what it conceived to be fundamental Christian principles. Roman Catholics believed that the Church's task could be fulfilled only by inducing all the races of the world to conform to a system which they were convinced was Christian but which was in no small part the result of adapting Christianity to the Græco-Roman world. In the countries subject to the political control of Roman Catholic Powers the methods employed succeeded in achieving outward conformity and in nourishing some real religious life. There was, however, no abounding vitality. No new great Orders or Congregations and no revivals arose. The subject peoples had passively accepted and had usually been helped by the conquerors' Faith, but they had not yet made it their own. In countries not subject to Europeans—Japan, China and the major part of India—the Church, after an initial period of prosperity, failed to make headway. From Japan it was violently ejected and in China almost continuously persecuted. These countries would have none of an *imperium in imperio*.

The Roman Catholic practice must not be too hastily condemned. In the Americas, Africa and the Philippines the pre-Christian faiths of the converts had usually been animism or crude and sometimes cruel polytheism. Even with foreign domination many of the old superstitions survived and the complete transfer of authority to the native Churches would very possibly have resulted in a still further departure from the standards of Jesus Christ. The

foreign clergy who exercised the control were often bigoted and superstitious and sometimes immoral, but without them the Church might, as in Portuguese Africa, entirely have disappeared. Three centuries are not a long time in which to work fundamental changes in the social institutions of large populations. It may well be that in insisting upon this prolonged tutelage the Church adopted what in the long run will prove to have been a wise method.

The history of the Church in Latin America and the Philippines, however, shows how easy it is to prolong year after year the control of the foreigner until the relationship becomes spiritually unhealthful both for him and for the native. The present ecclesiastical situation in Mexico is in part due to the attempt of the aboriginal population to seize quickly what the Church ought to have led in transferring to it gradually. As it is, ecclesiastical circles have been slower to yield leadership to the Mexican Indian than have the secular phases of the nation's life. The Church has been the strongest of the remaining bulwarks of the old Colonial order. The lesson to Protestants is obvious. In lands like Africa where missionaries are among a people of primitive culture and are members of the dominant race, the danger exists of making the Church a means for keeping the natives in permanent subjection, economic, social and political as well as ecclesiastical. Instead of being a conscience always protesting against oppression and exploitation, the Church may try to provide a sedative to the restless black man, and be a subservient agent of the white man's government. Against such an alliance and outcome the missionary and the boards must most earnestly guard.

Moreover, Roman Catholic experience in the Americas and the Philippines shows the danger of the accumulation of property by missions. From what at the time seemed wise missionary policy, the Church acquired great landed estates which afterward became a hindrance to the ecclesiastical, political and economic emancipation of the natives.

Protestants are to-day discovering that in the great institutions we have erected—for entirely worthy purposes—we have an obstacle as well as an aid to the complete independence of the native Churches. If we are to avoid the mistakes of the Roman Catholics we may need to be more courageous in passing over the control of our hospitals and schools to the 'nationals,' and while subsidizing them for a time, grant them increasing freedom.

The history of Roman Catholic missions in India, Japan and China shows how futile is any policy which would keep under foreign direction the Church in these lands. Peoples of primitive culture may accept with some docility the domination and the system of the foreigner, but those of ancient and high civilizations, especially when spurred, as to-day, by nationalism, will not, except for minorities, enter Churches which are under western control and will not long brook the presence of such Churches. The Church must either pass over to native leadership or disappear.

To the fourth great period of the expansion of Christianity, that which began a little over a century ago and in which we still are, we need here devote less attention than we have to the other three, for it has repeatedly been studied. Some comments, however, seem called for to make this paper complete. In this fourth period the missionary movement, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, has been closely associated with the renewed expansion of European peoples. Both great divisions of the Church have spent much energy in trying to develop native leadership, and in this each has had some degree of success. In few instances, however, have the new Churches become independent of the parent bodies, and in practically all cases they still conform in doctrine and practice to what they have received from Europe and America. The foreign missionary enterprise, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, is a kind of ecclesiastical imperialism, and the Churches founded by it are a form of the cultural invasion of the West. In a few regions, to be sure, as in Japan, leadership of some of the

Protestant groups has become entirely native, and in other countries some individual congregations are self-supporting and self-directing. In all these instances, however, the Church has adhered fairly closely in doctrine and organization to the pattern of the parent body. In a Presbyterian service in Japan, except for the difference in language, the visitor might think that he had stepped into a church of that denomination in the United States. The same would prove true in an independent Congregational Church in Japan or China. Sometimes, indeed, the native clergy cling more tenaciously to denominational differences inherited from the Occident than do the missionaries. In the Philippines the Aglipay Church, an expression of nationalism with a purely indigenous leadership, has attempted to retain Roman Catholic doctrine, practice and organization.

There have, of course, been many efforts not only to create a native leadership and to encourage self-support, but to make some adjustment to local customs and to encourage the spontaneous development of new organizations. Thus in North China those who assist in the congregational chanting in some of the Roman Catholic churches have become a kind of Chinese guild, to which admission is obtained through an apprenticeship. Many Protestant congregations, too, have conformed in part to the Chinese system of elders.

Here and there, moreover, have been truly indigenous movements, Christian in name and owing their impetus to Christian missions, but independent not only in leadership and support but in part in form and doctrine. Such are some of the many African sects in South Africa. Such, too, may be said to be the Christians in General Feng's army. But the great majority of non-occidental Christians in Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea are still in Churches of European organization and creed which are controlled by occidentals.

It is highly doubtful—as has repeatedly been said—whether the majority of the peoples of the Near East, India,

China and Japan will come into Churches of western form, even after the western clergy have removed or have taken subordinate positions. What form Christianity will take if it prevails, and whether it will prevail or disappear with the withdrawal of the missionary, are two of the most important questions before the missionary enterprise. The answers will depend in part upon the methods we adopt and in part upon the contagious vitality in our own lives of the Faith we profess. From what we are seeing to-day and have seen in other centuries, it is probable that many native Christians will for years try to keep up, with some modifications, the creeds, liturgy and polity received from the West, but, when once the missionary is withdrawn, with a general lowering of the level of Christian living. That would seem to be almost inevitable where, as in Negro Africa and among the outcastes of India, the masses of the members have had little education and are poverty-stricken. In Negro Africa the majority of the people may come into the Christian Church and great sections of the depressed classes of India may do so.

For the influential groups in most Asiatic lands, however, nationalism is to-day the dominant passion, and Christianity can be certain of wide acceptance only as it will seem to contribute to patriotic aspirations. It is as a promising means of saving the country that the *intelligentsia* of China have given it a hearing. It may be, therefore, that the Gospel will spread chiefly through non-occidental, nationalistic and what to western Christians will seem strange and only partially Christian movements—those of the Prophet in Africa, of the Gandhi cult and of a General Feng. It may be, too, that the Church will, under native leadership, become enthusiastically nationalistic and take on strange forms. If this happens we should not be disheartened. No individual, no group and no people quickly rises to the fullness of the stature of Christ. Our problem is to try to share our own experience of God in Christ with as many as possible. Most of us believe that we can do that

best by working through Christian Churches as we know them, but we should not be unwilling to maintain close and friendly contacts with bodies which draw their inspiration in part from Christ but which are not called by His name. It may be that the Kingdom will come through them as well as through some of the Churches we have so carefully nurtured. They will often be difficult to work with, but that may be as much our fault as theirs. We certainly should try to share with them, as far as they will let us, whatever has come to us from the generations of Christians that have preceded us and to make it easier for them to remain true to essential Christian ideals. We shall, too, if we are wise, encourage Christians to continue to associate in some form of confessedly Christian organization in fellowship with the Church Universal. Only thus can best be preserved and handed on the values that are distinctly Christian.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN RELATION TO NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

I. THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

By A. K. REISCHAUER, D.D.

THERE can be little doubt but that one of the most serious questions confronting the whole missionary enterprise to-day is the relationship between Christianity and the non-Christian religions. This is, of course, not exactly a new problem, for it is one which Christianity has had to face from the beginning and down through the centuries, but at certain times it becomes more insistent than at others and this is one of those times. The answer we give to this question is of the utmost importance and if we do not face the question frankly, others will answer it for us, and perhaps in ways which we shall not appreciate.

It goes, then, without saying that the article by Professor Heinrich Frick in the issue for October 1926 of this Review, in which he seeks to outline this great problem, deserves the utmost attention. It is also gratifying to know that at the forthcoming Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council this whole subject is to have a large place.

Professor Frick is right in pointing out that the traditional answer to this question has been that the relationship between Christianity and the non-Christian religions is the relationship of a 'superior' to an 'inferior,' and that the superiority was claimed not only for the heart of the Christian message but also for Christian civilization as a

whole. He is also correct in deploring the present reaction to the opposite extreme in some quarters, namely, the over-emphasis on the good in the non-Christian religions and the comparing of this with the worst in so-called Christian civilizations. If one deplores the arrogance of the older attitude, one's sense of scientific accuracy is violated by this newer attitude, which in the interest of a shallow broad-mindedness smuggles a great deal of Christian content into the non-Christian religions and at the same time tones down Christian realities to a preconceived dead level to which all religions are made to conform.

It is to be questioned, however, whether Professor Frick's approach to this great question is the correct approach and whether he does not prejudice the whole case at the outset. One can hardly hope to reach a calm and unbiased conclusion if one approaches a problem in the form of a thesis to be maintained. It makes little difference whether this thesis is the one Professor Frick seeks to maintain, namely, that the missionary should give up all superiority claims except the superiority of the heart of the Christian message, or whether it is the thesis that all advanced religions are essentially the same. To formulate the question in that way is to make a fair answer almost an impossibility. This is due to the fact that the material to investigate is so vast and still so inadequately known that one can easily make a selection by which one can prove almost any thesis.

What is absolutely essential in such a problem is the right approach, or the right attitude. This involves two important qualifications. One is a true open-mindedness and the other is an actual experience of religion 'from within religion.' One without the other is almost certain to end in a one-sided answer.

By open-mindedness we mean an attitude of mind which is ready to recognize the truth wherever it is found and under whatever names and shibboleths it is expressed. It is not that shallow-mindedness which makes a man a

sort of intellectual sieve which receives everything but holds fast to nothing, and then comes to the conclusion that all religions stand essentially for the same thing, but do not stand much for anything that is objectively true. We need an essentially scientific attitude of mind which is ready to recognize similarities even though called by different names, but which at the same time recognizes real differences where there are such differences. Nothing is more futile in such an enquiry than those sweeping generalities which drop out all that gives real colour and content to life as men actually live it from day to day.

Seeing religion 'from within religion' is seeing it sympathetically. Too many of our writers on the history and philosophy of religion study it from a detached and assumed 'superior' standpoint. Of course, we cannot become adherents of each religion as in turn we study them, but we must try to understand what these adherents really seek and find in their religion. Even though as Christians we may have positive convictions as to what the best answer to life's problems is, we must at the same time realize that others have been sincere in their quest for truth and a fuller life and that they also have found some sort of real answer. Probably there is much arrogance among Christians which must be brought low by discovering that Christianity has not an exclusive claim to all that is good and true. This need not, however, be carried to the point of forgetting what Christianity does stand for in the realm of truth, beauty and goodness.

Granted now that we approach our question with these two indispensable qualifications, how shall we proceed? In a word, the way to proceed is to get at the facts and to get at them fearlessly.

But here is the first and most stupendous difficulty. How can we possibly get at the facts? Our knowledge of the non-Christian peoples is still so pathetically inadequate and our attitude towards them in the past has been so hopelessly biased by certain *a priori* assumptions that it

is now next to impossible to see things as they really are, even though the facts are brought before us. We cannot even formulate our enquiry without prejudicing our answer. Take Professor Frick's whole approach as an example of the latter. Though he works out an elaborate form by which to compare Christianity with non-Christian religions and though the formulæ seem fair to all concerned, he nevertheless starts with certain claims for Christianity which at once make all real comparisons impossible. 'We must acknowledge,' he says, 'the general teaching of Christian history that Christianity is based on the belief in a special divine revelation through the Law and the Prophets of the Old Testament, through Christ and through the experience of the ancient Church described in the New Testament. To cut out one of these elements is to remove a characteristic trait of the revelation as a whole.' The Christian student may hold this conviction about a 'special divine revelation,' but such a claim should not be pushed to the front in our attempt to compare the heart of the Christian message with the heart of other religions. Other religions make similar claims, and if we are to make any progress in our problem we must not start out with such *a priori* claims. In the last analysis such claims must vindicate themselves by the content of the message revealed and the type of life which a religion really fosters. At least, that is the demand which the modern man would make of religion and the demand which a Christian would make of the adherents of other religions. Surely in the presence of Mohammedans, with their Koran, the Christian student will not push to the foreground any claim as to a 'special revelation' unless he expects to follow this up with the revelation itself and the Christian fruit it produces.

And this has important bearing upon another point in Professor Frick's discussion. He stresses the sharp distinction between the heart of the Christian message and the fruits of the message as expressed in general life. Of course it is true that the real seldom comes up to the ideal,

but, after all, the ideal will have to be judged by the way it really affects life. If the Christian missionary cannot show that the Christian type of life, and that means in a real sense also that vague thing we call Christian civilization, is better and superior to the non-Christian type, he will have great difficulty in convincing men to-day that the heart of his message is essentially superior. Possibly in the past where religion was thought of largely in terms of other-worldliness and as a way of escape from an incurably evil world, such a separation between the heart of the message and its fruits in practical living might have meant something, but to the modern man such a distinction means little or nothing.

And may we say in passing that the concept, 'superiority,' even when limited in its use to the heart of the Christian message, is one which the missionary had better not stress in his thinking. What is absolutely indispensable is the missionary's conviction as to the reality and adequacy of the Christian message for his own life. If the missionary finds that his hearers already have a deep experience of the things of the Spirit, he will rejoice that God has not left Himself without a witness among them, and he will share with them humbly his own experience of God through Him who came not to destroy but to fulfil. In all this he will be ever conscious of the fact that the best in his own life is something that he has received. This consciousness ought to enable him to present the heart of the Christian message in a way that will not offend even though it is presented with a positiveness that comes from deep convictions.

Therefore, whether as special students of the comparative study of religion or as commonplace missionaries, we need to get at the facts about the religious life of the non-Christian peoples, and while we must have positive convictions as to the reality and adequacy of Christianity we should not hamper our free enquiry by unnecessary assumptions as to superiority growing out of inherited beliefs as to the exclusiveness and finality of Christianity.

Let Christianity stand, then, in the midst of other religions as one among many, and let Christ stand among the founders of the world's great religions, and let us not make any preliminary claims for either which claims cannot be vindicated by what they are in themselves. Neither Christianity nor Christ will suffer by such a comparison. In fact, whether we ourselves put it this way or not, that is what is being done by the non-Christians to-day; and the striking thing is the fact that all over Asia to-day the most that men will claim for their religions is that they too have what Christianity has and that the founders of their religion and their holy men are Christ-like in character.

The next step in our study is to realize that when we put Christianity in the midst of the world's religions not all the non-Christian religions are of one and the same piece. We cannot lump them together under the convenient term 'heathenism' and talk about the heart of heathenism as over against the heart of the Christian message. In no essential sense are these religions a unity so that they can be described as essentially one. And to seek the heart of the Christian message in those elements which are wholly unique leads to fixing one's attention on things which are not always the greatest things in Christianity. Possibly what makes Christianity what it is, is not so much its absolutely unique elements as the fact that it gives greater certainty and a fuller expression of things apprehended in varying degrees in other religions, and therefore some of these other religions are in many points nearer Christianity than they are to one another. The insight into life's meaning and values which they have achieved are not wholly exclusive of each other nor is Christianity's insight wholly exclusive of theirs. In some important points they agree and in some they differ. Sometimes where they agree theoretically they differ practically because what in one case is but a faint hope is in others a positive assurance. This is due to the fact that an historic personality, or personalities, have through their concrete life given the positive

expression of what in other religions is only dimly hoped for. This is peculiarly true of Christianity with Jesus Christ at its centre. Repeatedly one finds in non-Christian religions adumbrations of the great realities in Christianity, but they are usually only adumbrations. They are ideals and hopes expressing man's upward reach towards God, but the answer which comes back to this longing of the soul is usually vague and too much like a mere echo. It somehow lacks that sense of reality and that positive assurance which comes to one in the presence of the historic Jesus Christ. How peculiarly true this is regarding the fundamental of fundamentals in all religions, namely, the reality and nature of God. Where non-Christian religions are positive as to the reality of God, the conception as to the nature of God is usually pathetically crude and hopelessly anthropomorphic. Where, on the other hand, the conception is worthy there is usually a paralysing doubt as to whether there is any reality behind man's conception of the divine. God becomes merely a projection of man himself and is little more than the personification of man's ideals.

Recognizing, then, the fact that the non-Christian religions often ask the same questions which Christianity asks, and that in answering these questions some approach the Christian answer more nearly than others, how shall we proceed with our problem of getting at the full concrete facts ?

We shall not make much progress beyond this point if we do not realize that each of the non-Christian religions is a complex affair, both in its historical evolution and in its present form. We so easily fall into the habit of fixing on a few points about a certain religion as expressing the essence of that religion and then from this determine what that religion must mean to its followers. The adherents of that particular religion usually repudiate both what we fix on as the essentials of their faith and what we conclude must be the type of life which follows from such essentials.

We Protestant Christians, brought up more or less on certain fundamentals of a Christian creed, are peculiarly prone to thinking that any given religion can be reduced to certain formulæ. We then ascribe to people the beliefs and consequent outlook on life which should naturally follow from those supposed fundamental elements of their religion. If all religious people were trained theologians and if life were a mere matter of logic this would be a safe procedure, but life is anything but logical, and what a man's real religion is cannot be determined exclusively from the things which should follow logically from the fundamental elements of his religious faith, as these were formulated by the founder of the particular religion in question. It is because we forget this simple fact that it is possible for a professor in an American theological seminary to write a book on *The World's Living Religions*, and in a chapter on Buddhism to devote all but a few pages to what Buddhism was in its beginnings in India twenty-five hundred years ago, rather than to discuss what Buddhism really is to-day as a living religion.

If we are to have a really scientific answer to the question as to what Christianity's relationship is to the non-Christian religions of to-day, we shall have to know far more than we now do, not only what these religions were hundreds and thousands of years ago, but also what they became in their historical evolution and especially what they are to-day ; and the most important of these three is the third, i.e. to know what these religions are to-day. As Christians, with our strong belief that in Christ we have the real norm for our faith and that in the New Testament we have the most authoritative record of the life which constitutes that norm, we shall be tempted to think that non-Christian religions must also be evaluated by their beginnings, and that all changes and developments must be subordinated to the essentials in those beginnings. For some religions this may be a natural approach, particularly for a ' one book ' religion like Mohammedanism, but cer-

tainly this method cannot be followed in determining what present-day Buddhism means to its adherents in a country like Japan, or what Shintō means to an enlightened Japanese patriot.

The various cults of lower religions and the lower strata in higher religions, so varied in form and yet so monotonous in real content, we need not find great difficulty in understanding, nor shall we be greatly perplexed in determining what permanent elements of value they contain. From the days of ancient Babylon to the days of modern rural Japan, the gradual transformation or disappearance of these lower cults, as they come into an atmosphere of a rising intelligence, can be followed with almost scientific precision. The relationship of such beliefs and practices to Christianity is fairly clear and we need not worry much as to the outcome, though the missionary needs to have greater sympathy for the ' simple children ' to whom these things are still vital. He must realize that it is to them a reaching out for a fuller life and therefore he must clothe his own Christian message in forms that are more tangible than has usually been the case in attempts to reach such people.

It is also comparatively easy, possibly, to evaluate a system like Confucianism and to compare its answers to life's questions with the Christian answer. The Confucian classics, handed down from generation to generation with few changes and with comparatively few variations even in their interpretation, make it possible for us to speak of ' the heart of Confucianism ' and to know fairly well what type of life it has produced and what hopes it has engendered for a better life. To determine, however, just how vital these ideals are in modern China or how these are being modified even though the old terminology may be continued—this is not a simple problem. Still, it is not impossible to work out a fairly satisfactory reply to the question as to Christianity's relationship to Confucianism.

Then, again, a religion like Mohammedanism, with its

sacred Koran quite limited in its scope and technically unalterable because 'divinely given,' may be fairly easily understood. What questions this religion has asked, how these questions were usually answered and how the formulated ideals shaped themselves in practical life—these things are plain. Even the historic evolution of Mohammedanism is not so impossible to follow, for it always had the Koran as a sort of norm to which to appeal and, may we say, from which to depart as the exigencies of practical life demanded this from time to time. The change which this religion is undergoing in its contact with the modern world is real and it will require considerable adjustment in our thinking if we would know what Mohammedanism really is to-day, but, after all, it is not an impossible task to work out a fairly satisfactory answer to the question as to the relationship between Christianity and Mohammedanism.

When we come, however, to a religion like Buddhism and try to think through for ourselves what Christianity's relationship is or should be, we are faced with an almost insuperable task. It may be fairly clear what Buddhism was in its beginnings in India. We are beginning to know a little about its historical evolution as it spread northward and then eastward across Asia, though most of this is still a closed book. When we seek to estimate what Buddhism is to-day and what its relationship is to the Christian movement throughout Asia, and particularly in Japan, we become more and more puzzled. Even if we should confine ourselves in our enquiry to the problem as to what answer Buddhism has given in the past to questions which from a Christian standpoint would seem fundamental, we should be met with a bewildering variety. If we ask what Buddhism really seeks to-day and what answers it gives to the major problems of human life in this twentieth century, we are even more perplexed.

As long as nations lived more or less unto themselves and religions were more or less localized, it was comparatively easy to determine the genius of certain cultural spheres

and the spirit of the religion which, as it were, nurtured any particular civilization. There was a real reciprocal relationship between a people's religion and its general culture, and it was therefore possible to make comparisons between various cultural spheres and the religions which were both a cause and a product of these cultural spheres. To-day we can still make comparisons between what might be called the deposits which these religions and civilizations have left in the form of literature, art and various externals of life. When we try, however, to make real scientific comparisons in our present-day world we are met with almost insuperable difficulties. So interwoven is the life of the modern world, not only in the externals of civilization brought about by a world-wide commercial relationship, but especially in the thought life and the things of the spirit, that it is next to impossible to disentangle the threads and to trace things to their real source. As we said above, the modern man will judge the heart of a religion by its fruits in practical life, but who will be able to determine even approximately the mainsprings of our modern world-wide civilization ? And since religion is not simply a cause but also, in many ways, a product of a given civilization, who will be able even to guess at the effect this world-wide civilization will have on the different historic religions as they come into more and more intimate contact with the all-embracing civilization of the modern world ? That certain religions cannot survive in their old forms goes without saying, but whether they will disappear entirely or be radically transformed, is not so clear. Particularly about a religion like Buddhism, with its peculiar genius for taking in the characteristics of its environment, it is difficult to speculate.

If it is, then, next to impossible to determine what some of these non-Christian religions really are in their present form, especially what they mean to the more intelligent sections of their adherents, represented by those who have been most influenced by the present world-wide culture, it

seems almost futile to try to compare these religions with Christianity or formulate their relationship to it. There are, however, a few things which are becoming clearer to us as we have been studying this problem.

In the first place, it seems to be an indisputable fact that the new life which seems to be stirring in the non-Christian religions to-day is due largely to the impact of Christianity and western civilization upon these religions. Though the reformers are claiming that they are obtaining their inspiration from the old non-Christian sources, it can be shown without great difficulty by any open-minded and candid investigator that this is largely a false claim. Particularly in a country like Japan is the quickening life in the old religions due to the influences that have come from the outside. And where the influences have been least felt, there the old religions are pathetically inadequate to meet the needs of the rising generation of their nominal followers.

In the second place, it seems clear that while the non-Christian religions have still many earnest followers among the ignorant masses and also some loyal adherents among the intelligent classes, the vast majority of educated people are only loosely, if at all, identified with the old religions. If one should analyse the inner life of these persons one would find that their whole outlook is almost totally different from the traditional outlook for which the old religions have stood. How could it be otherwise, seeing that they have been educated in modern schools and read modern books, both of which are largely a product of influences coming originally from the outside, however much they seem naturalized to the present generation ? In many vital ways this large class of men and women, of boys and girls, in oriental lands, and especially in a land like Japan, is far nearer our Christian outlook on life than it is to that of their Buddhist, Confucian and Shintō fathers. Just what such men and women really believe or think in matters of the spirit, it is difficult to determine with

accuracy, as is always the case when old cultures and religions are shaken by their contact with new spiritual forces. We know fairly well what their life means in external things—what they strive for in the busy hours of the day as they rush down town in crowded cars in the morning and, weary at night with the day's work, rush back in those crowded cars. It is much the same as the life of men and women in the mad rush of modern life in the West. But what about their inner life, the life of those who take time to think at all about spiritual matters ? It seems quite certain that the old labels, when applied to them, will have to mean something different from what they used to mean. In fact, we had better think of them as we should think of that large class in our western world which is striving for the enrichment of life in externals as this is made possible by modern science, but which in things of the spirit is confused and floundering—

> 'Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
> The other powerless to be born.'

We should realize that it is this large and ever-growing class which is most accessible to the Christian message to-day. If they turn to the religion of their fathers for spiritual nourishment and certainty, they are repelled by the ignorance and superstition which characterizes the vast majority of the devotees of these religions. If they seek spiritual guidance from the enlightened leaders in the old religions, they will discover sooner or later that most of the vital elements in the teachings of these leaders come really from other sources than their own, or that at best they are halting restatements of the old, made possible only because these leaders have themselves drunk deeply from the streams of life coming in from without. It is therefore doubtful whether they will find much real help from even the more enlightened leaders of the old religions.

And the third main point that is fairly clear is that it is with this intelligent class that Christianity has its greatest opportunity in the non-Christian nations. As we said,

their whole outlook on life is in many ways already the Christian outlook since they have been so strongly influenced by western civilization which is, in spite of so many things that can be said to the contrary, at least in part a fruit of Christianity. There should be no insuperable difficulty in winning them fully to the Christian way of life, and they would then in turn become the chief means of reaching those who are as yet much farther removed. But this brings us to the real crux of the whole matter.

In order that these semi-Christianized persons in non-Christian lands may be won over to the real Christian way of life, it will be necessary that we Christians become ourselves clearer and more positive as to what is essential in being a Christian, both in the things we think and in the things we do. What we need to-day more than anything else is a deeper sense of the reality and adequacy of our Christian message. We need to know what are the real fundamentals of our faith and not becloud these by our quarrels in the home lands over matters that are so largely secondary. We need to be more sure in our own souls that through Christ Jesus we have found God our Heavenly Father and that we have really experienced in Him a new and better way of life. If we are sure of this then we need not be worried as to whether we have a real message for non-Christian peoples. Few, if any of us, can know enough about the non-Christian religions to be in a position to state scientifically just how near or how far they are from the Christian way of life, or how superior the latter is to the former. The question we must answer is whether we have ourselves experienced an adequate reality in the Christian message which we are trying to bring to others through that world-wide enterprise we call the missionary movement. If we have not a real conviction on that point, then it will be of little help even if by a comparative study of the world's religions we could prove the superiority of Christianity over other religions. This might only prove the inadequacy of all religions.

Our real problem is, then, not the question of superiority nor the question as to the future of missions, but rather the question as to what is essential and real in our religion, and then the further question as to whether this essential element and this reality is adequate for life's deepest needs. The danger is not that the non-Christian religions will seriously dispute the supremacy of Christianity, since they are to-day trying to reshape themselves along Christian lines. The real danger is that so many Christian workers seem so uncertain as to just what constitutes the heart of religion. It is desirable that we know more about the non-Christian religions so that we understand more sympathetically the point of view of those whom we seek to reach, and so that we can formulate our message more effectively; but more important than this is to be certain in our own souls that we really have a message.

A. K. Reischauer

II. THE MESSAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT TO THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD

By KARL HEIM, D.Dr.

MUSSOLINI once said: 'Of the three great empires of the world—the English, which still holds wide lands but which seems to have lost its motive idea; the Russian, which has its idea and seeks to win lands for it both East and West; and the Christian, which no longer holds territory but retains its impelling idea, uniting four hundred million men scattered over the whole earth—the ship which has weathered best the storms of history is the third, the empire of the Divine Hebrew, Jesus.'[1] The question is: What is this idea which gives to the kingdom of 'the Divine Hebrew, Jesus,' which never has had and never will have

[1] *Lebensgeschichte.* Nach autobiographischen Unterlagen von Margherita G Sarfatti. Leipzig. 1926. p. 278.

territory of its own, the right to invite all mankind to enter it? Until some twenty years ago missionaries to non-Christians could say: 'We bring you a message which has given the nations of the West their success in the history of the world and their superior culture and political organization.' To-day the people of Asia and Africa have discovered that the superiority of the white race has nothing to do with the message of Christ but with technical achievements (railways, big guns, tanks), which can quite well be adopted by another race without the metaphysical assumptions of Christianity, and which can be even more effectively used by those who take a purely materialistic position.

This situation makes it necessary for us to go behind all those cultural and social effects to the ultimate cause, that is, to the message with which the apostles set out into a hostile world and for which they died as martyrs, even before any national culture and social change had sprung from it, when even slavery, that worst social abuse of ancient times, had not been banished under the influence of Jesus.

In the Acts of the Apostles there are handed down to us three addresses to non-Christians: the words which Peter spoke in the house of Cornelius (Acts x), the speech of Paul at Lystra protesting against those who would worship him as a god (Acts xiv) and the speech in the Areopagus (Acts xvii). Only the last can be counted as an actual missionary sermon, but we can use the others to complete it. In this proclamation of the message, two elements are distinguishable, which even to-day the testimony of pioneer missionaries show to be separate and distinct. The first element is not what might properly be called a message but rather instruction of the type which was Socrates' peculiar art, in which something is brought up to the conscious mind of the listeners which was already slumbering in the subconscious: 'What therefore ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you'—Him of whom your worship witnesses and of whom your poets in their highest moments of

inspiration have given fleeting glimpses. This first Socratic searching part of the sermon, then, will only be as spring rain causing to germinate a seed which is already in the earth and eager for the light. But now comes the transition from the method of eliciting what is already in the mind of the hearer to the definite proclamation of a fact. With a sudden change of front Paul goes on: 'The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked; but now he commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent: inasmuch as he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men in that he raised him from the dead.' Paul does not speak first of Jesus Himself but of the state of the world and its future, in the light of which the sending of Jesus and the part He was to play in the world drama becomes comprehensible.

Thus three facts are ranged in order, the second of which is only to be understood through the first and the third through the second: The God whom all men dimly perceive is not an unknown *x* but a 'living God'; God has ordained a judgment day at the end of the present era, in view of which all men should repent; as Judge on this day of judgment God has ordained a Man on whom the fate of all men will depend, the fact that He raised up this appointed Man from the dead and made Him live makes faith possible and thereby salvation from judgment and a new life.

It is only because we have the gospels and the letters of the apostles that we can give content to these short sentences in which the whole riches of the New Testament message is concentrated.

I

Before Paul testified of Christ he held it necessary to declare a fundamental truth which divides the biblical from the non-biblical view of the world. The ultimate reality on

which depends the fate of the world and of the individual, is not an 'unmoved mover' who leaves the world to itself after having set it in motion. Nor is it the final unity of all the contradictions of the world into which we can be mystically absorbed. Nor does it eventually fall apart as a host of impotent gods. The ultimate Reality, on which all depends, is a living God, an acting, willing, creating Personality, the Father of His creatures who seeks us in ardent love. He is no passive Great One. The history of the world is full of His deeds. We are all involved in His mighty acts.

II

From this 'livingness' of God there follows a second fact which Paul declares to his audience even before he testifies to Christ. It is the second fundamental truth upon which rests the contrast between the biblical and non-biblical conception of the world. The living God, for whom we all exist, calls us to answer for ourselves. A judgment day is coming. The world is ripening to harvest when the wheat shall be separated from the tares. Almost all non-Christian systems regard the course of the world as a process whose end is not to be seen, a kind of endless, monotonous circle. If a man cannot believe in progress the only salvation for him is flight from this world, either to another world or to Nirvana. To this whole world, which has no hope, the message is now proclaimed; this unrolling history of the world is no changeless process running on into eternity; it is progressing towards an end, a conclusion of the tale, a day of God, when all that has happened, good and evil intermingled like corn and weeds growing up together, will come to the light and be tested, sifted and weighed.

The truth revealed about the coming judgment day, when examined in the light of the New Testament, includes three fundamental facts. First, the course of the world will not go on unchanged for ever—God has a new plan for the cosmos. It will come to an end and with that to a new

birth (Matt. XIX, 28), 'the fashion of this world passeth away' (1 Cor. VII, 31), a 'new creation' is coming.

What form the new created world will bear is only vaguely indicated by Christ and the apostles. It is enough to know that the kingdom of God is coming 'with power' (Mark IX, 1). The will of God will then be perfectly done. A change is coming in all values. The meek will inherit the earth. Those who suffer here will reign there. Death and the carrying on of the race, the two fundamental laws of the present stage of life, will both come to an end (Luke XX, 34 ff.). Our whole existence, even our physical being and the forms of our life together here, will suffer a resurrection in which their meaning will be fulfilled.

Secondly, this coming change in the world gives mankind even now a spiritual unity. In spite of the multiplicity of nations and civilizations mankind has a common fate and a common history. All people will be called together before the judgment seat. In the time of the apostles this spiritual unity of mankind was but a wonderful vision; to-day it is a comprehensible reality. Every great event and thought has its repercussion in every part of the world.

But now comes the third and most important fact which is contained in the message of the judgment day. This common fate of mankind is not merely, as the non-Christian theories of salvation assume, a community of suffering and of evanescence, it is rather a community of guilt—a closer bond than that of a common suffering; we are all sinners. Wherein consists this common sin? In its deepest sense it does not consist of individual mistakes, crudenesses, wrongdoings, sexual errors. These are not the sin. They are only the effects of the sin. Paul in Romans I gives a glimpse of the abominations of the heathen cities, down to the most horrible sexual perversions. But he does not reproach their citizens for these things. His indictment is focussed on one point alone: they have abandoned the true worship of God to which they might have attained, and have confused God with His creation. Wherefore God gave

them up to their own hearts' lusts and to shameful passions. There is, therefore, only one sin of which we all are guilty. Like the Prodigal Son we have left our Father's house—the communion with God which we might have had. As soon as we lost touch with God we lost the support, leaning upon which we should have been capable of anything. We have no support left and fall into the depths. What sin we fall into when the crash comes—whether the slavery of sensual crime or capitalistic exploitation of the weak or pharisaic pride or mystical self-stupefaction—depends entirely upon the circumstances. This sinful godlessness is the sole cause of bad social conditions, reckless industrial strife, war, pursuit of pleasure by the rich, alcoholism and insanitary housing. Still further, it is the fundamental cause of the whole struggle for existence—in which men and nations live at the expense of each other—of physical suffering, sickness, transitoriness and death. Physical downfall is only the outward expression of spiritual downfall. The material condition is only the expression of the moral and spiritual condition. 'The wages of sin is death.' Since we have fallen from the relation of children to God we have exposed a flank to an enemy force of evil which could not otherwise have touched us. We have come under the domination of a satanic power—'the prince of this world'—which Jesus and the apostles saw behind mammon and behind the powers of sickness and death. These are demonic powers, whose attack we can no longer withstand since we have lost God.

III

If that is the true position of us men, then there is in essence only one single world problem, on which the solution of all questions of personal, social and national life depends. It is the question: Can there be for mankind, called before God's judgment seat burdened with the sin of godlessness, any reconciliation with God and therewith a possibility of a transformation of all relationships, or is the position hope-

less ? This question cannot be solved by a theory but only by a fact which can be imparted in the form of a message and which can be proved.

This brings us to the third part of the New Testament message to the non-Christian world. Here too it is important that the decisive fact should be so simply stated that it can be understood by the non-Christian who starts with no biblical assumptions. Paul, therefore, leaves out all those expressions of majesty which the first believers used of their Saviour. The Athenians would not have understood them. He said only one thing—a Christian witness of monumental simplicity—namely, that God has ordained a Man to pronounce judgment on all mankind. He is the Man of Fate for all.

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should come into touch with this One Man and should find the way of access to Him. Here we can see most clearly the distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament message. In non-Christian salvation-religions prophetic personalities and leaders such as Plato, Buddha or Confucius have an important place. But their importance lies merely in the fact that by their teaching and example they represented an idea. It is different with Christ. He is not only the messenger of the Gospel, He Himself is the Message. He is not merely the proclaimer of a truth, He is Himself the Truth. He is not merely the guide on the way who gives directions for the moral life, He is Himself the Way. He can say : ' Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden.' This distinguishes the message of the New Testament from all other religious systems and social programmes. The missionary preaching of the apostles rests on an assumption without which it cannot be understood in its full bearing. That is the certainty that Christ does not merely belong to the past, He is a present reality with whom we can be in touch. Socrates lives only in the sayings which he left behind ; Napoleon's power vanished with his death. There is only one exception in the long line of historical

personalities who seem at first to tower to the skies, but, if seen from a higher level, vanish leaving only a dazzling memory behind. There is One who can say: 'I am with you alway.' He died for us in order that we, whether we sleep or wake, may live together with Him (1 Thess. v, 10).

If Christ is in the midst of us as an inspiring and impelling spiritual power, witness to Him is given a peculiar character different from the portrayal of other historical persons. The ultimate aim of the Christian message is not to give information about Christ's teaching or His moral principles, but to bring men into touch with Christ Himself, to lead them to an inexhaustible spring. If we regard the New Testament with its manifold types of teaching from the point of view of missions to non-Christians, we find that it is just that which creates difficulties for theologians —i.e. the striking contrast between the Synoptic, Johannine and Pauline types of teaching—which gives the New Testament its peculiar missionary power. It stands in the midst of the spiritual life of mankind like a great cathedral with many doors, standing open on different sides. Each will lead the seeker into the holy of holies. These different doors correspond with the spiritual attitude and cultural background of the men who will be invited to come to Christ. I select only the main points in the New Testament message of Christ.

The peoples and nations who still live in an untouched and positive system of life, who therefore have not yet passed through the great revolution in thought which gave rise to the salvation-religions of the East, will first be attracted by the picture of Jesus which is found in the synoptic gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles. When Peter stood in the house of the centurion Cornelius before primitive pagans he spoke of how God had anointed Jesus of Nazareth 'with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him . . . whom also they slew, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised up the third day.'

Missionaries who have worked long in Africa say that even to-day this picture of a Saviour will move the primitive man to the depths. The deepest emotion of the primitive man, which rules his whole life, is the fear of demons and evil spirits which dog his steps with sickness and other evils and make him dependent on the witch doctor. To him even to-day comes Christ as the One who breaks the power of demons, who goes about doing good and healing those who are vexed with devils. Primitive men, in a much more elementary sense than civilized men, experience Christ as the One who, as a living Presence, frees their souls from the fear of invisible spirits and powers of darkness and heals their bodies. Miracles of healing are found chiefly among primitive peoples. They feel what relief, what breaking of tension and freedom for body and soul follow when Christ comes and says, 'Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.' If Satan is overcome and the demons are conquered then even now begins the kingdom after which all men long, in which God alone rules and all are brothers, the kingdom of love which transforms all social relations.

But this synoptic picture of a Saviour is only one door through which mankind can come into touch with the living Christ. It is at the same time the chief door of the cathedral through which masses of the people stream in. Nevertheless there is also another door which leads from the other side to the holy of holies. It is of the greatest importance for our message to the non-Christian world that even in the New Testament a bridge is thrown across between the Christian witness and the philosophy of life of those men and nations who, as Tolstoi said, are no longer intoxicated by life, who have experienced that change of mood which casts them down to the position where the whole material world is only transitory. It is a deception; it cannot satisfy the thirst of the soul; true life is apart from it. The Gospel of St John takes up the dualistic philosophy of life which Plato and Philo expounded and fills this vessel with

the riches of the message of Christ. The Hindu, whose gospel is the Bhagavadgita, the strict Brahman, the Buddhist, the theosophist responds to the Gospel of St John as to chords which waken echoes in his own being. The door to Christ is opened for the Hindu when it is proved to him that Jesus is come as the messenger from the world of light to this world of darkness. He stands in a permanent timeless relation to God. He it is who is in the heavens (John III, 13); He is for ever in the bosom of the Father (John I, 18). All His deeds and wonders are only representations of this secret of His being; He stills our longing for mastery over transitoriness and for a share in the divine life; He is the Living Bread in contrast to the food of the world which does not appease our hunger; He is the Living Water, whereas the springs of this world only make us thirst again. As soon as we have found contact with Him we have entered into an endless circle which leads from God through Christ to men and from men back to God. God is Love, He loved the world when He sent His Son. Thus we are brought back to the love of mankind. He who loves God loves also his brother. Thus the circling flow of power springs up. There streams forth the Spirit which God gives without measure (John III, 34) through the Son to the people and which returns again as thankful love to the Father. Thus the Johannine message of Christ in its mighty monotony of repetition opens the door for the peoples of the East who long for release from the complexity of the world, to a present relationship to Christ which is the beginning of the coming consummation.

But there is a third door, a third entrance, which leads even more directly than the others to the holy place. That is the message of Christ through St Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christ is the end of the law. He is the eternal High Priest. He has offered Himself as the perfect sacrifice and reconciled us to God. As the Risen and Living One He sits at the right hand of God and pleads our cause.

We may think at first that this kernel of the Pauline

Gospel, the so-called *centrum Paulinum*, is only approachable through the Judaic religion of law. It cannot be meant as a message for non-Christians, for they lack the premises. But the experience of missions shows us that particularly for the most earnest seekers after God in the non-Christian world—such as are found, for example, in the Buddhist monasteries of China and Japan—for those men who with the greatest moral effort have travelled the eastern way of salvation, the Pauline message is the door through which they can come to Christ.

Kokichi Kurosaki, the Japanese, is a particularly good example of this.[1] He was brought up in the strictest teaching of Confucianism and then with the deepest earnestness sought rest in the ascetic practices of meditation of northern Buddhism. But at last the thought came to him, through the influence of a simple Christian, that all these practices, these good works which he had done, were themselves a great sin so long as he was far from God. The thought tormented him that the feeling of God's love in which his happiness consisted might like all spiritual emotions be merely transitory. The ecstasy might weaken and eventually come no more. He might waken as from a beautiful dream to bare reality. In this condition the word of St Paul came to him like a ray of light: 'But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested' (Rom. III, 21). 'For by grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, that no man should glory' (Eph. II, 8–9). 'I understood,' he writes, 'that salvation from sin does not lie in us nor proceed from us. It rests alone on the act which took place at Golgotha, an act outside ourselves. Jesus is indeed the Son of God, the Messiah who, sinless, died for us on the cross and crucified our sins with Him. . . . That was my conversion and in comparison with it all my earlier experiences were only small events

[1] *Die Bekehrung eines Gottlosen: ein Bekenntnis von Kokichi Kurosaki.* Furche Verlag. M. 0.40. 1924.

in my dark soul and something quite different from a turning to God' (pp. 25 ff.). The message of Paul the Pharisee, of justification apart from the work of the law, but only by faith in the all-sufficing work of Christ, is therefore to-day still the last and deepest expression for what we have to bring to a longing world.

Peace of conscience and freedom from past sin cannot be found through anything which lies in ourselves, neither experience nor feeling nor effort of the will, but only through that which, outside of us, took place for us at Golgotha where the Everlasting High Priest completed a sacrifice which will be accepted.

If we survey this wealth of the New Testament message, we find ourselves before a complexity which is yet a great unity. This universal message of the New Testament lies beyond the point on which present-day Christendom is divided. It is the message of something in the future, for the change in the world comes first. And yet it is the message of a present reality, since the Man ordained to be the judge of the earth stands as a Living Person in our midst and from Him there goes out even now healing and renewing power for all the world. The New Testament message is individual; Christ calls the individual to follow Him. The Shepherd calls His sheep by name (John x, 3). Only the individual can experience reconciliation of the conscience. And yet the New Testament message is, on the other hand, a social gospel, for Christ recognizes no sacrifice or discipleship which does not go out in active help and love to one's fellow-men, in feeding the hungry, in clothing the naked, in sheltering the outcaste and caring for the sick (Matt. xxv, 34 ff.). All ritual observances are worthless in His eyes if we are not reconciled with our brother (Matt. v, 23 ff.). So the message which binds the conscience of the individual to Christ must revolutionize all forms of society and also drive men out to unremitting service of the world.

KARL HEIM

III. KESHUB CHUNDER SEN: HIS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY

By MANILAL C. PAREKH

WHEN Keshub Chunder Sen passed away in 1884, the *Indian Daily News*, an English paper of Calcutta, wrote among other things these words :

> Keshub Chunder Sen's work is not likely to be fully appreciated in this century ; but when we shall look back after a generation or two for the causes of great movements in thought and religion—movements affecting probably the Indian Christianity of that day in a degree only less than they affect its Hinduism—it will probably be that no figure will occupy so large a place as that of the man who has just gone home to his rest.

At this distance of nearly half a century these words are being literally fulfilled to-day. Since Keshub's time significant changes have taken place in both Hinduism and Christianity in India, but perhaps the most remarkable of all these is what may be called, for want of a better term, the understanding that is taking place between these two religions. This has been sometimes called a harmony or synthesis of these religions. It is more a movement of mind and spirit than a definite system of thought and theology, for which the time is not yet, and as such it assumes various forms, some of which are inevitably crude. On the Hindu side it has manifested itself in a readiness, now fairly general, to include Jesus Christ in the Hindu pantheon, a form which is primary and the crudest of all.

Another form is seen in a willingness to regard Him as one of the very few greatest teachers of the world, though without any special obligation on one's part to follow Him. This attitude has always existed but it has become more common since the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi have been before the people of this land. A living interest has been created in the personality of Jesus in the minds of

many, but it is doubtful if it reaches a point which may be called spiritual.

A third form is to be seen among a select few ever since the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who accept the moral supremacy and authority of Jesus. The best of these forms is to be seen in fewer still who acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord and Master, Saviour and God. It must be said here that all these people who have been looking at Jesus in these various ways keep intact, though in varying degrees of course, their love and loyalty for much of Hinduism and Hindu culture, and will have little to do with organized forms of Christianity of any kind. While welcoming Jesus with all the ardour of their souls, they are extremely suspicious of all forms of proselytism, and if this movement of mind among the Hindus is not far more powerful to-day, it is because of the proselytizing work of the missions. By some this has been called the Hindu Christian Movement, and Dr Stanley Jones gives a sort of moving picture thereof in his book, *The Christ of the Indian Road.*

There is a movement corresponding to this among Christians which may with equal justice be called the Christian Hindu Movement. This too has taken various forms. There is now a readiness, almost universal among both the Churches and missions, to accept the view that there is a great deal of good in Hinduism and that they cannot be indifferent to it. One of the outstanding men who have led the thought in this direction in our times is Dr Farquhar. Another school of thought which is growing in volume day by day feels strongly that Hinduism is the Old Testament of the religion of Christ in Hindustan. This school has had so eminent a champion as the late Narayan Vaman Tilak, the great Christian poet of Maharashtra. There are a few chosen spirits among Indian Christians, and even among missionaries, who have held with the late Bishop Westcott, the great commentator of St John, that the spirit of Hinduism has a great deal to contribute yet to the interpretation of the inner meaning of the religion of Christ Jesus.

Both these movements, the Hindu Christian Movement and the Christian Hindu Movement, are united at their best in Keshub Chunder Sen as in no other man, and in him their union has taken the form of a Church, the Hindu Church of Christ, the only possible Church of Christ in Hindustan. What he called the New Dispensation was nothing less than the Christo-centric harmony of religions in general, and of Hindu ism and Christianity in particular. In a significant note that he once wrote we read the following, which may help us to understand what he stood for in relation to the Hindu Christian Movement :

> Hinduism is a vast and mighty absorbent. Though extremely jealous as to its own purity and dignity, and intensely anxious to keep off impure admixtures, it is at the same time remarkably tolerant of heresies. The touch of the Musalman, the shadow of the Yavana, it regards as an abomination. Yet the orthodox Hindu offers homage to the *pir* and tries to conciliate him. Buddha, an arch-heretic, the great, perhaps the greatest enemy of the Vedas and the Brahmins, can by no stretch of argument be proved friendly to Hinduism. Nay, the ultimate fate of his system, its expulsion from India, remains on the pages of history as an abiding proof of the Hindu's sworn enmity to Buddhism. Yet has Buddha been honoured with an exalted seat in the Hindu pantheon, being co-ordinated with the gods as the ninth incarnation of the Vishnu. Already Christ too has been similarly honoured as a prophet and a saint, if not as an incarnation. The time is coming, and does not seem far off, when Christ will be treated as an incarnation and adored as such like other *avatars* of Hinduism. This is no ideal conjecture, no delusive prophecy. Tolerant and eclectic Hinduism will do unto Christ what it has done unto other saints, and will absorb the leader of Christianity as it has absorbed the founders of other systems of religion. It is destined to do so, and in the fullness of time it shall be done. While lower Hinduism will thus make all prophets into gods and goddesses, its higher and purer spirit will pass through the New Dispensation into the life of Christ, making true Hinduism and true Christianity one thing in God.

This ' higher and purer spirit ' of Hinduism is indefinable, and it will take ages more for ' true Hinduism and true Christianity ' to be ' one thing in God.' But the process has already begun through Keshub Chunder Sen and it is bound to develop more and more. What Keshub speaks of as higher Hinduism is more a spiritual culture or a mystic

temper than a definite body of dogmas, and as such there need not be any necessary antagonism between it and the spirit of Christ. If Platonism has rendered in the past and is still rendering in our own time great services to Christianity, much greater service would be rendered by that spirit which produced books like the Upanishads, the Bhagwad-Gita and the Bhagwat, to mention only a few among many, and which gave birth to men like Buddha and Mahavir, Shankara and Ramanuja, Kabir and Nanak, Chaitanya and Tukaram and a hundred others, when it is affiliated to the Spirit of Christ. Rather, this would bring in a new age not only for Hindustan but for the whole world, fulfilling thus the prophecy uttered by the late Bishop Westcott that it is the Hindu race which, when possessed by the Spirit of Christ, will give to the world the true interpretation of the Gospel of St John, which is known as ' the spiritual gospel.' In view of this it is indeed pitiable to see those who, knowing but little of Hinduism, try to analyse it and then proceed to pass judgment, either condemning it outright or granting in a grudging and patronizing manner that it will contribute a minor element or two to the future growth of Christianity.

Mr Holland in his recent excellent book, *The Indian Outlook*, has called the Hindus ' a philosopher nation,' and has further said that ' from start to finish her philosophy is religious—the quest for God.' To the present writer the Hindu nation, in spite of all its many and serious defects, stands in closer spiritual affinity to Christ than any other, and it is in the realm of mystic and spiritual consciousness, where alone the Spirit of Christ can abide and work, that its contribution will be perhaps the largest and most permanent.

Some time back, an English writer divided the history of Christianity into three periods which he called the Petrine, the Pauline and the Johannine. To him the period of the supremacy of the Roman Church over Christendom was the first ; from the time of Luther till our own times, the

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second; and the period upon which we are now entering and which is going to remain for ever, the third. If there be some truth in this, naturally the race which has so much affinity with St John will render an immense service to the age upon which we are entering. However this may be, there is not the least doubt that the Hindu Church of Christ has a great mission before it to fulfil, especially in the realm of the spiritual consciousness, and the relation to Christ and to pure and true Christianity of Keshub Chunder Sen, the founder, is deep and abiding. As a matter of fact, so far no other man has rendered in this direction even a fraction of his services, and whoever wishes to travel far along this road will have to follow him. In this connexion what Max Müller, who had known him for years, said about him soon after his death is worth quoting:

> Of late Keshub Chunder Sen's devotion to Christ seemed excessive to many of his friends in India and Europe. If he had lived in the first century he would have been the most loving disciple of the Founder of our religion; living in the nineteenth, though, he was more truly a Christian than hundreds or thousands who call themselves Christians, yet he would not join our ranks, but set himself the higher task of 'Christianizing Christianity.' . . . But as long as there is a religion in India, whatever its name may be, the name of Keshub Chunder Sen will be gratefully remembered as one who lived and died for the glory of God, for the welfare of mankind and for the truth so far as he could see it.

If the affiliation of the mystic consciousness of the Hindu race to the Spirit of Christ through the establishment of the Hindu Church of Christ were the only work that he did, his contribution to the world as a religious teacher and an apostle of Christ would be unique. But there is more: from his early life he set himself the task of uniting not only India and England but the East and the West in Christ Jesus, and therein he showed himself one of the greatest and truest statesmen of modern or of any times. The key to much of his life's work is found in his first famous lecture, 'Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia,' a lecture which he gave while but a youth of twenty-eight, in which he says:

In Christ we see not only the exaltedness of humanity, but also the grandeur of which Asiatic nature is susceptible. To us Asiatics, therefore, Christ is doubly interesting, and his religion is entitled to our peculiar regard as an altogether Oriental affair. The more this fact is pondered over, the less I hope will be the antipathy and hatred of European Christians against Oriental nationalities, and the greater the interest of the Asiatics in the teachings of Christ. And thus in Christ, Europe and Asia, the East and the West, may learn to find harmony and unity.

This early faith of his was greatly confirmed by his visit to England in 1870. On the eve of his leaving that country he wrote to a friend there :

The East and the West will unite ; such is God's will. The signs of the times greatly encourage me, and my visit to this country has already convinced me that it is possible to make the world our home, and to love all as brothers and sisters. God's spirit is working everywhere. Blessed is he who sees the work and realizes the Divine Spirit.

In connexion with this, what Pratap Chunder Moozomdar says in his biography of Keshub Chunder Sen is also worth quoting :

The most original impression which Keshub produced amongst the most thoughtful in England was the possible formation of an Asiatic Christianity. The spirituality, imaginativeness, faith, enthusiasm and asceticism of the East could never be bound within the cold creeds and catechisms of Europe. When they witnessed the profusion of this warm Asiatic impulse in Keshub's utterances and character, found him to be the leader of a young, growing, abounding Church, found besides the genuineness and depth of his attachment to the Messianic ideal of Jesus, they felt, more perhaps than they cared to express, that the future of the world's religion lay in the East and not in the West.

In his last public address, significantly styled 'Asia's Message to Europe,' Keshub speaks as an oriental apostle of Christ to Europe, and some of his most important words are these :

Christian Europe, Asia will have no other atonement with thee except in Christ. Any secular reconciliation or political treaty she would altogether repudiate. We Asiatics invite the nations of the West to a spiritual alliance and an international federation upon no other ground than that of Christ's atonement. In His name let us forgive and forget the hostilities of centuries, and in His name shake hands with each other

with true brotherly love. Let Christian Europe give to heathen Asia all that she has of Christ, and Christian Asia shall give to heathen Europe what has been vouchsafed to her by Christ.

Thus practically all his life, as is amply evident from his writings and other work extended over a period of nearly twenty years (he died at the age of forty-four), he tried to bring about and cement the fellowship between England and India, Europe and Asia, in Christ Jesus. He took that to be the mission of his life. In view of all that has been happening in the East, during the last decade especially, Keshub's words in this his last message seem to be more true of our times than even of his own. The Euro-Asian problem is the largest of all our international and inter-racial problems, and the truest and the only remedy that has been ever offered is that given by Keshub. This is nothing less than an Asiatic Christianity organized into the Oriental Catholic Church, one of the chief tasks of which would be that of peace-maker between Asia and Europe This could only be undertaken by a Church that is absolutely free and independent in spirit and which wields the double-edged sword of the Spirit, convicting its own fellow-Asiatics of sin and error and at the same time convicting its fellow-believers of Europe of sin and all that may be wrong with them, especially in their treatment of Asiatics and other non-white peoples. To the kingdom of God, true and free co-operation between the East and the West is essential, and this should be one of the foremost tasks of all missions and Churches in Asia. Moreover, it is essential for the doing of this work that all the Churches in the various countries of Asia should abandon the sectarian divisions which now characterize them. This also means a thorough-going reform of the present Churches which are even now too largely dependent on European civilization and culture. It is only when these things have taken place that there can be real evangelization of Asiatic nations and peoples. Strange and hard as it may seem to many, it is absolutely true that even a real beginning in the evangelization of

this continent of Asia has not yet been made and it cannot be made so long as these stumbling-blocks of European imperialism and industrialism and capitalism and white-racialism remain. (The present writer has read with profound thankfulness to God the agreement between the Indian and South African Governments.) The removal of these stumbling-blocks has to be an essential factor in the establishment of the kingdom of God, and it has to be done in the spirit of John the Baptist whose work was to make ready the way of the Lord and to level the paths for Him, filling up every valley and laying low every hill and mountain. Keshub Chunder Sen was the first to begin this work in modern times on an inter-continental scale and we have yet a long way to go. As yet there are not many who have understood the full significance of this fellowship and co-operation between the East and the West and the preliminary conditions necessary for it. The one person who on the European side has grasped the problem fully and has been doing what he can for its solution is Mr C. F. Andrews. The result has been that he has done more than many missions and Churches to make the name of Christ loved and honoured throughout the land, and that this friend of the poor, the distressed and the oppressed is one of the best servants of Christ that India has known.

In view of all this, Keshub Chunder Sen stands before us as the one man who has done more than any other to establish the Hindu Church of Christ, the only Church possible in Hindustan from the national and cultural point of view, and thereby has brought into the kingdom of Christ all the spiritual riches of the great Hindu race to the lasting enrichment of humanity. This in itself is a great service to both Hinduism and Christianity, one of the greatest that has been rendered in our own times. But this is only a part of a larger service, namely, the establishment of the Oriental Catholic Church, the only possible Church of the future in Asia, which will be a living bond between Europe and Asia and which shall thus establish true fellowship and

co-operation between them. This work will come to completion through the ages, but the foundation has been laid, and already the best minds in both the East and the West are moving in that direction.

Keshub could do what he did because he was a prophet of God in the true sense of the term. One has only to read his speeches and writings to be convinced of this. Moreover, innumerable people of all races and stages of culture who saw him in person have given their testimony to his making on their minds a most remarkable impression as a man of God, an impression which has remained with several for years and even decades as one of the deepest things in their life. I myself was born after Keshub passed away, and at a distance of nearly fifteen hundred miles and among an altogether different people, but a few of his English writings united me to Keshub and through him to Christ for ever. I have known other cases of the same kind, and some of the best men whom I have known have been those who lived and worked with Keshub. He has done more to lead India towards God than any other man. Indeed, there have been but few men of his type in modern times, not only in India but in all the world. The late Dr Cheyne rightly said in his book, *Reconciliation of Races and Religions*:

> The greatest religious teachers and reformers who have appeared in recent times are (if I am not much mistaken) Baha'Ullah the Persian, and Keshub Chunder Sen the Indian.

While the former tried to reconcile races and religions in himself, it is the great merit of Keshub that he tried to reconcile them in Christ Jesus. As Dr Howells, Principal of the Serampore College, once said: 'He has led the entire Christian world to look more to the Spirit than it has been doing.' With regard to his New Dispensation, he says in his lecture, 'That Marvellous Mystery, the Trinity':

> This Church of the New Dispensation which you see in India is altogether an institution of the Holy Spirit. Its morality is the command of the Spirit, its prayer is a direct address to the Spirit, its heaven is a

tranquil abiding in the Spirit, its wisdom is the inspiration of the Spirit, its Church is brotherhood in the Spirit, its apostles are the ordained of the Spirit. Verily, verily, ours is the Church of the Holy Ghost, and the Comforter acknowledges it as His own.

Thus Keshub's figure is altogether one of the most remarkable in modern times and he should be known better than he is by all those who are interested in hastening the advent of the kingdom of God among the nations and peoples of the world.

MANILAL C. PAREKH

IV. INDIA AND CHRIST

BY THE RIGHT REV. V. S. AZARIAH, D.D., BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

RECENT missionary literature bears abundant testimony to the fact that India is wistfully turning her eyes towards Jesus Christ. This is far truer to-day than it was fifty years ago when Keshub Chunder Sen organized his Samaj, of which Mr Manilal Parekh writes so appreciatively on this and preceding pages. Many educated men are to-day willing to regard Jesus Christ as 'one of the very few greatest teachers of the world,' to 'accept the moral supremacy and authority of Jesus' and even to acknowledge Him as 'Lord and Master, Saviour and God.'

In spite, however, of this enthusiastic admiration for Christ, such men, as Mr Parekh truly remarks, still 'keep intact . . . their love and loyalty for much of Hinduism . . . and will have little to do with organized forms of Christianity of any kind.'

This is frankly put, and it is time that missionaries and Churches gave this fact more recognition than they have done in the past. Such a recognition will compel us to study our own position afresh and to formulate in unequivocal language the Gospel we have to present to India at this interesting period of her history.

The governor of a well-known Arya Samaj college in North India was asked whether the staff taught Hinduism in the college as part of the regular curriculum of studies. 'No,' came the emphatic reply, 'we do not; Hinduism is a life: we live it, we cannot teach it.' This is profoundly true. Hinduism has never set forth a body of doctrines which every follower of that religion should more or less accept; it presents a scheme of life. A Hindu may believe in anything and everything, or nothing; he will still be a Hindu if only he does not transgress the social restrictions of that particular caste in which he was born, to which he belongs through life, and in which he must die. In this limited sense, caste is Hinduism and Hinduism is caste. In other words, Hinduism represents a scheme of life; it is a bundle of practices and observances that have caste as their centre and circumference. A man may or may not visit a temple, perform any worship, have any part in the sacrifices to the gods or gifts to the Brahmans. If only he adheres to the scheme of life demanded by his caste, Hinduism will own him as its own. The moment, however, he openly eats or drinks with an outcaste, the moment he marries outside the bounds of his caste and sub-caste, the moment he outwardly joins a religious system which is the negation of caste, and where fellowship in eating and drinking with all castes constitutes religious observance, that moment he loses his status as a Hindu. The strength of Hinduism lies in this tyrannous code of life out of which there is for the Hindu no way of escape. What Keshub said is indisputably true: Hinduism is remarkably tolerant of heresies; the touch of the Musalman and the shadow of the Yavana is an abomination, and yet the orthodox Hindu has no scruples in offering homage to a *pir* or in receiving Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. Hinduism is certainly 'a vast and mighty absorbent': as long as its social system is not disturbed it will patronize and absorb all rivals.

But what is Christianity? It is often said that Christianity is Christ. That is true; but it is also a way of life.

'The Way' was the name given to it in the days of the apostles. Christianity is not a doctrine about God; it is not hero-worship of Jesus, it is a scheme of life in a society; it is an organism, a family, a fellowship, a brotherhood —whose centre, radius and circumference is Christ. In fellowship with all others who are attached to the Lord, bound together by outward rules and rites and throbbing with one inward pulse and purpose, men and women of all ages, races, tongues, colours and nationalities have accepted this scheme of life, and separated from all others are more and more experiencing in this fellowship the impetus and power issuing from the Spirit who is its indweller and life-giver.

If, then, Hinduism and Christianity do both stand for schemes of life in society, it is evident that the conflict of the future in India lies just at this point; and it will be a sad betrayal of sacred trust if, because of the superhuman obstacle that caste places before the Church, it should be less insistent in its demands on a man's whole-hearted loyalty to the scheme of life outlined by our Lord Himself. Let the Church in India be quite clear as to what these two schemes stand for, and consider whether any compromise is possible. The Hindu way of life stands for caste and exclusiveness; the Christian way of life for catholicity and inclusiveness. In it there can be neither Jew nor Greek, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, neither barbarian nor Scythian, neither bondman nor freeman, neither male nor female; all are one man in Christ Jesus. The Hindu way of life culminates in personal mystic union with God; the Christian way, in unselfish service for man. 'He saved others, himself he cannot save.' Here is irreconcilable conflict.

It is said by my countrymen in India (many of whom are thoughtful and earnest seekers after truth) that the Church is not good enough for them to join; that they will find no inspiration from those who are already in it; that the Indian genius favours no organization; that baptism and holy communion are an evolution of the apostolic age and

do not belong to the original deposit of truth left by the Master; that Christendom is so divided that there is no unanimity in the doctrine or practice of the Sacraments and that therefore they are justified in remaining outside organized Churches and continuing to be 'secret believers' and 'Christians at heart.'

I confess with shame that much of what is implied by such criticisms is true; but I ask myself whether that fact justifies me in diluting the demands of Christ to suit the social demands of caste? No, a thousand times No! These arguments cannot constitute any excuse to organize a new Church, a 'Hindu Church of Christ,' an 'Oriental Catholic Church,' through which what Mr Parekh calls this 'Christ race' of India is to contribute its spiritual treasures to the religion of Christ. For the Church is not an association that individuals can or may organize for their own convenience. It is the Body of Christ, a new creation which came into being by His own creative act, when on that first Easter day He breathed His Spirit into that small band in the upper room and commissioned them to carry forward the work which He Himself had inaugurated in His own body. Those in that upper room constituted the original Church, and none of them received water baptism in the name of Jesus.

To this new creation, to this Church the apostles added others, from the day of Pentecost onwards, always through the waters of baptism. At baptism men separated themselves from their old scheme of life—social, moral and religious—and entered a new way of life in a new fellowship. In the language of St Paul, at this washing of regeneration, they were saved through the renewing of the Holy Ghost; they put off the old man; they put on Christ; they became members of the one Body of Christ, children of God and partakers of the inheritance of the saints in Christ. This new life was nurtured, strengthened and made available for the service of the Kingdom through many grace-conveying means provided in the Church: a common faith which

believers were exhorted to hold fast; a common discipline which they were enjoined to enforce; a common task—that of carrying the Gospel to the whole world—which they accepted; a common worship, through prayers, thanksgivings and spiritual songs, in which they all joined; and last, but by no means least, a common participation of Christ, by act, symbol and faith, in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. All this is as true to-day as it was in the days of the apostles.

The Church which provides all this is, alas! unlike that of the early days not visibly one. But whether it is visibly one or divided, the Church is still the fellowship which represents Christ and is manifestly the object of Christ's love; and in spite of errors, follies, sins, divisions and apparent feebleness, it is still—thanks to His eternal love—undoubtedly the one instrument of His Spirit's special operation in the world; and wherever His Gospel has won its triumphs it is through the activities—diverse and varied—that have issued from this Church, which is the Body of Christ.

The signs of the times, then, are a call to the Church to be clear and unequivocal in presenting the Gospel of Christ. Let us revise our vocabulary in the light of the New Testament. No one then was called 'a believer' who was not baptized into the name of Jesus. 'What shall we do to be saved?' The very first answer given by the Spirit-filled apostle on the day of Pentecost was this: 'Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. . . . Save yourselves from this crooked generation.' What a parody then to call anyone 'a secret believer'! What a presumption to call any association a Church that is not in fellowship with the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church of which Jesus Christ Himself is the foundation and corner stone!

The Church in India is to-day feeble, inefficient and divided, because hundreds and hundreds of men and women who might bring into it strength, efficiency and unity are

unwilling to transfer their allegiance from the one way of life to another and to pay the price of whole-hearted discipleship to the Master. Let the Church take note of this and not shirk presenting to India the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The message of Lausanne is so clear and to the point that I make no apology for quoting it here in full:

> God who has given us the Gospel for the salvation of the world has appointed His Church to witness by life and word to its redeeming power. The Church of the Living God is constituted by His own will, not by the will or consent or beliefs of men whether as individuals or as societies, though He uses the will of men as His instrument. Of this Church Jesus Christ is Head, the Holy Spirit its continuing life.
>
> The Church as the communion of believers in Christ Jesus is, according to the New Testament, the people of the New Covenant; the Body of Christ; and the Temple of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone.
>
> The Church is God's chosen instrument by which Christ, through the Holy Spirit, reconciles men to God through faith, bringing their wills into subjection to His sovereignty, sanctifying them through the means of grace, and uniting them in love and service to be His witnesses and fellow-workers in the extension of His rule on earth until His Kingdom come in glory.
>
> As there is but one Christ, and one life in Him, and one Holy Spirit who guides into all truth, so there is and can be but one Church, holy, catholic and apostolic.

May this message be proclaimed from the house-tops all over India. Educated India needs it.

V. S. Dornakal

V. THE TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST

By D. TAGAWA, M.P.

WHAT did Jesus Christ teach His disciples? This is a question which challenges my thinking. As I am not a Bible specialist, doubtless much escapes my attention, but the following words come to my mind: 'He spake a parable unto those which were bidden, when he marked how

they chose out the chief seats; saying unto them, When thou art bidden of any man to a marriage feast, sit not down in the chief seat' (Luke xiv, 7–8). East and West, among men ancient and modern, desire for the chief places stands out as a weakness of human nature. Jesus strongly condemns this: 'Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be among you: but whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant' (Matt. xx, 25–7).

In this teaching of Christ I discover the basic power which will save and change the traditional faiths of the East. St Paul's statement (Phil. ii, 3), urging the Christians of his and of every age humbly to consider each other the better man is an interpretation of Christ's meaning in Luke xiv, 7–8. Somewhere along the path of their deepening Christian experience true believers in Christ will put aside their arrogance and become men of humble hearts. Only the humble-hearted can qualify as disciples of Jesus Christ.

In the light of these teachings and thoughts, the question as to whether Christianity is superior or inferior, higher or lower, greater or smaller, richer or poorer, above or below other religions—all question of worldly differentiation and classification disappears. When the young ruler addressed Christ as 'Good Master,' He replied, 'Why callest thou me good? None is good, save one, even God' (Luke xviii, 18). Christ saw the whole human race in sin and lacking in nobility before God. In a world where no one is really good why argue about comparative goodness and badness, about superiority and inferiority?

Some show anxiety and impatience over the fact that the evangelization of Africa and the Orient is not going forward more rapidly. Personally, I do not feel that Christian evangelism is of such a character as to make rapid advance possible. The present situation in Europe and North America is ample proof of this. The nations of Europe and

North America are not even yet Christianized. To call them Christian nations is a misnomer, for they are not so in fact. The number of Christians indicates this; nowhere does it equal the population. Moreover, in their national morality these nations fall far short of what we have a right to expect of Christian nations.

Thus, even though the number of Christians be in the majority, in their moral life these so-called Christian nations fall below the mark. If this be true in the nations where Christianity has been propagated so many centuries, it is not strange that in Japan, where it has a history of only sixty years, it has made no greater advance. The fact that Christianity has not advanced more in Japan is not because it should have done so, but because of insufficient time. I therefore ask our friends of the Mother Churches in the West to possess their souls in patience and not be discouraged.

Apart from this, attention must be given to the attitude of missionaries in the lands to which they go. They have my sincerest sympathy in the inconveniences and deficiencies which their life here entails as compared with the standards which prevail in their own countries. I am grateful to them for the sacrifices which they make. Nevertheless, their standard of living is far above that of the people among whom they work. Christ in His work of evangelism gave us a pattern: 'No wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff; for the labourer is worthy of his food. And into whatsoever city or village ye shall enter, search out who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go forth' (Matt. x, 10–11). This is the true way. In these words and example we have a timely caution and a policy which will succeed. But is this the policy in vogue to-day? By no means. When the missionaries come to these eastern lands they do not seek out the worthy people, live with them, live as they live and dig themselves deep down into the life of the people; first of all they go and build a fine foreign house and thus draw a line of demarcation between themselves and those to whom they have come. Moreover, their relations

are not closely with the people. Their salaries, yes, even their food supplies come from their homelands. Thus, their closest relations are with a foreign land, and their manner of life is foreign to and of a higher standard than that of the people around them. This is in such opposition to the teaching of Christ that it cannot be overlooked. I cannot but feel that the aim of both those who are sent to foreign fields and those who send them fails to harmonize with the teachings of Christ.

Those who do not live as the people of a country live can never know the psychology of that people. Failure to know the psychology of a people makes it impossible to get next to them and really understand their soul. Failure to reach the soul of a people makes evangelization impossible.

It may be said that it is not possible for those accustomed to the high living standards of the West to endure the low standards of foreign lands. The missionaries in Japan who are accustomed to higher standards have my fullest sympathy. Yet, as long as they are not one with the people in their manner of life but live apart as foreigners, the reach and influence of their work must suffer.

In this connexion the fact that God, through Christ, took human form and not only lived as a man among men, but lived as they lived is full of meaning. Christ came and lived among us, lived a life of hardship, thinking it neither shameful nor painful to pour out His life to the uttermost. Adopting the life implied in Christ's words, 'the foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head,' missionaries ought to live as do the people to whom they go. If this were done world evangelism would go on apace. As long as this is not done it is unreasonable to regret the tardy pace of world evangelization. This is a matter which I believe our foreign friends ought to take under careful consideration.

Having said all this, let me add that I am convinced that Christianity has many outstanding strong features. As a Japanese, I lay emphasis on four of these features.

1. Its teaching that God is Spirit. This truth, while self-evident, was not clear until Jesus came. 'God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth' (John IV, 24). Not only did the Samaritan woman of old hear these words—though she failed to take in their meaning—but they come bringing enlightenment to many Japanese as well.

2. Its revelation of the love of God through the cross. Christ's life of self-renunciation and self-denial came to a grand climax in the sufferings of the cross. This sacrificial manifestation of the heart of God is the highest revelation, the highest sacrifice, the highest morality and the highest love known to men. It is a fact that stands above every other fact and a teaching that excels every other teaching.

Christ's life is a revelation of the Fatherhood of God. This is a tremendous fact. A Japanese proverb declares that 'the wayward child is the dearest to the parent heart.' In Christ's sacrifice on the cross we are taught and shown the supreme love of the Father-God in its mightiest and richest and highest form. Moreover, Christ's life of absolute, sacrificial and self-denying love is unique and without a parallel in history. I believe that the power and influence of this example is in a class by itself and matchless. Humanity must receive this enlightening truth and fact at its full face value and meaning.

3. Its stressing of a life of service. 'Whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant.' This I consider one of Christianity's outstanding points of power. I have no recollection of ever finding such teaching in any of the religions of the East. It is not impossible that among our many religions some such teaching as this may be found, but it is not one of the well-known, everyday teachings of these systems. I believe that this teaching is the lever which is going to move the world.

4. Its great gift of freedom. Freedom seems easily understood but in fact it is hard to grasp. The Japanese

people have eagerly sought for freedom but still lack it. In the Occident there may be those who have made it their own, but it appears as though multitudes still are without freedom. Why? 'If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free' (John VIII, 31–2). Freedom is spiritual in its essence. As we worship God as Spirit so we must seek for freedom in the realm of the spiritual. St Paul sought for it in a spiritual sense. Thus he exclaims that when Christ sets us free we are free indeed. Freedom is only found through God's truth. To seek for it elsewhere is to miss it.

These four I consider the most important truths which Christianity has taught the Japanese people. Without Christianity they would not have been available to us. In making these known, the missionaries have given us truth of outstanding importance and value.

Yet I cannot believe that because Christianity was not the religion of our forefathers they have all perished. I recognize that there is an unbreakable unity between the Old and the New Testaments; the Bible is one book. Men had existed for thousands of years before Christ came; to them Christ's teachings were not available but they had God's teaching. Among them there were those who did not believe but there were undoubtedly those who did. In like manner our Japanese ancestors lacked the teaching of Christ but they had God's teaching. The people of all nations are sons of God. God impartially loves and has mercy on all alike. Doubtless there were those who were unsaved, but I believe there were those who were saved. Without going into the question of the situation since Christ's teachings have been made available, it is impossible for me to believe that all the ages and peoples who had no opportunity to hear Christ have perished. Even they were sons of God.

In closing I want to refer again to the question of superiority and request that this issue be not raised. Not because

Christianity is not superior to other religions but because not to think of this, nor speak of it, nor show it, is to be true to the fundamental spirit of our faith.

But, I am asked, where is your master motive for propagating the Christian faith if you fail to stress its superiority ? My reply is brief. Christ has commanded us to go forth and make His teaching known. His injunction is, ' Follow me.' To obey and go forth is the Christian's whole duty. This is enough. He says, ' Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you : and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world ' (Matt. xxviii, 19–20). Here is Christ's unchangeable command, and the question is not one of superiority but of loyalty to Christ and His commands.

I believe that it is this command that has thrust missionaries into the heart of Africa where deadly diseases rage and venomous serpents and wild animals abound. It has impelled them to isolate themselves and without regret to pour out their lives in lonely places in the Orient. The motive power has been Christ's command, not the apologetic argument or the comparative status of Christianity as a superior religion. Here is something so precious that it cannot be expressed in words.

' The woman saith unto him, I know that Messiah cometh (which is called Christ) : when he is come, he will declare unto us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he ' (John iv, 25–6). This statement is clear cut. Yet although Christ proclaimed Himself as Messiah He allowed no place for pride or pose. This is an outstanding proof of His divinity. This is possible for Christ alone. The fact that before God all men are immature, sinners and without power, and that there is no place for pride over the little wisdom and strength which one possesses, is a central truth in Christian teaching.

D. Tagawa

INDUSTRIALISM AND INDIAN LIFE

By Sir ATUL C. CHATTERJEE, K.C.I.E.

THE proposition that the East is unchanging is constantly repeated but is none the less untrue. Students of history are aware how throughout Asia there have been changes from century to century in the religions, arts, occupations and mental outlook of the peoples inhabiting that continent. The nations themselves have undergone many variations and assimilations. It is difficult to trace among the present residents of the Hindu-Kush region any survival of the old Græco-Bactrians. Similarly, it is impossible to identify the migrants from India among the peoples of Indo-China. The changes in our own time should be patent to the most casual observer. In less than sixty years the social and economic polity of Japan has assumed an entirely new aspect. A complete transformation has occurred in Turkey in the last few years. The Afghanistan of King Amanullah is very different from the country that was ruled by Amir Abdur Rahman. The sub-continent of China is passing through the travail of a new birth.

In India the changes have been more gradual and consequently less obvious. They began with the consolidation of British rule over a hundred years ago, but the characteristic genius of the British race has prevented sudden breaks with the past. Moreover, the country contained within itself ethnic groups in different strata of civilization, and time was required for the attainment of the solidarity which is the distinctive feature of modern nations. But the India of to-day would be nearly as unrecognizable to the Abbé Dubois as it would be to Bernier or Marco Polo if they could return to the scene of their travels.

It is the purpose of this article to direct attention to one

particular aspect of the many profound changes through which India is passing at present, in common with Japan and other progressive Asiatic countries. Until fifty years ago there were no power industries of any magnitude or significance in India. Even agriculture was organized on the system of small holdings, and the numerical proportion of landless labourers was practically negligible. During the last half-century an increase in the population and other economic factors have created a considerable class of landless labourers who serve the tenant farmers for money or grain wages. Large-scale agriculture in the form of tea, coffee and rubber plantations has come into being and gives employment to workers who live on the estates and depend mainly on the money wages earned by them. Large groups of labourers, men and women, are frequently brought together from distant villages and hamlets for the execution of great schemes of public works, such as railways, canals, irrigation barrages or even a city like New Delhi. They often spend years away from their homes before the work is finished and the labour force is disbanded. The railways and other transport organizations have collected in towns and cities a large population of workpeople who would otherwise have lived in the villages. Finally, mills, factories and mines in different parts of the country are employing a daily growing number of workers for the production of minerals or manufactured goods. Most of these labourers are drawn from areas hundreds of miles away from the scene of their present occupation. The consequence of all this is the gradual evolution of a new social organization.

The civilization of India has hitherto been rooted in the village and in caste. In theory the Muslim does not acknowledge caste, but in practice, in rural parts, the differences between Shaikh and Sayyid, Pathan and Julaha, have been as marked as the divisions between separate castes among Hindus. The caste and the village organizations are complementary to one another. An individual owes certain duties to the village and other duties to his caste. He

enjoys corresponding privileges conferred by the two organisms. These privileges and obligations, added to those of the family, comprise the social code. It is perhaps a dull life, with only occasional patches of colour in the form of festivals, pilgrimages or an agrarian dispute followed by a lawsuit. But the Indian villager has well-defined social and ethical standards. He has few temptations to depart from these standards. He seldom does so; when he does, he is soon brought to heel.

But these social and ethical standards were set up in days when the stress and strain of modern life were unknown. They have in many respects outgrown their purpose and there has been serious danger of decay and degeneration. They have not helped to lessen the chronic poverty of the villager or to raise the low level of his existence. Ignorance, narrowness and superstition cramp his mental faculties, while an unscientific diet, unhygienic customs, disease and epidemics sap his health and physical stamina. He practises agriculture according to primitive methods and with antiquated implements. He does not even know how to obtain the best return for the surplus produce of his fields. He needed an impetus from outside to waken and revive him, and this impetus is now being provided by the growth of organized industries and large-scale agriculture.

For not only is this novel development absorbing a substantial part of the surplus labour which would otherwise disturb and still further depress rural economy, but this movement is sharpening the intelligence and widening the horizon of the villager. For several decades the new-style agricultural estates and the mines and factories have depended entirely upon workers who came from the villages and went back to their old homes after a few months or a few years. This was inevitable in view of the traditional attachment of the Indian to his own birthplace and his loyalty to his caste and village organizations. Housing and health conditions in the new factory townships are not attractive; continuous

labour in underground mines is repugnant to the man who has lived all his life in companionship with sun and rain; the tea gardens are mostly situated in regions dissimilar to those from which their labour force is drawn. But the worker who returns home to labour again on his own fields or those of his neighbour is different from the man or woman who has never left his village and has been always under the observant eyes of the caste council. The man or woman who has lived in the new environment away from village and caste people unconsciously acquires a freedom of thought and action which remains even after the return to rural surroundings. Strange and unfamiliar ideas are imported into the countryside. The leaven works slowly but surely and the old order is changing.

Is this influence for good or for evil? It is not yet possible to give an answer. From the economic point of view the results so far have been beneficial. It has been indicated that the outlet provided by the urban industries and large-scale agriculture has eased the ruinous congestion in many rural areas. The returned emigrant provokes intellectual curiosity and is often instrumental in popularizing new agricultural methods and practice. Socially, he is a disintegrating factor. He is helping to break down caste and many evil customs embedded in caste. But is he contributing to the building of a new, saner, healthier, wider civilization with high civic and ethical ideals to replace the old outworn village and caste organizations?

The answer will depend upon the life and conditions that will eventually prevail in these new industrial surroundings. The growth of industries is inevitable in India. In no period of her history has India been entirely isolated from world forces, and it is futile to expect that she can be so isolated in the twentieth century. The need of the world for manufactured goods is steadily increasing. With the enormous resources of India in the form of raw materials and human workers it is impossible that appropriate industries should not grow and develop in the country. This

need not, and one hopes will not, prejudice the continued existence and indeed the development of agriculture which is India's main industry. It has been mentioned that till now the labour for Indian industries has come mainly from agriculture and returns again to agriculture. There are indications that gradually a distinct industrial population is being evolved. But for many decades yet industries and large-scale agriculture will continue to employ a considerable proportion of workers who will return to the villages and influence village life and ideals for good or evil.

It is thus of supreme importance that the influence exercised by his environment on the industrial worker of India should be of a nature which will promote his moral and ethical as well as his physical well-being. The future of entire India is largely dependent on these circumstances. How is this great end to be secured? In the view of the present writer the responsibility does not rest merely on the State and employers. It is true that a great deal can be and must be done by the State and employers. A great deal has to be done by the workers themselves. But there is also plenty of work for the general public and for all well-wishers of India and the Indian people.

The Indian Government and the Indian Parliament have not neglected their share of the responsibility. Stimulated by the inspiring work of the Labour branch of the League of Nations, with which they have been throughout in the closest association, the Indian Government and the Indian Parliament have during the last seven years completely recast and modernized the laws regulating labour. Maximum hours have been prescribed for workers in factories as well as mines. Weekly holidays have been provided. The interests of children, adolescents and women have been safeguarded. Regulations have been made for health and safety inside the mines and factories. Compensation is enforced for death or injury from accidents. Legal freedom has been secured for associations which will enable workers

to organize for purposes of their own economic and civic advancement. Other measures are in contemplation.

The activities of employers for the benefit of their workpeople are necessarily determined by economic considerations. Many large employers in India realize that in the long run a healthy and efficient labour force is an economic asset of inestimable value. They have within the means at their command endeavoured to secure good conditions inside the factories and have in some instances provided fairly decent housing accommodation outside. Many, however, are unable to see beyond the immediate present and are content to do the minimum that is required by law or is sufficient for attracting the labourer.

The workers themselves are at present unable to demand or to secure what is needed in their best interests. They come from dissimilar environments and have no familiarity with the requirements of an urban life. They are ignorant and in most cases illiterate. They belong to different parts of the country, speak different languages and profess different religions. The difficulties of combination for betterment are immense, though their very ignorance often makes them suspicious of the employer and ready to unite temporarily for purposes of protest.

Consequently there is ample scope for improvement in the condition of the workers, especially in matters in which the State cannot directly intervene. If we examine only the physical needs of the working population, it will be found that with some notable exceptions the housing arrangements are deplorable in many centres of industry. The accommodation available is generally insufficient, often expensive, and in addition insanitary and destructive of all the finer elements of family life. The present situation has arisen from the fact that the workers are helpless against the landlords to whom development of industry in their areas has brought an unearned and undeserved increment. The responsibility does not rest on the employer, for in most cases he is unable to acquire the land for building houses

except at prohibitive prices. Efforts have been made in some industrial areas, particularly in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta, to attack the problem through Municipal Corporations and Improvement Trusts, but the solution has been partial owing to financial obstacles. Public opinion in India has not yet realized the seriousness of the danger threatened to entire districts in the midst of which these congested and insanitary townships are growing without plan or forethought. In the interests of the whole country and not merely those of the industrial workers the problem needs to be investigated on national lines, with due consideration of future requirements. Factory workers suffer many other disabilities. There is as yet only a rudimentary beginning of co-operation for the purchase of food, clothing and other necessaries of life. In only a few localities are found facilities for healthy recreation such as gymnasiums, playgrounds and swimming baths. In most places medical relief is poor in quality and limited in extent.

The mental and ethical needs of the workers also deserve attention. Compulsory education laws have been enacted in most provinces in India, but as yet finance is lacking for their application to the poorer areas where mostly the industrial workers congregate. Consequently, although children below the age of twelve are by law ineligible for factory labour, schools are not always available for their education. Social workers have in some places started evening classes and institutes for adult and adolescent workpeople. The remarkable results achieved by them emphasize the need that exists everywhere. Libraries and public lectures on subjects of civic or educational value have been organized in a few centres but need to be multiplied manifold. The cinemas established as commercial ventures exhibit films that only depress the morale of the spectator. At present most of the leisure and an appreciable portion of the workers' wages are spent in the liquor shops. In spite of the most commendable efforts of a growing number of altruistic individuals and societies, a vast amount of work needs to

be done towards enabling the worker to make a proper and healthy use of his leisure hours.

The worker who has left his village and his caste associates loses for the time being the social discipline that has hitherto regulated his life. Nothing effective has yet been offered or found in replacement of this discipline. It must be said to the credit of Indian industrial workers that so far the results have not been as disastrous as might have been expected. But this is due to the fact that till now the worker has not forgotten the discipline of his village and knows that he will have to go back to it. But as time passes, the effects of the present conditions in the industrial areas will be cumulative. The danger will make itself apparent as soon as considerable bodies of workers make their homes permanently in the new cities and towns and when their children grow up in this environment. Migration to and fro will still continue and the infection of the industrial areas will soon contaminate the countryside. Modern industrialism will have destroyed the old moral standards without replacing them by a new, healthy and vigorous growth.

With thought and endeavour we should be able to avert this calamity. What is more, we have a splendid opportunity in the instinct of the Indian labourer to revisit his ancestral home. It should be possible so to develop ethical and corporate life in the industrial areas that their example will infuse into the whole country new ideals and aspirations of individual and civic progress. We have the advantage in India that the test has come to us later than in western countries. We can learn much from the trials and tribulations through which the West has passed in the last hundred years. One fundamental lesson is that nothing is gained by an easy acquiescence in the play of mere economic forces. Moral effort on the part of individuals and organizations was needed in the West. It is equally essential in the East. A second lesson is that the people concerned must themselves create their new life. It cannot be imposed from outside. But in India they are ignorant and inex-

perienced. They need education and guidance, and these have to be provided by the missionary endeavour of their wealthier and better educated fellow-countrymen.

Fortunately there are many signs that educated Indians are beginning to realize their responsibilities and opportunities in the matter. Reference has been made to the work started in this vast and promising field. Renunciation of worldly advancement and devotion to pious works are familiar traits in the Indian character. With realization of the changing needs of the hour, this piety is being directed into new channels of public service. It can be confidently asserted that these activities will attract a growing number of earnest, selfless and enthusiastic Indians. But they will be without firsthand experience and must make many mistakes. Also, the field is extensive and needs the co-operation of all interested in the welfare of India. Is it too much to hope that in this vital matter the West will come to the aid of the East? In a sense the West has a special responsibility. Modern industrialism has travelled from the West to the East. But the West is interested even from a narrow, selfish point of view. We have reached a stage in the history of the world when the culture and ideals of every nation are influenced for better or for worse by the progress or decay of civilization elsewhere. The truth of this in the sphere of the State has been recognized by the establishment of a League of Nations. As has been indicated, the noble work of the International Labour Organization has been a source of inspiration to the Indian Government. We now want men and women from the West to inspire and co-operate with the pioneers in India and guide them with faith, knowledge and experience.

We feel that there will be a response to this call, and it is the conviction of the present writer that the response will be the readiest from the followers of the religion which, rising in the East, has humanized the West. It will be noble work worthy of the disciples of the Master.

ATUL C. CHATTERJEE

MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE BANTU IN SOUTH AFRICA

By J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

SOUTH AFRICA is passing through a critical period in its history when racial relationships are being severely strained by legislative and other events. Upon the issue of these years depends the future of the Christian Church among the Bantu people in Southern Africa, and the work of Christian missions is being sorely tried. This article is written to draw attention to the gravity of the situation.

Christian missions have existed in South Africa since 1735 when the Moravian, George Schmidt, came here as a missionary to the Hottentots. The Dutch settlers had even earlier recognized the spiritual needs of their Hottentot and slave attendants. As a separate race the Hottentots have practically disappeared, being merged in the present Coloured (i.e. mixed) people, who number 550,000 and are found mostly in the Cape Province. Religious work among the Coloured is becoming increasingly independent of European financial help, if not also of administrative control.

The missionary efforts of European societies are mostly concerned with the Bantu people, the length of whose contact with Christianity varies from tribe to tribe. Among some tribes missionary work has a history of over one hundred years; among others the Gospel has scarcely been heard at all. At the census of 1921 it was estimated that of the 4,700,000 Bantu 1,605,000 or 34·2 per cent were Christian. Of the estimated number (850,000) of Bantu children of school age, 216,000, or about 25 per cent, are in school. Except for seventy government schools, the missions—with the aid of government grants—provide the whole of the schools which number nearly three thousand.

The most noteworthy effect of missionary effort among the Bantu has been the creation of a hunger for education. The Bantu father will sacrifice a great deal to maintain his children in the mission school or training institution. While the primary education of the white child is free—and in the Transvaal secondary education is also free—the Native child is not so fortunate, and there is little likelihood of free Native education, since there are over four hundred schools which have been refused government aid owing to lack of available funds, and hundreds more where the need is clamant cannot be established.

The missions are faced with a problem here. The Native poll tax (i.e. £1 10s. in the reserves and £1 elsewhere), is already heavy in proportion to the Native's capacity to pay, and any increase would prove a grievous burden. This tax is estimated to yield £1,150,000, and one-fifth of this amount (£230,000) is earmarked for education. To this latter amount must be added £340,000, the total of state contributions towards Native education prior to the passing of the Consolidated Native Taxation Act in 1926. This has now been stabilized as a permanent grant. The gross sum available for Native education is therefore £570,000, and the whole sum is already required to meet existing needs. How are the remaining seventy-five per cent of Bantu children to be brought into the schools which are now full to overflowing ?

In addition, the missions endeavour to satisfy the hunger for education by the provision of night schools in the towns, where youths and grown men wrestle with ' readers ' and other aids to knowledge and self-advancement.

The Christian mode of life, particularly where it is accompanied by any measure of education, brings with it newer needs, social and economic. One often hears missionaries and others bewail the eagerness of the Native to acquire European clothes, regretting the passing of the simple skin covering. While it is true that the cast-off clothing of Europeans is often unhygienic wear for the

Bantu, yet it provides a definite means of passage into the neat, self-respecting dress of the more progressive. The psychological effect of securing modern clothes is a civilizing influence.

Another growing need is for housing. The intelligent and progressive Bantu yearns for his own home, not the single-roomed hut, but a square house of two or three rooms filled with modern furniture. In the towns he will go into debt in order to buy a house, and unfortunately he too often falls into the hands of unscrupulous money-lenders who pounce upon the property if the monthly instalment falls into arrears. The house-hunger is real, and is a strong incentive to continuous labour.

With increased civilization there comes a greater readiness to trust medical science rather than the old tribal medical superstitions. Perhaps the most urgent need in Africa to-day is the development of medical services. Two years ago in Johannesburg a new non-European hospital was built, but the authorities were not too sure of the extent to which it would be used. Yet, in the first year, twenty thousand cases passed through its doors and the actual need for accommodation to-day is three times as great as the existing facilities. Within the past few months dispensaries have been opened in Johannesburg and the surrounding towns by the English Church, the American Board Mission and the Congregational Church, and already their resources are overtaxed.

Organized recreation—bioscopes, dances, concerts, open-air games — are becoming increasingly popular and, on the whole, are to be welcomed, for they occupy the minds of the young people for the most part with other thoughts than the loud and obscene talk of the uncivilized and the un-Christian.

Even for the untutored Native the old tribal life no longer satisfies his needs. He too goes out to work, for he finds he cannot live on the now overcrowded lands of his tribe. And once outside he learns to want at least the toys he sees

in the towns—musical instruments, tin boxes, gaudy caps. The Bantu is sociable and the town gives him ample opportunity for gossip and fun, but these cannot be had without money. Besides, he has taxes to pay. In addition to the government tax of £1 10s. per annum, he may have local charges—a dipping tax or a chief's levy to pay for tribal purchase of land; and the chief's own establishment and the *lobola* cattle (bride price) cost money nowadays. For the Christian Native school fees, clothes for the children, church dues, furniture, books and other civilizing agencies must also be paid for in cash, which cannot be had by subsistence farming.

And so the pressure of social and economic needs is driving both the civilized and uncivilized Native into the towns for cash wages. Half the able-bodied men in a great Native area like the Transkei are always out in the big towns like Johannesburg, working to supplement the meagre income of the reserve.

It would be a mistake to think of the Native population as divided between the reserves and the mines and big towns. Three-sevenths of it is to be found on the farms of Europeans as regular servants, as tenants (in the Cape Province), or as squatters. Since the passing of the Land Act in 1913, Natives have been prohibited from buying or leasing land from Europeans, except with the special permission of the Governor-General-in-Council. The additional land which the Act intended to have set aside, which Natives only could purchase, has never been secured, and the present Prime Minister has despaired of securing it, for his Bill only enables Natives to buy land in open competition with Europeans in certain areas 'released' for the purpose.

The Act of 1913 was found to be *ultra vires* in the Cape (thanks to the safeguards of the franchise provisions of the Act of the Union), but in the other Provinces it resulted in migration of large numbers of Native agriculturists to the towns.

There are nearly two million Natives on European

farms, with no real status and without adequate religious and other civilizing agencies. They are entirely dependent upon the goodwill of the farmers for church and school sites. Let it be freely acknowledged that many, particularly Dutch-speaking, farmers take a patriarchal interest in the spiritual welfare of the Natives on their farms, but, nevertheless, the problem exists of finding adequate means for the evangelization and uplift of the large mass of the Bantu people. It must be done. But it will not be possible unless the people themselves are enabled to support the effort. It must be a people's movement backed by the spiritual and material resources of the people themselves. To-day, with a depressed people who exist on the land almost in defiance of the law instead of under its protection, the task of evangelization and emancipation from the thraldom of animism and witchcraft is one that almost defies hope.

While the low social and economic condition of the Native in the country is driving him into the town, his low wage in the town has made him a formidable competitor with the white unskilled worker, particularly with the ' poor white ' fresh from the country. And so we have an apparent conflict of interests leading to repressive legislation, such as the Colour Bar Act and the recent Ordinance of the Transvaal Provincial Council which prevents Natives from driving motor-cars containing white passengers. Racial feeling is intensely bitter in consequence, and among the Bantu it finds expression in several ways.

The most noticeable sign of racial feeling is the growth of exclusively Bantu organizations. The recently published report of the Native Affairs Commission on Separatist Churches shows that there are one hundred and thirty-five sects under entirely Native control. Some are natural and healthy developments from missionary organizations, but the vast majority, though due partly to dislike of discipline and partly to a spirit of self-aggrandizement (the title of the sect and the offices of the church are often extravagant and grotesque), are the creation of racial bitterness.

In politics the African Native Congress has, for several years, fought for Native rights. There have been times when its leaders have expressed themselves in extreme terms, but, in view of the repressive character of legislation since 1909, the Congress cannot be severely condemned if now and again its resolutions are violently expressed. Its membership includes conservative chiefs as well as young men with advanced views. At the moment the Congress is not as vocal or as powerful as it was ten years ago, but if the proposals of General Hertzog for a separate Native franchise become law the Congress is bound to acquire a new importance as the champion of Native interests exclusively. The development of exclusive community interests under a system of separate political representation, as opposed to the recognition of the identity of interests under a common franchise, cannot but strengthen exclusive organizations founded on racial distinctions.

On the economic side of Native life this tendency to racial organization has been given prominence by the rise of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (better known by the letters I.C.U.) under the leadership of Mr Clements Kadalie. The I.C.U. in some measure fulfils the functions of a general workers' trade union, but, strictly speaking, it is not a trade union and does not comply with the statutory requirements for recognition as such. Its nominal membership is large, but actually it is constantly changing, for the contributors are rarely in proper standing through the regular payment of the dues. It gathers in mine and factory workers, agricultural labourers, domestic servants, shop 'boys,' clerks, teachers—in fact, every one who will subscribe. The comprehensive character of the membership is now an embarrassment, for it is impossible for the organization to deal adequately with the demand of every class comprised within it. But this fact in itself shows that the hitherto docile Native worker has awakened to his own needs, and that we shall witness in the future considerable developments in Bantu self-protecting agencies.

This awakening of the Bantu to 'class consciousness' is affecting the attitude of the people towards missions and missionaries. The bitterness over the land question, for example, occasions the taunt that 'the white man brought us the Bible and took away our land.' Distrust of the white man breeds suspicion of the missionary's most innocent motives and makes the most 'raw' Native less amenable to the preaching of the Gospel. In the Transvaal recently a missionary reported that in a certain village ninety per cent of the people had been influenced by anti-European and anti-Christian propaganda to leave their Church.

And while the missionary is faced by the hostility of those whom he would serve, he finds no solace in the prevailing sentiment among Europeans—even in the Christian Churches. Not only is there the fear of the Native as a 'menace to white civilization' but there is the popular view that he is incapable of development as a man and a citizen. It has become the fashion to cry, 'Let the Native develop along his own lines,' and this is taken to mean that the Native should not be Christianized and civilized. In this way it is hoped to eliminate the Native as a competitor for the amenities of civilized life.

Is it surprising, then, that the missionary becomes discouraged, that he loses something of his earlier eagerness for the conversion of the Bantu? I stood one day on the top of a hill near a well-known mission station, and as I gazed at the country below (fifty miles of closely populated land) I asked my host, 'What is being done to evangelize these people?' The reply was, 'Very little; we can only hope to keep and cultivate the small Christian community we have.' It would be wrong and unfair to assume that this is the attitude of missionaries generally, but it would also be untrue to deny that it is indicative of a slowing-down tendency in mission work.

It is not the missionary alone who has slowed down, for the Native Christian is so much preoccupied with the

struggle for existence and with his social and political liabilities that he tends to pay more attention to these than to the spiritual needs of his people. The Native pastor, as he goes about his spiritual duties, suffers personal insults. Last summer a Native pastor, as he stepped out of a train for his Sunday appointment, was accosted by a policeman and ordered to produce his pass. Unfortunately, he had inadvertently left at home his certificate of exemption from the operation of the pass laws (although he had on him his tax receipt) and he was there and then marched off to the police station. He only avoided spending the week-end in gaol by paying ten shillings as bail money, a large sum for a poorly paid pastor, which he estreated knowing that he would be fined as much in any case. Such experiences, and they occur frequently to every respectable Native, burn into the soul.

The strain placed upon missionary resources by the overwhelming educational needs of the people and by the urgent demands of social work in the towns are also making evangelization more difficult.

Add to these hostile and depressing influences the difficulties caused by the increased cost of maintaining missions, and it will be seen that missions in Southern Africa are faced with a situation of the utmost gravity.

How, in such circumstances, is the future to be faced ? Christian statesmanship at all times requires faith and courage, and in Southern Africa the need for these qualities is particularly urgent.

Apart from and in addition to that faith in the Christian Gospel by which every missionary is commissioned to go forth, there is need for faith in the humanity of the Bantu people. No missionary of experience fails to realize the essential unity of mankind, however backward some sections may be ; and no one with practical experience of teaching the Bantu fails to be convinced of their ability to apprehend the facts of the physical universe as well as to appreciate moral and spiritual truths. Recent anthropological works

have thrown a flood light upon the influence of civilized ideas upon mental development, while a work like Allier's *La Psychologie de la Conversion* confirms to the full the conviction of the earliest of missionaries that, once the Holy Spirit has emancipated the soul of the barbarian, his mind also is opened to receive and understand the rational conceptions of modern civilization.

And what other hope can there be for the Bantu than to enter fully into our modern civilization? We in South Africa boast of our acquired white civilization, forgetting that most of it is acquired from sources that we should to-day scorn as 'coloured.' To condemn the Bantu to develop along his own lines is to turn him back into the dread circle of animism and witchcraft. The permanency of our white civilization in Africa can only be secured by extending its frontiers and by occupying the whole territory of African life and thought.

To people in Europe all this may sound commonplace, but here in South Africa the whole future of the country is being endangered by a fear that the Christianizing and civilizing of the Bantu will spell the ruin of the white man because of the belief that the Bantu is not a full man and never can be so.

For the missionary, then, the greatest need of the moment is a renewed faith in his mission and in those whom he has come to serve. Without these he will soon weary of his work.

With adequate faith we can move forward to undertake two great tasks: the uplift of the Native people and the preparation of the Bantu for African service.

It is hoped that what has been said earlier in this article will have shown clearly enough the urgency of the need for economic and social reforms. To secure these the white section of the Christian Church must not hesitate to range itself against prevailing white sentiment. It requires courage, and will require more courage in the future, to withstand the call to white solidarity on the ground of

loyalty to one's own race. It requires more than courage—it requires vision—to realize the ultimate identity of interests between white and black. The protest against the Colour Bar Act was not only sound Christianity, it was also sound economics, as many of those who demanded the legislation have since discovered. And, incidentally, nothing in recent years has assuaged racial bitterness among the Bantu people as the stand taken in that joint protest of leading European and Bantu.

The evangelization of Southern Africa is being delayed because the Bantu are not economically able to carry the burden on their own shoulders. They do wonders to-day with their meagre resources, but the extension of the Christian Church is hindered by their low economic condition. It appears as if the training and employment of pastors, evangelists and teachers can proceed no further until the general level of Native income is raised by the provision of more land and by better conditions of employment.

The evangelization and civilization of Africa must for the most part be done by Africans. The missionary must more and more become the organizer only. It is only in this way that the heavy cost of church and school work can be reduced; and in any case it is only by the fullest use of the dynamic power of the African people themselves that a strong Christian Church can be developed in Africa. The great distances and the scattered population make organization peculiarly difficult and costly, but the awakened Bantu, at any rate, has energy and natural force which can be utilized, and the constant flow of Native labour between rural and urban areas provides a means which can be used for the permeation of Christian ideas. The location Natives who come to work in the towns, and the children of Natives on European farms who also come into town to earn the tax, do not fail to carry back with them the new ideas, not always beneficent, that they have learnt while at work.

Here, on the Witwatersrand, hundreds of Natives learn to read and write in the night schools and then return home

to teach others. Here, too, many become earnest Christians and return home as eager missionaries. Missions would do well to give greater consideration to the strategic value of a well-organized Church and school system in the larger urban areas. More too could be effected if there were greater co-operation between missionary bodies.

To sum up, missions in South Africa are faced with grave and difficult problems—religious, educational, social, political and economic. They call for their solution faith, courage, wisdom and energy on the part of missionaries, as well as the release of the vast store of spiritual force latent in the Bantu people themselves.

J. D. Rheinallt Jones

THE WORK OF MEDICAL MISSIONS

I. THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM

By C. FRIMODT-MÖLLER, M.B., Ch.B.

ONE side of the tuberculosis problem has up till now attracted little attention. This is serious, as the side of the problem which has been overlooked concerns the future welfare of practically half the population of the world. The whole problem of combating tuberculosis cannot be said to have been dealt with in the proper way as long as due attention has not been paid to the steady increase of this disease in tropical and eastern countries. During the last few decades this terrible scourge has been fast spreading in those lands and is now sweeping over vast areas which are virgin soil to it, where for this reason it spreads exceedingly rapidly and with unusually deadly results.

If the question of effectively combating the increase of tuberculosis in tropical and eastern lands is not seriously tackled during the next thirty years, it will not only mean great suffering and early death for millions who might have been spared it, but it will mean also that the work of checking the progress of tuberculosis in these parts of the world will later on be many times more difficult.

Although statesmen and leaders in the countries concerned are beginning to wake up to the seriousness of the problem, little has yet been done to meet the onslaughts of this new enemy which follows in the trail of western civilization. The object of this article is in the first place to bring to notice the spread of tuberculosis as a result of the increased contact between East and West, and to show how little has been done to prevent this spread; and

secondly, to emphasize that for certain reasons there is a special call to the Christian Church to render through medical missions in the fields of its evangelistic activities help in combating tuberculosis.

1. In West and Equatorial Africa, it is found that the spread of the disease closely follows the penetration of European civilization. Without going into details, it will be of interest to mention a few instances.

In Belgian Congo,[1] where tuberculosis is reported not to have existed prior to the twentieth century, post-mortem examinations now show that 36·7 per cent are infected with the disease and mostly in the acute form. It is further found by research work with the skin reaction for tuberculosis that 7 per cent of the workers in industrial centres give proof of tuberculous infection, while only 1 per cent give it in localities rarely visited by Europeans. As bovine tuberculosis is absent, there is therefore a strong indication of the spread of the disease along with civilization.

In Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast tuberculosis is developing, and in Nigeria it is making slow but steady inroads. From the mines in Rhodesia the disease is said to have been spread into Nyasaland by mine workers. Into Tanganyika, where tuberculosis was unknown among the Native population, it has been imported by Arabs and Indians. In Somaliland the disease is prevalent chiefly in the coastal region, while in Uganda it is still rare.

In all urban populations in North Africa tuberculosis is reported to exist with almost the same intensity as in Europe, while it is rare among the Arabs and Berbers who live as nomadic tribes south of the Atlas Mountains. Into French Sudan the disease has been introduced by caravans coming from North Africa across the Sahara, and the incidence of it in Sudan is much higher in centres inhabited by Europeans than in the surrounding areas. In Kamerun the disease was little spread until 1911, but has since made

[1] For this and much of the following information I am indebted to articles in the various tuberculosis journals and other special literature.

rapid progress, propagated, it is said, by commerce and the return of emigrants.

The question of the prevalence of tuberculosis in Tropical Africa can be summed up by saying that throughout West and Equatorical Africa there no longer exist peoples who have been entirely spared, except a few nomadic tribes who live on the borders of the Sahara and Nubia. This statement has been verified by the League of Nations report on tuberculosis in Colonial Africa. In this report it is also pointed out that the disease is still rare in inland Africa but is increasing in the cities and along the coast, for which consumptive Europeans and East Indians are largely responsible.

The same relation between the spread of tuberculosis and the penetration of western civilization is observed in Asia. In the Malaya Peninsula tuberculosis has broken out on practically virgin soil and has become a terrible scourge. Another instance is reported from Central Persia. About the year 1900 the disease appeared among the Armenians in a village two miles from Ispahan, being introduced into that community by an Armenian merchant who had lived in India. Two years later the disease appeared in the town of Ispahan, and the following years it spread rapidly in a severe form in this area.

In Japan the disease has become widely prevalent. The population of Japan proper is fifty-nine millions, and the mortality from tuberculosis in 1922 was said to be 300,000, while for a population of thirty-eight millions in England and Wales the total deaths from the disease in the same year were 42,777. If the Japanese statistics err, it is in the direction of minimizing the number of cases.

A few years ago Dr A. Lankester, then serving as a medical missionary in Kashmir, was appointed by the Indian Government for a period of three years to make a thorough survey of the prevalence of tuberculosis in India. As a result of his investigations he states: 'Many large areas in India, which forty years ago were practically

virgin soil to tuberculosis, have now become to a considerable extent infected.' Sir Leonard Rogers in a recent publication states that post-mortem examinations in the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, show ' a higher mortality in Calcutta from tuberculosis than from any of the so-called tropical diseases,' and he adds that the vital statistics of Calcutta show a still higher mortality from this disease. To this grave picture can be added that of Bombay, where, according to Dr Lankester, there are more than ten thousand active cases of tuberculosis.

Another proof of the high prevalence of the disease in India is demonstrated by careful research work with the skin reaction carried out in Madras. It was found that 94·2 per cent among the general population for all ages showed tuberculous infection. For comparison, it may be mentioned that in Lille in France, the country which in 1912 had the highest death rate from tuberculosis of all the western countries, the corresponding infection rate was at that time reported to be 60 per cent.

The reason why the disease spreads so rapidly and with such serious results in communities previously free from tuberculosis is that they have developed no immunity against it. It is well known that certain ' children's diseases,' such as measles, cannot usually be contracted by the same individual more than once. The reason is that certain substances have been formed in the body during the first attack to such an extent that they protect the individual for many years to come from a new infection with that particular disease. The protective condition thus produced is called immunity against the disease. Where a population has not acquired such immunity, it constitutes virgin soil to the infectious disease, and the introduction of it into such a community has disastrous results. When measles appeared the first time on the Fiji Islands it is said to have killed one-fourth of the inhabitants. Although an attack of tuberculosis does not produce quite the same immunity in the individual as does measles, there

is nevertheless produced some kind of immunity. This is formed by numerous small infections from earliest childhood, often in the form of swollen glands, which gradually render the individual immune and build up a strong resisting power against the disease.

In India during the last few decades the great industrial centres which have come into existence as a result of the penetration of western civilization are indirectly responsible for the spread of tuberculosis. These centres draw to the cities from tracts free from the disease thousands of immigrants, of whom many rapidly contract tuberculosis, being non-immune and now exposed to the heavy infection prevalent in the great cities. These immigrants return with the disease to their villages and become dangerous sources of infection in the non-immune rural population, among whom the disease spreads afterwards with alarming rapidity, as seen for instance in villages in Bengal.

The development of western education in India is indirectly responsible for the rapid spread of tuberculosis amongst the educated classes and the more prosperous communities, in spite of the comparatively improved hygiene they possess and the better social conditions they enjoy, the reason being the greater exposure to infection amongst these classes nowadays in schools and colleges.

There can be no doubt that many of the social customs of India, as for instance the strict purdah system in the north especially amongst Mohammedans, produce a soil which is exceedingly favourable for the spread of tuberculosis, as shown by statistics.

That increased modern communication also stimulates the spread of tuberculosis from cities to rural tracts can be seen in India as elsewhere in the tropics. We find in India that the disease travels along the larger lines of communication.

It is not a hopeless task to fight tuberculosis. The campaign in western countries demonstrates this convincingly, for during the last fifty years a most remarkable

decline of the disease has occurred in those countries where a proper fight has been inaugurated and sustained.

While the death rate from all forms of tuberculosis in England and Wales during the decade 1851–60 was 348 per hundred thousand of the population, in the decade 1911–20 it had fallen to 171. In 1922 the death rate was 112 only. Tuberculosis in England during the last half-century has shown a constantly accelerated rate of decline. In Denmark in 1890 the death rate was 303 per hundred thousand of the population, while in 1923 it was 96, that is, only about one-third of what it was thirty-three years earlier. In other countries in Europe, in the United States of America and in the British Dominions a similar decline has taken place, but in those western countries where a proper campaign has not been inaugurated early enough, as in France, the decline is much smaller.

The decline as experienced in the countries mentioned cannot be entirely accounted for by the improvement in general hygiene and sanitation which has taken place during the last decades, nor by the raising of the standard of living, but it is due chiefly to the direct campaign against the disease. This is demonstrated in England by the fact that the reduction in general mortality has been much less than the reduction in mortality from tuberculosis, the reduction of the former in the last decade being ten per cent as compared with thirty-one per cent for the latter.

The line of action taken in the West has been the introduction of numerous facilities for treatment in sanatoria and special hospitals, thereby isolating the sick, and a broadcasting of information regarding the infectious nature of the disease. It goes without saying that the great improvement of sanitary and hygienic conditions has had a great share in producing the remarkable decline; but that this decline is not found in those countries where the same improvements have taken place but where no proper direct campaign was introduced, bears out the statement that the decline is chiefly due to the direct attack on the disease.

To trust, therefore, that the rapidly spreading tuberculosis in the tropics will decline when, some time in the distant future, the general sanitary conditions improve sufficiently and adverse social customs break down, and to do nothing seriously in the meantime to combat the disease by curative and preventive measures, will have disastrous results.

The country in which the problem of inaugurating a campaign has been taken up most seriously by the Government is Japan. Several laws have been passed by which all cities of more than fifty thousand inhabitants are obliged to build sanatoria and to accommodate in hospitals all poor consumptives, the municipalities providing support for their families. The municipalities have further received power to demolish unhealthy dwellings and to build new ones, and to forbid the carrying on of trades and industries deemed unhealthy. The tuberculosis laws of Japan seem to be the most thoroughgoing yet promulgated. In the last two decades nine sanatoria have been constructed and rooms in hospitals have been provided for consumptive patients. What is, however, discouraging is that the campaign seems to be confined to passing laws and regulations, while there seems to be a great lack in earnestness or success in carrying them out.

Turning now to India, in which country the writer is living and to which, therefore, special attention is naturally paid in this article, we find little done to combat the disease. Tuberculosis dispensaries have been introduced in several of the greater cities, but facilities for treating the detected cases in hospitals or sanatoria are exceedingly few. In some of the greater cities there are now tuberculosis wards in the larger hospitals, while in others smaller special tuberculosis hospitals have been established. There is one sanatorium controlled by Government and one under construction by Government; in the Indian States there are two state institutions; besides these there are in the whole of India about eight private sanatoria, mostly

small, and eight established and controlled by missionary societies.

It will be seen that facilities for institutional treatment of tuberculosis in India are hopelessly inadequate. If beds were to be available in India in the same proportion to the population as in Denmark, there should be about 340,000 beds for tubercular patients, while we find altogether 900 to 1000. Regarding measures for treatment and isolation of the consumptives, therefore, practically nothing has been done in India, and yet upon such measures will rest success in combating the steady increase of the disease.

The measures taken in other tropical countries hardly exceed those in India.

2. When we consider the spread of tuberculosis in tropical countries, as for instance in India where alone several millions are suffering from the active form of the disease, we are tempted to despair, and to let the whole problem drift, without making any attempt to inaugurate any sort of campaign against so overwhelming an enemy. No sensible person will ever dream of the possibility of building sanatoria, tuberculosis hospitals and dispensaries in the great tropical countries on the same scale as in the West. But we believe that this is not necessary to the inauguration and sustaining of an effective campaign in countries where climate and customs allow of much simpler construction than is required in the West. It is possible in the tropics to establish at a much smaller capital expenditure extensive facilities for proper treatment, in buildings of light and open construction, for isolation and proper care of the sick.

These measures cannot, however, be taken, unless the public learns through a campaign of education the infectious nature of the disease and methods of protection, also that in its early stages the disease is usually curable.

It is well known that no means of education is so effective as an object lesson. What is needed for inaugurating a campaign is, to begin with, some few sanatoria and hospitals

of the highest standard where the modern treatment of the disease can be thoroughly carried out and demonstrated. These should be model institutions with possibilities for research work in tuberculosis, so that the treatment of the disease under tropical conditions can be definitely worked out, and it can be shown that results of treatment as good as those in the West can be obtained in the tropics. Such institutions should also be centres for training doctors in the diagnosis and modern treatment of tuberculosis.

Those who are acquainted with the medical profession in the tropics will know how little training doctors in these countries have had in the principles of modern treatment, and also the lack of facilities for such training, which can only be gained in large tuberculosis institutions, and cannot be learnt merely from books and lectures. Such institutions are, as we have already shown, deplorably few in the tropics at present. The public in these countries can never be expected to face the problems of tuberculosis until the medical profession has acquired a real understanding of the treatment and of the measures to be taken against it.

Along with the establishment of a few large, scientific institutions for treatment, research work and training, a great number of smaller special hospitals should be constructed near the larger towns for treatment of those patients who are too sick or for some other reason are unable to travel to a sanatorium situated in better climatic conditions, or who cannot be admitted for lack of accommodation in these sanatoria. These highly infectious, sick and suffering patients should be cared for in such hospitals as long as they live, not only for their own sakes, but also to isolate them from their surroundings and prevent their being sources of infection. The care of such patients, and indeed of all tubercular patients, requires ministration not only to the body but equally to the spirit, and we feel that those who are trying to follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ are best fitted to render this service. A chronic disease like tuberculosis, in which patients in the advanced stages

require much care and consideration in order to be relieved and helped, makes strong calls on Christian compassion, sacrifice and long-suffering. If the highest Christian qualities in a hospital staff are needed anywhere, it is in institutions in the tropics for tuberculosis and leprosy.

In this connexion we might mention that we have met the complaint in one tuberculosis institution in India (not a mission institution), that it had the greatest difficulty in getting any Indian nurses who would serve in it, because it had no opportunity to secure Indian Christian nurses. Doctors also are needed who will give their life to the work for its own sake. Such doctors can be obtained for mission institutions, but in government institutions constant changes take place both of doctors and of the other staff. Such changes may be necessary from a government point of view, but they break the continuity of the work and weaken the experimental value of the treatment, and also of the research work, of these pioneer institutions.

The question now arises, Is there not a special call to missions and Churches to establish such sanatoria and hospitals as mentioned above? Is it possible to do this from a practical point of view, and if established, can they be of real influence in the tropics in inaugurating an effective campaign against tuberculosis, and in arousing the populations and their governments from their present state of lethargy? We believe it is possible, and we refer in this connexion to what missions have already achieved in India in such a campaign.

An example of what has been done by missions in India to combat tuberculosis is the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Arogyavaram, near Madanapalle in South India. This institution, launched in 1912 in temporary huts with twenty beds, is now the largest sanatorium in the whole of India, with eighty permanent buildings and one hundred and seventy beds. With the income from patients' fees, which during the last years has been Rs. 60,000 annually, and with government aid, the institution has become

entirely self-supporting, as the recurring contributions of the missions do not cover even the salaries of the European missionary staff. At the same time, all indigent patients are treated and fed entirely free.

The sanatorium is in the forefront of the campaign against tuberculosis in India, and is consulted by Provincial Governments and by Indian States on sanatorium construction and on the treatment. It is interesting also to notice that the Bombay municipality has recently discussed the urgent need for the construction of a sanatorium near Bombay on the lines of this sanatorium.

The Governments of Madras and Mysore have sent doctors here for training, and the students from the Vellore Medical College for Women receive short courses of instruction here; so also have several doctors about to take up tuberculosis work in connexion with missions.

The ultimate responsibility for the sanatorium is in the hands of a managing committee of the representatives of the fourteen co-operating missionary societies which constitute the Union.

Two years ago the Christian Medical Association of India, recognizing the special call to missions and Churches, appointed a sub-committee for tuberculosis with the object of inaugurating an all-Indian campaign against the disease. This committee has felt that the way in which it can best carry out its work is not by beginning a big publicity campaign with attempts at the formation of great public associations or leagues to combat the disease, but by trying to render practical help towards the establishment of a large Christian sanatorium in each province on the lines of the sanatorium at Arogyavaram, and smaller Christian special tuberculosis hospitals in suitable localities. In following this policy the committee has co-operated with the Panjab Christian Council in the beginning of a union mission sanatorium and has been giving advice to mission sanatoria already in existence. It is working together with a group of representative Christians from the Churches in Travan-

core for the establishment of a union church sanatorium in that State. It has encouraged and advised an Indian Christian Church in Rajahmundry to begin a small tuberculosis hospital managed entirely by that Church.

A question before the committee is the conversion of mission hospitals into special tuberculosis hospitals in towns where general medical relief is now sufficiently provided by other bodies or by the Government with more means and better equipment at their disposal than the missions can command. A work which others seem slow to take up, in spite of the great need, because of its special difficulties, requiring the qualities of perseverance, patience and loving service, should appeal with great force to Christian missions and Churches.

The response from the Christian Church in India to this special call to combat tuberculosis should be a stimulus to missions and Churches working in other parts of the tropics and throughout the Orient to do something to alleviate the misery caused by this disease which follows in the wake of western civilization.

C. Frimodt-Möller

II. AN AFRICAN MEDICAL STAFF

By P. H. J. LERRIGO, M.D.

NOW is the time to look for and plan a great African Christian movement led by Africans. It has become an axiom in the work of Christian missions all over the world that no people can be evangelized or developed by foreigners alone. On many fields the mistake has been made of failing to plan wisely and promptly for the development of indigenous leaders. For the most part the mission fields in Africa are relatively young. The work in new Africa should profit by the mistakes in old China. Plans

for the development of African leaders require immediate and continuous consideration.

That phase of the subject which has to do with the training of an African medical staff calls for special emphasis. There is reason for profound thanksgiving to God for the substantial measure of achievement wrought by workers from abroad in ministering to 'the open sore of the world.' Nearly two million dispensary treatments and more than sixty thousand hospital patients cared for in a single year bear overwhelming testimony to the faithfulness with which the task has been begun. It is manifest, however, that the foreigner can only begin the work. His efforts are a drop in the bucket of need. It must be filled to overflowing by his Native colleagues; every medical missionary is forced to this conclusion sooner or later.

Africa has a peculiar fascination for the medical man. It is a continent of mysteries, not only geographically and historically, but also scientifically. For the medical man especially it is a continent of challenges. The experiences which fall to his lot in different parts of such a field differ widely, but in general it may be said that his activities carry him through three stages of development. At first he is challenged, if not well-nigh overwhelmed, by the magnitude of the physical need which he sees about him. He throws himself with all his vigour into personal combat with disease and suffering, struggling to adjust to his own shoulders the whole weight of the physical distress surrounding him. His days are crowded with unremitting labour and his nights are broken by pitiful calls for further relief. It is often a distressing sight to see the medical missionary endeavouring to grapple single-handed with the mass of sickness, abnormality and pain surrounding him.

Before many months have passed, the medical missionary comes to recognize that he is confronted and challenged by conditions which pass the limits of his medical preparation, however good this may have been. He discovers diseases which are not only beyond his own personal understanding,

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but inadequately treated in the medical books to which it has been his comfort and stay to resort. He discovers that just as he stands geographically upon the outposts of civilization, meeting ignorance, superstition and barbarism face to face, so also medically he stands upon the utmost boundary of professional knowledge, facing certain great physical scourges which are as yet beyond control or even sure understanding. But he recognizes that to the trained observer mystery does not set a bound to possible human knowledge but merely presents an opportunity for investigation. As time is wrested from the pressing daily routine of healing he pursues researches which gradually push back the borders of the medically unknown, for he realizes that if by his efforts a single step is taken towards understanding and conquering some one of the great mysterious diseases, he will be multiplying not only his own usefulness but also that of many of his colleagues.

But there is another stage to the thinking of the Christian medical man in such a field as Africa. He comes to the place where he is confronted frankly with the conviction that though he and his fellows from abroad may strive to the utmost limit of their capacity, the magnitude of the medical task in Africa is such that they will never be able to do more than to touch its fringes. Substantial as may be the achievement of these workers it is utterly inadequate to meet the need of the great suffering continent; notable as are the results obtained by foreign medical research workers in laying open the secrets of tropical disease, other mysteries lie beyond, which their time and strength are insufficient to unveil. Hence the conclusion is reached that African disease and African pain must in the long run be conquered by Africans, and the medical missionary adds to the two heavy burdens of healing and research which he is carrying the additional tasks of teaching and training.

There are many compelling reasons for giving Africans a medical training. Among them is the important but often unrecognized fact that they need the discipline of mind and

spirit which the study of medicine provides. They need that quality of spirit which leads the soul to rebel against the government of pain and to seek means to conquer physical infirmity.

Modern healing is based on careful observation and tends towards the discovery of simple methods of overcoming disease. The medical profession has arrived at its present high development through long and devious wanderings. But the African need not travel the difficult road we have trodden but may take the quiet by-way of sound instruction to join us in the large place wherein we stand at the present day. He must learn to observe faithfully, and the habit of careful observation will be reflected in many lines beside the medical. He will become a lover of truth and will gain a deeper understanding of life and nature.

The application of simple and rational means to the cure of disease will help him also to understand the value of accuracy in little things. Technique is a relatively modern word, but we have come to realize that in it lies the key to achievement. That an expensive solution prepared for intravenous injection is spoiled by the introduction of a minute particle of dirt or an unsterilized instrument will seem to the African incomprehensibly absurd at first, but as he learns that success in operations involving life or death hang upon such seeming trifles the elements of care and thoroughness will begin to develop in him.

The Christian teaching of the healing art will strike a blow against animistic superstition and fatalism. The travelling of this road involves the conquest of fear. Instead of assuming that all the ills of life are the manifestations of mysterious supernatural powers arrayed against him, he will learn the meaning of cause and effect and will discover the possibility of remedying many evils through sheer endeavour. He who has all his life been subject to bondage through fear will thus come to know that God has made him a free man.

Medical training will build up within him the powers of

initiative until he refuses longer to tolerate evil conditions. He will forsake the old habit of easy submission to what was thought inescapable. Instead of going off resignedly to sit down in his hut he will begin to seek a remedy for the trouble and will strike out a line of relief. He will learn the lesson that the human spirit touched by the divine cannot be overwhelmed by disaster. He will acquire the habit of asking in the face of sickness or trouble : ' What can be done to remedy this ill ? ' This is the very spirit of Jesus, and this is why the healing art is so indissolubly connected with His name. Jesus would never submit to the so-called inevitable in the face of human need. He taught us the divine rebellion of heart against untoward circumstance. The African needs to learn this, and the effort to conquer disease is of the very nature and genius of Christ's salvation. If the African learns initiative in this realm it will lead him to strive and achieve in all others.

The teaching of medicine will bring to the African sorely needed spiritual elements also. Sympathy and affection are not lacking in his nature. Indeed, he seems to be bountifully endowed in this direction. But backward peoples everywhere are likely to suffer from traditions of cruelty, and their natural sympathies and sentiments may easily be blunted and checked by old customs which take little thought of the sensibilities of human beings, but which elicit and play upon the most savage impulses of the human heart. Such customs are often sanctified by the religious system in vogue and thus bring about atrophy of the more worthy sentiments of the heart.

To practise the healing art is to reverse all this. Pain, suffering, abnormal development, physical distress force the question at once : ' How can this human ailment be relieved ? ' and the spirit is raised into a new realm of solicitude for others. The individual takes rank among the saviours of the world. The heart loses its cruel and savage instincts and begins to rejoice in the privilege of relieving suffering. This is Godlike, and thus the African may be

prepared to walk the path of God. Physical healing is bound up with the teaching of the Gospel. As Christ refused to acquiesce in the debased conditions surrounding Him, so His spirit within His followers, whether Africans or others, leads to revolt and to vigorous effort in remedying conditions.

The effort to relieve pain involves service also, and as the African finds himself ministering to human need he learns the dignity of serving others. His instincts become creative and constructive. He acquires a profound distaste for the destructive. His increasing knowledge of sanitation and hygiene brings him a divine dissatisfaction with things as they are and leads him to advocate ever better surroundings, cleaner food and a larger life.

There exists no doubt in my mind that in such a field as equatorial Africa, at least, a large part of the effort of every foreign medical worker should be given to the task of medical education.

It is a matter for congratulation on the part of the missionary groups that the governing powers in many African colonies are giving increasingly large attention to this subject. Were it possible for these governments to take the whole matter of medical education in hand and care for it adequately, the medical missionary might go about his business happy in the assurance that at least one part of the burden had been lifted from his shoulders. It is apparent, however, that this is not the case. Even though a government should have at its command financial resources sufficient to deal adequately with the situation, it would be confronted with the impossibility of securing a sufficient number of medical men and women of the right stamp and qualifications. In the report of the International Commission chosen by the League of Nations Health Committee to investigate certain problems connected with African sleeping sickness, this is frankly acknowledged. The missionary cause produces such men and women, and the great enterprises of to-day which they represent may, and do for the

most part, gladly recognize the privilege of co-operating with governments in the task of training a body of Native medical workers to carry the burden which will doubtless be for ever beyond the capacity of foreign workers.

Co-operation is possible in those areas where governments have frankly recognized their obligations in this direction. There are notable examples of this in British and Belgian African territory. Here the initiative for the most part lies with the Government, and it is the privilege of the medical missionary to join in the task under the direction of the ruling power. In research work, in the conduct of sanitary campaigns, in the teaching of health and in the actual hospital treatment of the sick he will find it possible both to be of great aid to government forces and also to profit much in the conduct of his own work through such co-operation. The benefit is certainly mutual. Contacts of this nature should be deliberately sought by the medical missionary and will generally be welcomed by government officials.

In those other areas where governments have so far done little in the development of health control or of medical education the missionary should take the initiative. In such areas the medical missionary staff may well pause to examine its own work, with a view to ascertaining whether it has been so busily occupied with the immediate business of healing as to neglect preparation for that broader work which will be possible only when a fully trained African medical staff is provided.

It is probable that most medical missionaries take Native associates under training. The motive in doing so, however, is not always clearly defined. There is the desire to secure relief in the more irksome details of routine work. There is the recognition that assistance of this nature will enable one to accomplish a larger volume of service. The real purpose of taking Native assistants, however, should be the passing on of skill and knowledge to others who in their turn will use them for the general good, add to the general stock and pass on the enriched heritage to yet others.

Efforts at medical education in Africa, whether for nurses or for doctors, have been of the most miscellaneous character. The time has surely come when a careful study should be made of these efforts and when the best results of each separate attempt should be placed at the disposal of all. A dead uniformity of method and result need not be sought after, but a comparison of methods and an interchange of experience will certainly tend to more rapid and fruitful development.

In this particular field much may be hoped for from the co-operation of the various missionary groups operating in a single area. What one medical worker, struggling alone under burdens beyond his strength, cannot accomplish, several workers co-operating in adjacent territories may be able to do. The task of imparting a balanced medical training must be the work of more than one individual. Perhaps few missions would find themselves in the position of being able to organize and carry on single-handed an institution for thorough-going medical training, but several missions placed in sufficiently close proximity to co-operate in such a task, possibly in connexion with a previously established hospital or school for general education, should find themselves equal to it, without too great a burden of financial outlay or too great a call on the strength of the staff of each mission. This is one of the problems which might well occupy the attention of any such international medical group as may be called into being, following the suggestion made at the conference on Africa called by the International Missionary Council in Belgium in 1926.

P. H. J. Lerrigo

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THE OUTLOOK FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA

By E. W. WALLACE, D.D.

FOR three years educational institutions have suffered the fiercest onslaughts of the anti-Christian and radical nationalist movements in China. It was uncertain for a time whether the Christian schools and colleges would be able to withstand the combined attacks of those who wished to destroy them for their foreign relationships and of those who hated them for their religious character. Many of their teachers and students, bewildered and persuaded, either joined in these attacks or quietly withdrew from situations which appeared to be compromising to true patriots. Many schools were closed, and still remain so; others have continued under difficult conditions, with reduced enrolments, in constant danger of being obliged by stress of political developments to close their doors. The sudden withdrawal, a year ago, of all missionary teachers from at least a third of the schools and colleges seemed, for a time, to add the finishing blow.

The outstanding fact to-day, however, is that after three years of the most determined attack, and in face of a combination of circumstances of unexampled difficulty, most of the Christian schools and colleges are functioning; teachers and students are more intelligently loyal than ever before; the temporary withdrawal of missionaries is giving opportunity to secure long-desired Chinese support and leadership; and it may be said that Christian education has not only weathered the storm but is actually in a more hopeful position than it was three or four years ago.

From the inception of the Protestant movement in China, missionaries in all departments of work found themselves

obliged to adopt the methods of education for the accomplishment of their task, led to do so by the need to train colleagues and to develop an intelligent Christian community, as well as by the desire to use schools to present Christian truth to those outside the Church. As a result there grew up a comparatively large and exceedingly influential group of institutions of all grades and types. While the number of students is not five per cent of the total attendance at all 'modern style' schools and colleges in China, they do constitute an important element in the educational situation.

For some years, however, Christian leaders have recognized that changing conditions in China required far-reaching adjustments in Christian education. The missionaries themselves asked for the China Educational Commission of 1921–22, the careful survey of which was a serious attempt to study a situation of growing complexity and to prescribe the necessary changes. Many of these changes have since been undertaken; others have been delayed, or made unnecessary by conditions not foreseen five years ago. The influence of the Commission, however, has been one of the large factors in saving Christian education during the recent crisis. For the events of recent months have not produced new movements or given new direction to those already under way; rather have they compelled a more speedy adoption of adjustments which had already won more or less general acceptance from Christian educators and from church and missionary leaders.

First among these far-reaching adjustments is the movement to secure a right relationship to the national system of education. Chinese educational leaders are convinced adherents of the theory of governmental control of all education. Christian educators, also, have come to see more and more that the existing condition of educational extra-territoriality is rightly objected to by Chinese educators, and that it is in the truest interests of the Church, as of the nation, that Christian schools secure a position within the national system of education. In the early years

of the Republic the authorities were slow to make this possible; when the conditions of recognition were announced they were difficult to meet, and little attention was paid to them. Although the first Christian school was registered in the year 1918, the matter was not taken seriously until 1924; since then the question has been swept into the maelstrom of politics, and a satisfactory solution made correspondingly difficult.

It is clear, however, that a solution must be found. Not only are government educators determined to bring all private schools within the scope of the national system of education and under the general control of the public educational authorities, but the general public have been roused to an almost unbelievable pitch of suspicion of the so-called foreign schools, and public confidence can most easily be regained by proving by means of the registration of schools that they do not desire an existence outside the law. To regain public confidence would appear to be worth any price, short of the sacrifice of the Christian character of a school, for it is upon this confidence that our schools depend, not upon any foreign connexion or treaty protection.

Other positive advantages of registration seem to outweigh the restrictions involved. Formerly schools were classified by the authorities as government (or public), private and missionary (or foreign). Under the new regulations Christian schools are given the status of private schools, with the removal of the reproach implied in the terms 'missionary' or 'foreign.' The psychological effect is remarkable. At once teachers and students are conscious of relief. The effect upon the Christian movement as a whole is marked, for its most vulnerable spot in recent months has been the so-called foreign character of its schools. Again the securing of recognition is due to the students. Graduation from a recognized middle school or college is for many the only method open for qualifying for the franchise, the one door to higher institutions, to government scholarships for study abroad and to positions under the government.

Probably there are now few missionaries, certainly there are no Chinese Christians capable of expressing an opinion, who do not accept the principle of registration. But many missionaries and a few Chinese have hesitated to accept the conditions imposed by the present regulations. There are two sets of *Regulations for the Recognition of Private Schools*, issued respectively by the Board of Education in Peking in November 1925, and by the Educational Commission of the Nationalist Government in Canton in November 1926, and accepted in 1927 by the Central Educational Commission of the Nanking Government.

While these regulations differ in some features, they are essentially similar in the more important matters, and can be accepted as representing a consensus of educated public opinion. Their common features may be summarized as follows : (*a*) Christian schools will henceforth be given the status of private schools, subject to the same regulations and privileges as other private schools ; (*b*) the essential Chinese character of all Christian institutions is to be guaranteed by requiring that the administration be in the hands of Chinese. (*c*) Religious exercises and classes in religion are expressly permitted, but no student may be required to attend against his desire.

Of these conditions only the third presents serious difficulties. There is no small body of missionary opinion which believes that the Christian effectiveness and character of our institutions is involved. Christian Chinese opinion is, generally speaking, not so much concerned. In the first place, it is felt to be inconsistent with the spirit of the principle of religious freedom to require any young person to take part in religious exercises or to engage in the study of religion against his will. Again, there is a recognition of the psychology of Chinese youth to-day, which reacts unfavourably to compulsion from outside authority, but responds to sympathetic appeal to the reason ; and there is a conviction that the Christian life may be more effectively presented, not as something connected with a requirement

but as a privilege and an opportunity for the best kind of life. Lastly, there is an increasing volume of doubt of the real effectiveness of some of the older methods in religious teaching, and a sincere desire on the part of Christian teachers to discover on the plane of voluntary activity how most persuasively Christ and the power of His life may be presented to the youth of China. It is for these reasons, and in no sense as a compromise of essential principle, that those responsible for school and college policy are in so many cases accepting the voluntary principle in religion. Their experiments are so recent, and the conditions under which they have been made are in general so far from normal, that it is not possible yet to judge them with any degree of finality. All the colleges and many middle schools have adopted the voluntary basis, and their reports are, on the whole, most encouraging.

The Peking regulations included an ambiguous clause: 'The institution shall not have as its purpose the propagation of religion.' When the difficulty that this created was brought to the attention of the Ministry of Education by the President of the China Christian Educational Association, an official interpretation was secured, to the effect that this clause was meant to ensure a true educational aim for every school, and that it did not in any way override the permission to carry on religious work granted in other clauses.

In the first draft of the Canton regulations all religious exercises and classes were expressly prohibited. The representations of a strong group of Chinese Christian educationists led to the elimination of this clause in the final draft, and of another clause that would have created grave difficulty.

These two experiences show that the responsible authorities do not desire to eliminate Christian schools, or to curtail seriously their present freedom in matters essential to their purpose; that their aim is to secure that these schools are not outside the law, and are under Chinese administration; and that when representative Chinese Christian educators have just cause for complaint their case will receive adequate consideration.

Of such conditions, two in particular are giving Christian educators much concern. One is not included in the regulations issued by the Nationalist Government, but has appeared in those issued in a number of provinces under that Government, and has actually been enforced in one province at least. It provides for the appointment in every school by the government authority, or by 'the party' (i.e. the *Kuomintang*), of a party representative to be teacher of the social science subjects. This opens the way for party education, which is always questionable and would under certain conditions become definitely propagandist.

The other provision is included in the Nationalist regulations, providing for government oversight of the administration and disposal of school property. It is feared that this might be used to force the closing of a school and the confiscation of its property, and there are those who believe that it is better to suffer the disabilities of not registering than to run the risks involved. On the other hand, Chinese opinion is almost unanimous that no such abuse of government power is contemplated or to be feared from a friendly educational authority; that an unfriendly authority would not need such regulations to break up a Christian school; and that by registering and so entering the school system Christian institutions will be in a much more favourable position to guard their rights.

This view has been accepted by those responsible for the administration of a large number of schools. Of the seventeen institutions of higher education, twelve are at present functioning, and all but one of these have agreed to seek registration. Middle (secondary) schools register with the provincial authorities, and difficulty has arisen in some provinces, where the conditions of recognition are much more stringent than those of the central Government. In one case, the enforcement of the regulations would have forced the closing of the Christian schools. The educational authorities of the Nanking Government themselves took up the fight, holding that provincial regulations must not go

farther than those of the central authorities. The issue was debated for weeks and the National Government won its case. This experience seems to indicate that the authorities are sincerely anxious to play fair with the Christian schools, and that recognition involves not only certain restrictions but a real measure of protection as well.

A second adjustment of importance must be made before Christian education becomes firmly established in the new conditions. Even during the past ten years, when the idea of the indigenous Church in China has captured the imagination of Chinese and missionaries alike, that conception of the Church has only to a limited degree included education as an essential of its life and activity. Chinese church leaders have frankly stated the inability of the young Church to support the Christian schools and colleges.

The present period of intense national feeling has created an entirely new situation. The attacks upon Christian education have made it necessary for the members of the Christian community to face two questions : Are the schools so essential to the life of the Church that they are worth defending ? Can we or do we desire to defend them as mission schools, or rather as Christian schools, an integral part of the life of our own Church ?

It is one of the inestimable gains of this time of persecution and of difficulty that the first question has been answered in the affirmative, not in word but in deed. Throughout the country, church members, teachers and large numbers of students have stood together to defend the schools, and have saved the majority by their exertions.

It is not difficult to anticipate the answer that would be given to the second question. At a time when the young Church is coming of age and beginning to live its own life, and when the whole spirit of the land is against foreign influence of every kind and especially in education, it is natural that there should be a strong desire that Christian schools should become an expression of the Chinese Christian community for the advancement of China.

Again, this is an ideal for which many missionaries have laboured. By means of the provincial Christian Educational Associations and the China Christian Educational Association, in summer schools and conferences, and especially through the widespread influence of the training received in school and college, young men and women have been trained and given experience in the problems of educational administration, in preparation for just such a day as is now upon us. Half the graduates of the Christian colleges are now engaged in Christian service, and half this number are connected with educational institutions in a teaching or administrative capacity. Hesitation in making these experiments on a large scale has been due to doubt whether the Church was ready to bear the heavy burden of leadership and finance in taking over so great a task, but many successful experiments have been made of putting schools under complete Chinese administration.

What has been the result ? Where no preparation whatever has been made for the training of Chinese leadership there has been in some cases failure. But overwhelming testimony is borne to the success beyond expectation, or even hope, of young and often untried leadership in maintaining schools and colleges, in face of depleted staffs and budgets, in the midst of civil strife, and under popular distrust for their ' unpatriotic support of foreign schools.' One of the brightest pages in the history of the Church in China is that which tells of the heroism and devotion that are to-day saving Christian schools and colleges.

Christian education has been saved and is finding a permanent and worthy place in the life of the nation as of the Church. Missionary education, as such, is rapidly passing ; in its place remains an education that is quite as Christian, differing not in purpose or in essential character, but representing the conviction and the sacrificial effort of the Church in China, its desire for its own children, its contribution to the welfare of the nation. Co-operation from the West and the help and advice of missions and of missionaries are

still needed. There will be no break with the past, unless it should be forced by the missionary bodies, which is inconceivable. Rather, during the coming years of strain, while adjustments of great magnitude are being made, the Churches of the West will continue to support the Church in China in its educational activity to at least the same extent as before, in so far as such support is needed and desired.

An administrative problem of some magnitude is involved in the question of the organic relation that these educational institutions should bear to the Churches. Hitherto they have been held together, their Christian character and educational efficiency conserved, by their organic relation to missionary bodies. Some form of organization, binding together schools and colleges in a more or less definite system, has been found a necessity for missionary education; it will be equally necessary for education under the Church. The alternatives are: control of each school by an independent and local board of directors composed of Christian people, bearing no relation to the church organization; or the relating of all the educational institutions of one church body to that body, as well as to its local congregations.

Strong institutions already have their own boards of directors, and the tendency will be to continue under Chinese administration in a similar position of independency. It may be forgotten, however, that in the case of all but two colleges controlled by non-denominational boards the membership of the boards of directors of missionary institutions has been largely composed of representatives of missionary bodies, which have also been responsible for the administration of primary and secondary schools and have retained a close relation with the organized Churches with which they are associated. In this way has been maintained a close relation between these otherwise independent educational institutions and other departments of Christian activity at the administrative centre where policies are initiated and maintained. Unless a similar connexion is now maintained with the church bodies in China, there will be no such

unifying influence, and the educational and Christian efficiency of the schools and colleges will suffer.

The situation is not the same as exists in so-called Christian lands. Christian institutions in China are a small minority in the midst of great influences, many of which are inimical to their purpose. Unless they hold together and are also organically related to the whole Christian movement, there will be a tendency to yield imperceptibly to these influences, and to broaden the basis of control and support with an inevitable weakening of their Christian character. The time may come when that danger will pass ; the Christian movement as a whole is still too weak to run the risk to-day. It is the fear of this that is probably the chief cause for hesitation on the part of some missionary bodies to accept all the implications of Chinese administration. We believe that the undoubted dangers may be avoided by relating Christian education organically to the Church.

On the other hand, there is some reason for hesitation in putting strong educational institutions under the immediate control of church courts, the members of which have been appointed because of qualifications other than those of fitness for educational administration. The perils of ecclesiastical domination of education stand plain on many pages of history ; so that it is not surprising that some prominent government educators would forbid ministers of religion to teach in or to share in control of any school or college. Among church leaders, also, there has been hesitation in allowing the Church to undertake the full burden of responsibility for the educational work of the missions, lest too much of its thought and activity be occupied to the detriment of pastoral and other activities.

These dangers are recognized. But the writer believes, with many others, that they can be avoided, and that it is essential for reasons already given that Christian education in the future bear at least as close a relation to the Church as it has done to the missionary body. After all, which of its activities is so essential to the life of the Church as the nurture

of its children, and the training of the leaders of the next generation ? On what should its thought and prayer and labour be more concentrated ? What will more broaden the sympathies and develop the capacities of church membership than a share in the administration of the education of its own youth, an education so essentially Christian in its purpose and its process ? For the sake of the life of the Church, as well as for the sake of the school, this relationship should be maintained in the closest manner possible.

Certain large ecclesiastical groups, such as the Methodist and the Anglican, have already had long experience and conspicuous success through wise methods of administration by the Church of great educational systems. Experience has shown that it is not necessary or advisable that ecclesiastical courts should become boards of directors of educational institutions. They can perform their educational functions through boards of education which they appoint and which are responsible to them, but which perform their duties with the greatest possible freedom. Each institution must also, under the government regulations, have its own board of directors appointed by the ' founders ' (who may be a missionary body or its successor, a church body) and its president or principal, who are responsible for its direct administration and who would naturally be related to the local congregation. The educational body appointed by and responsible to the supreme church court would be the co-ordinating agency, linking up a number of institutions, advising and guiding in matters of general policy, in order that the Christian purpose of the educational work of the Church may be preserved.

It may seem that a disproportionate emphasis has been put upon the necessity for certain administrative adjustments, and there may be a fear lest Christian education is in danger of losing its educational and its religious soul in the process. It must not be forgotten that China is in the midst of a great revolution, extending to every department of social and of individual life, in which Christians and the

Church, as well as Christian education, are involved. The future character of the Church, its place in Chinese society, depend upon the manner in which it adapts itself to these new conditions in formal matters of administration, while remaining true to the essential spirit of Christ. Christianity came to China in a form which was of necessity western, and hence temporary ; it can only become truly and permanently at home as it takes on a form which is appropriate to the Chinese genius. In the necessity for such adjustment education shares. The sooner this process is completed, the sooner can thought and strength be turned to the development of the spirit and method of the educational process to the highest measure of spiritual and technical efficiency.

In this process of adjustment there must be the utmost co-operation between missionary bodies and church educators ; neither alone can secure for the schools and colleges that form of administration which will be best suited to the new situation. In view of the great variety of conditions throughout the country no uniform policy can be followed. It would, therefore, appear to be advisable, in the matter of the administrative questions which we have been discussing, that the boards should express themselves on the large principles involved, and leave to educational and church administrative bodies on the field decisions as to when and how to act. Where such bodies do not now exist, temporary bodies might be created for the purpose of working out the details of educational organization and control.

While the condition of not a few schools and colleges gives cause for concern, while there are certain areas of China in which for a time Christian schools are unable to function, the outlook as a whole gives more real promise for the future than could have been expected. The most profound hope of the Chinese people for the future of their country is centred not in political organization or in social revolution but in education. This faith, this passion, is almost religious in its character. Christianity has to-day an unexampled opportunity to witness through Christian

schools and colleges that the educational process reaches its highest type when it is aglow with the fire of religion. To find for the educational institutions of the Church such a place in the educational life of the nation that this witness may be most effectively made, and to keep these institutions so close to the body and spirit of the Church that they reflect its own deep Christian life, are the task and the opportunity that now face the leaders of the Church. To accomplish this is worth every necessary adjustment short of compromise of essential principle. We believe that no essential principle need be compromised. Where that sacrifice is demanded we have every confidence that the Chinese Christian people will be as firm to resist as western missionaries would be, and we believe that their protest against unfair or illiberal demands will be much more effective than could be that of foreign missionaries or of missionary boards.

Our faith in the outlook for Christian education is, ultimately, faith in the fairness and goodness of human nature, a belief that the Chinese people will continue to respect and to welcome the contribution of Christian schools and colleges when freed from the accidents of foreign control, and a conviction that Christian people will see to it that their schools are educationally effective and full of the spirit of Christ. This faith has had abundant confirmation during the past twelve months. In spite of political chaos and social disruption, in face of doubts within and persecution without, the young men and women of the Church have awakened to the realization that these schools and colleges are theirs; they have set themselves to save them and have succeeded. They have given evidence that they are determined that their schools and colleges shall be so reorganized that they may continue, amid the new conditions in which the Christian community finds itself, to be the expression both of the belief of that community in education as a saving force in Cnina and of its devotion to the Master in His matchless service for childhood and youth.

E. W. Wallace

THE MISSIONARY REVIVAL IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

By M. M. UNDERHILL, B.Litt.

WE are living to-day in the presence of a great movement; how great in its present extent or future outreach we of the moment cannot judge; we can only see that it contains elements which have before this gone to the making of great movements in the world's history: God; a man of vision, courage and deep consecration; and an organization through which to work.

We who are not members of the Roman Catholic Church are apt to be both critical and suspicious of the actions of that Church; for this there may be cause. But may God give us all eyes to see and honesty to acknowledge the working of His Spirit in our day, for the steady increase of missionary zeal in the Roman Catholic Church which has marked the last decade is undoubtedly His work, while the man at the heart of it, Pope Pius xi, is as undoubtedly His instrument.

What was the primary impulse, and what the early secret growth of the revival who can say? But there are indications that once again God has brought a great good out of a great evil, and that it was the shame and agony of a world at war which led to a renewed and passionate desire for a real, not a partial or nominal, kingdom of God on earth. Be that as it may, the revival, as seen from without, dates from the Letter Apostolic, *Maximum Illud*, issued by the late Pope Benedict xv in 1919; it was strengthened by the Encyclical, *Rerum Ecclesiæ* of the present Pope Pius xi in 1926. It found dramatic expression in the great Vatican missionary exhibition of 1925 and in the solemn and spectacular consecration of six Chinese bishops in

St Peter's at Rome in the summer of 1926, and it is seen on all sides in the springing up of new missionary activities.

Some of the manifestations of the revival are dealt with in this paper. They are intended only to be indicative. As the two papal pronouncements referred to above have been widely published and have been the objects of much comment, a brief reference here to their main content will suffice. The argument of the former was that although missionary work has been carried on by the Church for centuries, although lives have been devoted—and not seldom splendidly sacrificed—wealth has been poured out, and the Church has apparently given of her best, yet the results have not been in any way commensurate with the efforts put forth. The conclusion drawn was that there have been defects in the methods of carrying on missionary work, and a fourfold policy was recommended, as follows: To occupy new and wider areas as speedily as possible; to divide up this wider territory among many more societies; to establish and preserve closer and uninterrupted contact between these different societies; and to make more determined efforts to establish in all territories clergy native to the soil, including not only priests but also bishops. The encyclical closed on a note of urgency: the existing methods of training such a clergy must be re-organized.

Starting from the position laid down in the pronouncement of his predecessor, Pope Pius XI develops it in *Rerum Ecclesiæ*. He begins with an exhortation to the prelates of the Church at home to consider and take to heart the need of the world for Christ and the comparative paucity of missionaries, to face the demand made by the facts and to determine to answer it. As an earnest of his own desire to devote his pontificate to the winning of the non-Christian world, His Holiness refers to the missionary exhibition of 1925, organized by himself in the gardens of the Vatican, which proved an educative and inspiring factor beyond even the highest hopes.

The second part of the encyclical is primarily addressed

to the 'Prefects and Vicars Apostolic' working in non-Christian lands, and greatly stresses the urgency of training a native clergy, a work which, indeed, is stated to be the first duty of missionary leaders. Such training naturally predicates the establishment of seminaries where they do not already exist. The desirability and possibility of training Chinese, Indians or Africans to hold the same position as that of western priests is firmly stated. Difficulties are foreseen, objections are met, obedience to the papal dictum on the part of the missionaries is of course taken for granted, and there is an assumption of unquestioning response. The whole tone, indeed, is that of 'I have said; you will act,' possible only in the Roman Catholic Church.

That difficulties do exist is recognized by all. The chief is perhaps the demand for a celibate priesthood; a second is the difficulty experienced by many seminarists in grasping the theological and philosophical teaching, and in learning Latin. Many experienced missionaries in Africa feel that it is impossible to develop an African priesthood out of converts removed by one or two generations only from primitive conditions of knowledge and of religious belief. Another and serious difficulty is involved in the length of training required, amounting sometimes to fifteen or even twenty years. At the end of this time the priest who emerges is only too likely to have grown completely out of touch with the life of his own people, while a large proportion of those who start training never complete it.

Yet, in spite of all obstacles, recent years have seen a steady increase in the number of seminaries in all parts of the world, and a native priesthood will gradually be built up from which an episcopate will develop. Following on the consecration of six Chinese in 1926, the first Roman Catholic Japanese bishop was consecrated to Nagasaki in the autumn of 1927, and it is expected that Indian, Annamese and African bishops will before long receive consecration.

Three missionary associations are recommended in the encyclical to the attention of the faithful: the Society for

the Propagation of the Faith (*Opus a Fidei Propagatione*); the Society of the Holy Childhood (*Opus Sanctæ Infantiæ*), supported by a world-wide child membership, and caring especially for the nurture and education of orphans and other children; and the Society of St Peter (*Opus St Petri*), which supports seminaries for training native priests. Having already received the official approval of the late Pope Benedict xv in *Maximum Illud* (1919), in the following year this Society was taken under the immediate care of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. It has an especially widespread membership in Holland, and under the recent prominence given to the whole question of training an indigenous clergy in all parts of the world, it is expected that the membership and support will steadily advance, as indeed it has done during the last year.

If there is one thing that we non-Roman missionaries are inclined to envy those of the Roman Church, at times when the missionaries of a neighbouring society appear to be more than usually 'difficult,' it is the supposed unity of their church organization, undivided into sects and denominations. But the place taken by denominational missionary societies among us is taken to some degree by their religious missionary orders, and that they do not invariably work in harmony or welcome one another as neighbours is no secret. The Pope will have none of it, and the missionary leaders are gravely reminded that the division of territory is in his hands, and that he will allot it to such orders and in such a way as seems to him best and will expect co-operation on their part.

It is not to be supposed that the two encyclicals were received everywhere with unqualified pleasure, but they were a clear call, not to be disregarded, from the head of the Church. They reminded men afresh that without active missionary work, the expression of its faith, the Church dies. It is understood to be the wish of the Pope that every priest should be a member of the *Unio Cleri pro Missionibus*; that he should arrange for missionary sermons and instruc-

tion at not infrequent intervals in his parish ; that he should observe the newly appointed day of prayer for missions (annually on the last Sunday but one in October) and in every way keep before his people the idea, the facts and the challenge of foreign missions.

Among student organizations, some of which are well known, of great significance is the recently launched *Aucam* (*Association Universitaire Catholique pour l'Aide aux Missions*), a lay association of students which appears to be moulded upon the Student Christian Movement. Established in 1925 with its secretariat at Louvain, and seeking to enlist the membership of the Roman Catholic students of the world, it has already achieved a name for itself by its publications and its energy. One noteworthy outcome is (see p. 223) the new Kisantu hospital. The object of *l'Aucam* is to stimulate interest in the cause of foreign missions and to help it onward by all means, especially by prayer, in view of a world largely ignorant of Christ and in grievous need of the mediation of love and peace. It hopes to carry through an ambitious publication programme, and become a centre for disseminating with regard to conditions of life abroad ' *des informations plus sûres que celles de politiciens ou d'hommes d'affaires intéressés*, a most laudable object which can only evoke sincere well-wishing. Since 1924 a monthly series of *Brochures*—monographs on missionary subjects by able writers—and since 1925 a monthly series of *Carnets*, giving subjects for prayer and meditation, have issued from the offices of *l'Aucam*, while *Les Dossiers de l'Action Missionnaire*, monthly leaflets intended to serve as a basis for discussion at study circles, are the modest fascicles from which it is hoped to build up an encyclopædia of the science of missions. Student missionary study circles and student conferences have been adopted throughout Europe and in America.

A branch of missionary activity which in the Roman Catholic Church is admittedly less developed than with us is that of medical work. This is due to a number of causes,

the chief being that their missionaries are almost invariably members of religious orders, priests or nuns. A priest consecrated to missionary work may be given an elementary training fitting him to give medical help to his flock if far removed from qualified medical aid, but the fully qualified medical man, able to organize and carry on hospital and dispensary work, who is at the same time a priest, is rarely to be found. Still rarer, in the case of a woman, is a member of a missionary sisterhood who is at the same time a doctor. The matter, however, is being taken up, the Pope himself pointing out the necessity for developing medical work in his address at the opening of the Vatican missionary exhibition. The solution which suggests itself is that lay men and women with a vocation and qualification for medical missionary work should go out as missionaries having some form of associate membership of the religious order working in the territory. But such a solution raises new problems concerning salaries, separate establishments and celibacy. If celibacy of the medical man is not insisted upon, the question of the missionary family immediately arises, a question which has so far not arisen in Roman Catholic missions, and one which the authorities can hardly be blamed for wishing still to avoid. In 1922, in connexion with the hospital and university at Würzburg, an institution was opened for giving both men and women medical students special spiritual and technical training for missionary work.

A society which may have widespread results for Africa, as well as for the medical work of the Church, has recently been founded at Louvain University, its active spearhead being at Kisantu, in Belgian Congo. It is known as *La Fomulac*, from its initials (*La Fondation Médicale de l'Université de Louvain Au Congo*), and came into being early in 1926, initiated by the students of Louvain University, members of *l'Aucam* (see p. 222), under the patronage of S.M. the King of Belgium and assured of the warm support of MM. the Colonial Minister and the Governor-General of the Congo.

In the conviction that the solution of the medical problem of the Congo is closely linked with the provision of a large, educated African medical personnel, this hospital and medical school have been established, and it was hoped to begin taking in a few patients before the end of 1927. The choice of site was largely determined by the mutual benefits to be gained from the presence of a large and well-established mission station. The presence of the mission schools will ensure a steady flow of African students, men and women, into the medical school; the mission will also provide facilities for the spiritual and religious direction of the students, without which the missionaries would be most reluctant to pass on their students for training. On the other hand, the presence of a well-equipped hospital with a research department cannot fail to prove of incalculable value to the whole colony. It has been decided by *La Fomulac* to open a similar institution at Katana in Kivu district. *La Fomulac* hopes to spread in Belgium a fuller knowledge of conditions of life in the Congo, and to stimulate the interest of the Belgian medical body in the great African dependency. To further this end an arrangement is being planned whereby newly qualified young Belgians may spend an academic year as assistants at Kisantu, gaining an experience of tropical work on the spot.

This happy co-operation of mission with government, backed by a student Christian body, augurs well for the work of all three.

Louvain appears to be a centre of missionary life. An *Institut de Missiologie* has recently been founded there, in addition to a chair of missionary history in the university. In 1923 *La Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain* was founded and has met annually under the special blessing of the Pope. The *Semaine* brings together for a week every summer an increasing number of missionaries, for the discussion of matters nearly affecting their work. At the fourth session, in August 1926, there were present 400 members, representing 58 organizations and 12 nationalities. At the fifth

session the numbers had risen to 550, representing over 60 organizations and 23 nationalities. The general subject of the *Semaine* is determined by its council, and the papers submitted, followed by discussion, range themselves more or less round that subject. No layman (i.e. non-missionary) is permitted to take part unless at the personal invitation of the committee, so that discussion is the more likely to be limited to living issues. The subject for 1927 was '*Les Élites en Pays de Mission*,' under which title the report, which is well worth careful study, has been issued.[1] While no paper was without interest, we of the non-Roman Churches cannot fail to be immediately arrested by the opening address delivered by Father Pierre Charles, S.J., secretary of the *Semaine*, seeing that after a reference to the Jerusalem meeting in 1928 it is wholly devoted to an examination of our own methods of work, in view of what the speaker considers the three chief factors which dictate Protestant missionary policy at the present day. These are: the rapid increase in the number of converts; the necessity of reaching the educated classes, which are rapidly increasing as illiteracy and ignorance of western science and culture diminish; and the challenge of the nationalist spirit and awakening race-consciousness in all parts of the world. With regard to the first, while Father Charles deplores the fact that in many parts of the world membership of the Protestant Churches is increasing more rapidly than that of the Roman Catholic Church, he points out that the International Missionary Council and Protestant missionary societies 'are deliberately planning and putting into practice the speedy and intensive training of a native *élite* capable of assuming responsibility and authority as soon as possible,' and he endorses the policy as one which should certainly be followed.

As regards the second point, Father Charles considers that we have been quicker than his fellow-Churchmen to grasp the potentialities of the rapid evolution of an educated

[1] Obtainable at Louvain: 11 Rue des Récollets, price Fr. 15.

class, which can only be reached by missionaries of a high educational standard, and cites the work of the World's Student Christian Federation, with its volunteer missionary movements, the Oxford and Cambridge missions in India and the 'magnificent movement' of the Universities' Mission in Africa. He points out that it is from Protestant books that Gandhi has learnt all he knows of Christianity (we should have said that it was from a Book to which we do not lay exclusive claim), and that it is the Protestants 'who have mobilized Booker T. Washington, and Aggrey, and Moton, and Salomon Plaatje, and Toyohito Kagawa and Wellington Koo.' The implication is that to attain these results a deliberate attempt to enlist the interest of students in college in the missionary enterprise is necessary.

As regards the third point, Father Charles quotes our policy adopted in face of the desire for racial self-expression, namely, that of increasingly giving authority into the hands of the indigenous Church, a policy which he thinks should be carefully watched and of which he appears, with reservations, to approve.

We have dwelt at some length on this address, as it appears to us to be remarkable and significant in view of the occasion on which it was delivered.

Of the addresses which followed all had reference to, and several were entirely concerned with, the question of the training of an indigenous clergy, and in many cases the speaker quoted merely to dismiss the objection that the native of whatsoever race is incapable of receiving the training and holding the office of a priest. A paper which ranks among the foremost in value was that of the R.P. Aupiais of the Lyon African Mission, Vicar-General of Dahomey, who described an experiment in *régionalisme*—the local cultivation of native custom, tradition, folklore, so as to retrieve the highest moral native culture from obscurity—and gave it as his emphatic opinion that unless the African priest has fully entered into his own tribal heritage he is farther from his people and less useful than a European.

The last few years have seen a number of new missionary periodicals, in addition to those of an earlier date familiar to all who follow the missionary activities of this Church; since 1918 there has been an increase of about forty-four per cent. We may single out for notice the *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, a quarterly launched in 1924, and in the first rank of scientific missionary reviews, edited in Paris by Father J.-B. Piolet, S.J., a member of the Institut Colonial International, and *Revue Missionnaire des Jesuites Belges*, a monthly issued in Louvain from January 1927. The year 1925 saw the second edition of Father Bernard Arens' admirable *Handbuch der Katholischen Missionen*, bringing up to date full statistics of all Roman Catholic missionary activities.

Even from this short and inadequate sketch it will appear that in prayer and in planning, in educating the Church at home and in organizing work abroad, a movement amounting to a real revival is taking place in the Roman Catholic Church. At the heart of the movement, like a white-hot flame, is the Pope, including in his prayers and his longings a passionate desire for a reunited Christendom. We, for our part, cannot feel that the answer to that prayer will come in the way looked for by his Church. But one thing is certain, God does not leave prayer unanswered. The World Call to the Church of England, the ever-widening Jerusalem Chamber Fellowship of Prayer, the spirit of prayer and expectation in which preparations are being carried forward for the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council—these and other signs bear witness to a parallel revival in missionary zeal among the Protestant Churches. Parallel lines are incorrectly defined as lines which never meet. Mathematicians see in them, rather, lines which do meet—in Infinity, which is in God.

M. M. Underhill

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CHANGING ISLAM

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Vol. I. THE ISLAMIC WORLD SINCE THE PEACE SETTLEMENT. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Maps. Appendices. London: Oxford University Press. 25s. 1927.

MR ARNOLD TOYNBEE'S *Islamic World since the Peace Settlement* is a book of first-rate importance. Hitherto no serious attempt has been made to present to English readers a comprehensive and synoptic account of those new movements of thought which are nowadays agitating Moslem society. Over a quarter of a century ago, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India and Muhammad Abdu in Egypt were known to be teaching an elevated and liberal interpretation of Islam, and similar movements were shortly after reported from North Africa and Turkey; but Mr Toynbee is the first to attempt a general survey of these new schools of thought and to discuss them as the reactions of Islam to the pressure of western civilization.

The subject is so vast that one cannot help regretting that Mr Toynbee was obliged to compress it within this particular framework. Officially, this volume forms part of the annual Survey of International Affairs that is published under the auspices of Chatham House. As such, it must take cognizance mainly of political events. But some of the most significant changes in Muhammadan thought have not been in the sphere of politics at all, but of religion, philosophy and social usage. Moreover, Moslems on the fringe of the Islamic world are under non-Moslem governments and therefore have little opportunity of translating changes of opinion into political action. The Moslems of India, for instance, have been for the last quarter of a century debating hotly the emancipation of women and the adoption of European clothes, but Indian modernists have not had the opportunity of expressing their views in sensational legislation such as that by which Angora startled the Turkish people. Mr Toynbee may be congratulated on the success with which he has triumphed over the limitations imposed on him; his book, which is admirably documented, is the most scholarly as well as the

most suggestive account of the new life kindled in the Moslem people by contact with European thought.

The reactions produced in the Islamic world by the pressure of western civilization may be grouped into two broad classes, in which Mr Toynbee detects a similarity to the two tendencies produced in Jewry by the pressure of Hellenism. There have appeared in Islam 'Zealots' such as the *Wahabis* and *Sanusis*, in whom the touch of a stronger civilization awoke a fear and antipathy which they expressed by falling back upon everything in their own tradition that was antithetical to the intrusive force; and there were 'Herodians' who were moved to admiration and imitation by a recognition of superiority. Had these two forces been allowed to contend without interference from outside, I personally believe that the 'Herodians' would in the end have prevailed. Tradition affirms that the Prophet himself said: 'Go even to the walls of China for the sake of learning.' There has always been a liberal tradition in Islam though it often ran low and threatened to disappear. Even at the court of Aurungzeb there were Moghul noblemen who were at pains to acquire the learning of the Franks. Bernier relates that Daneshmund Khan 'read with avidity the works of Gassendi and Descartes.' In another place he tells us that a great friend of his in Delhi, Rustam Khan, 'talks Portuguese and Latin,' and he would hardly have been to the trouble of learning the latter language had he not had a serious desire to fathom the learning of the Franks.

But the peaceful development of this school of thought was arrested in the twentieth century by the shameless land-grabbing of the western powers. The invasion of Libya and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the hour of Islam's weakness aroused passionate resentment in the hearts of both 'Zealots' and 'Herodians,' and since the war the two tendencies appear to have united in one torrent of militant nationalism. The struggle of this new Islamic nationalism against the aggression of Europe forms the main theme of Mr Toynbee's survey. He begins in the extreme west of the Islamic world with the superb struggle of Abdul Karim and the Rifis against the greatest military power of Europe; passing eastwards he chronicles the obstinate warfare of the nomads of Tripoli against the Italians; the resistance of the Egyptians (reputed the most timid of Moslem people) to the British; the desperate fight of the Syrians and Druses against the French invader; the unrest in Iraq; and the third Afghan war. The story reveals many

examples of patriotic devotion and acts of courage which may without exaggeration be called heroic. In spite of his scrupulous fairness and the studied moderation of his language, it is difficult when reading Mr Toynbee's pages to withhold our sympathy from the Muhammadan in his unequal struggle against the European aggressor. It is therefore a satisfaction to learn that even when the Moslems were ignominiously defeated they often obtained from their conquerors substantial political concessions. Mr Toynbee attributes the clemency of the victors either to war weariness or to the conviction that imperialism had reached the stage of diminishing returns ; but this surely is too cynical. A genuine sympathy with the Moslem demand for independence, such as is revealed in the Milner Report and—with generous passion—in the letters of Miss Gertrude Bell, was surely not without influence upon British policy in Egypt, Iraq and Afghanistan.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE THEODORE MORISON

MOSLEM THINKERS

LES PENSEURS DE L'ISLAM. By Baron CARRA DE VAUX. 5 volumes. Paris : Geuthner. Fr. 150. 1921–26.

THESE handy volumes, which contain altogether nearly two thousand pages, constitute the best treatment of the whole Islamic movement of which the present reviewer has any knowledge. The set of books is not a miniature encyclopædia but a selective work, '*non un catalogue, mais un choix*,' indicative of the whole range of Moslem life and literature. The lay reader is not discouraged by '*matière trop aride et trop technique*,' and the scholar is not offended by hasty generalizations. The layman's interest is at once aroused by the terse accounts of men of affairs. In two pages he views Mansur and the founding of Baghdad, and in seven more is swept into the full current of Abbasid history with the liberal, magnificent and cruel Harun. Thence, with the assurance that he follows a master, he proceeds with sustained interest, making the acquaintance of representative rulers of all lands and times. Afterward he is introduced to a score of Moslem historians, Arab, Persian, Mongol and Turk. Then follow sixty pages on political philosophy. The first volume closes with a chapter on writers of proverbs and tales. It is altogether an easy introduction to Islam, a somewhat unusual but quite reasonable beginning of the survey.

If the reader follows the author thereafter he gets in succession a view of geographers, mathematicians, medical men and natural historians (vol. ii); pre-Islamic Arabia, Mohammed, early Arab conquests, the Omayyad dynasty and the development of Moslem tradition, jurisprudence and Koranic commentary (vol. iii); scholastic philosophy, theology, mysticism, scepticism, Persian Moslem poetry and music (vol. iv); and Moslem sects, and the modern history of Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, India and Persia (vol. v). It will be noticed that only one volume, the third, seems to consist of purely Islamic materials, save for a chapter on orthodox theology in volume iv. Orthodoxy fills only a minor portion of the whole. Most 'thinkers' have been heretics, or even hostile. Intellectual movement has not contributed so much to the development of Islam as to reaction and assimilation. And yet it would be unsafe to say that modified Islam is still not Islam. That were to reckon without a fundamental principle, *ijmaʿ*, or the doctrine of agreement, by which accommodation and reformation are possible and legitimate within the faith, which has never held a council to fix its dogma. One major impression which the reader may receive from these volumes is that Islam may endure while changing.

The author treats his wide range of materials in masterly and attractive manner. Students of Islam have long ago learned to trust him as an authority, especially within some of the more technical phases of the subject. Admirably bold, clear and conclusive sketching characterizes the work. Frequently colourful details are included of men's personal appearance, and always estimates are provided of their personal qualities, whether it be Tamerlaine, fond of hunting and of war, the 'intense, ascetic, violently anti-liberal' Ibn Hanbal whose spirit and personality were of more influence than his doctrine, al-Ghazali with a style 'fruitful, easy, flexible and clear,' or Mustafa Kemal, 'tall, slender, with a thoughtful cast of countenance, prominent chin and a look which searches the depths.' The author is happy in his depicture of the entry of new veins into Islam and of the effects of their entry. Frequent observations are made which tend to correct prevalent opinions: for example, '*la servile condition*' of many of the mothers of khalifs, correcting the notion of Arab or Turkish race purity. Or again, 'Turkey has never been a land as backward or opposed to progress as has commonly been imagined,' while at the same time accounting for Turkey's better part by the constant pressure of European ideas. Comparative

estimates are made at appropriate times, thus intensifying the unity of the work as a whole. Wide geographical sweeps, necessary at times, do not in effect disturb the total balance of the treatment. No essential phase of the Islamic movement seems to have been omitted.

It is not astonishing, however, that minor faults appear, and that judgments are encountered which may be questioned. Baron de Vaux may be better acquainted with Islam in the abstract and Islam as it has had to do with French interests than with some other concrete aspects of the subject. He specifically addresses himself, in one place, to a French audience, saying that he writes for France's better comprehension of the Islamic world. That he writes for the benefit of us all, there can be no doubt, nevertheless. But, taking one volume only, we find the error that Calcutta is still the capital of India, that Hyder Ali was of Abyssinian origin and that Indian unity is solely a matter of English authority and government—unless political unity alone is meant. Some details given of the Mutiny are not altogether accurate.

This review does not do full justice to the work reviewed. It is likely that no brief and at once adequate treatment is possible of such a work as this. At best we can only indicate the scope and quality of these books. However, some notice should be taken of the author's concluding remarks—not of his conclusion, for he deems such unnecessary since he did not set out '*à soutenir une thèse ou une autre, mais seulement à faciliter la connaissance des littératures musulmanes et de la pensée orientale.*' He says, in effect, that Islam and the Orient should not be confused, that Islam is a religion and the Orient a region where this religion flourishes; that, because of our very interest nowadays in the history and comparison of religions, we tend to exaggerate the influence of religion; that certain characteristics of Islam are due more to the land than the faith; that such characteristics as fatalism, a habit of contemplation, zest for poetry and philosophy, the artistic temperament, the quest of calm, are not peculiarly Islamic, but are more dependent upon climate. And at the very close of the work he reminds us that although western prowess and superior science may have given us certain advantages over the Orient we should not abuse them, and although we may have surpassed the East in science and in material force, we have not surpassed it in wisdom.

JOHN CLARK ARCHER

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GERTRUDE BELL

THE LETTERS OF GERTRUDE BELL. Selected and edited by LADY BELL. 2 volumes. Illustrated. London: Benn. 42s. 1927.

THERE has been in modern times no more romantic career than that of Gertrude Bell; her *Letters* are more than documents of value for students of the Great War and of the beginnings of Iraq—they reveal a most gifted, daring and lovable character. 'Scholar, poet, historian, archæologist, art-critic, mountaineer, explorer, gardener, naturalist, distinguished servant of the State'—she will keep a place of honour both in the land of her birth and among the Arabs whom she loved and served. They knew a brave woman when they saw her; if the women were like that, they conjectured, what must the men be like? But the secret of her power over the peoples of the Near East was not due to her courage, or even to her mastery of their tongues. She went through the world taking all kinds of people into her life and into her love with the utmost frankness. She did not say to herself, 'I must acquire merit by being kind to these peoples,' she simply liked them as they were.

'We took you for foes,' said the great Sheikh of the Agaili.

'No, praise be to God,' said Gertrude, 'we are friends.'

It must not be supposed that she had any deep sympathy with missionary aims; and the letters will not yield any material for the study of missions in the Near East. But they will be of extraordinary interest to all who wish to study the new world arising in the Near East, and to those who wish to discover the secret which enabled a woman like this to enter with so little self-consciousness into the heart of another race. She writes:

> As I came home through the incredibly narrow crooked streets of Bagdad—the leaves almost touch overhead and the streets wind in and out of them—I had a warm feeling of being part of it all. And so I am, you know; just as much as I'm part of English surroundings. It is a curious sense to have two native lands, and to be wound into this one as with that by long links of association.

Is the secret here? Is the problem of the Christian missionary simply this: how to give his love to his new people without any prudential motive? to become one with them, not simply in order to do them good, but for their own sakes?

It seems fitting that ' her bones rest where she had wished them to rest, in the soil of Iraq.' Gertrude Bell lives in these letters as a radiant being, who, in days of darkness and storm, brought with her joy and hope and a noble and generous love.

LONDON E. SHILLITO

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, Vol. II. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. London : Allen & Unwin. 25s. 1927.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. (Upton Lectures delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, 1926.) London : Allen & Unwin. 5s. 1927.

AMONG the younger generation of German indologists a certain scepticism is prevalent, a doubt whether it will ever be possible for us Europeans, who have grown up in quite different situations and who are accustomed to think according to laws of thought quite different from the Indian, to reach a true understanding of the Indian world of thought. The concepts of which our thinking is built, the words with which we give expression to our thoughts, have their clearly defined content which is seldom, perhaps never completely, covered by the corresponding Sanskrit originals. We must therefore be cautious in speaking of analogies and parallels between Indian and European thought.

My mind was dominated by this idea when I set out to read the first book mentioned above. I said to myself that Indian indologists have a great advantage over their European and American colleagues. It is much easier for them to understand the true spirit of Indian philosophy, and easier also to set it down in literary form. I therefore hoped that the book would not only lay bare much new material, but that it would lead us deeper in our understanding of Indian philosophy. I must confess that in this respect the book disappointed me. The schools of thought treated are all known to us already through the work of European scholars. And the author does not compel us to make any considerable change in the picture which these writers gave us.

Is that a proof that the scepticism of the younger German indologists is unjustified, and that European indologists have on the whole reached a true understanding of Indian philosophy ? I should

not like to answer this question with an unqualified 'Yes.' It would be 'Yes' if the author were an independent student. But that he does not seem to me to be. All through the book it is apparent that he is to a large extent dependent on European scholars, not only with regard to the material he treats but above all in the interpretation of Indian philosophical concepts. I was repeatedly surprised to find with how little scruple he puts European philosophical concepts in place of Indian.

The Indian who speaks to us in this book has had too strong a European influence in his education to save him from the dangers which lie in the use of European parallels for Indian philosophical concepts.

If Radhakrishnan's book does not carry us much further than the European indologists' work, it has its own advantages nevertheless. By the omission of philological details it gives us an easily comprehensible survey of the main content of the six well-known orthodox philosophical systems (*Nyāya*, *Vaiśesika*, *Sāṁkhya*, *Yoga*, *Pūrva mimāṁsā* and the *Vedānta*), of the well-known *Vedānta sūtras* and of *Śaṁkara*. Then comes a much shorter treatment of the theism of *Rāmānuja*, of *Śaivism*, *Śāktism* and later *Vaiṣnavism*.

The author does not content himself, however, with the presentation of the different systems of teaching, but gives us an idea also of the criticism which the other systems have met with from the standpoint of the *Śaṁkara Vedānta*. It would have been interesting if a glimpse had also been given of the criticism which has often been made of the *Śaṁkara Vedānta* itself—criticism which was made with special force by *Rāmānuja*. The prejudice of the author in favour of the *Vedānta* is noticeable not only in the judgment which he metes out to the other systems, but also in the clearly apologetic character of his treatment of the *Vedānta*. It seems to me doubtful if the *Vedānta* of *Śaṁkara* has really such a definitely theistic trend as the author would have his readers believe. Perhaps he would not have yielded so fully to the temptation to speak of theism in this connexion and might also have estimated rather differently the so-called theism in other systems if he had first asked himself the question whether that which is characteristic in the Indian conception of God would not best be expressed by the word 'theopanism,' in place of the current and unsuitable word 'pantheism.' The conception of God in India is substantially different from European pantheism and not less from the theistic side of Christianity. I know no word

which so exactly describes its characteristics as the word 'theopanism,' since it suits equally its transcendentalism and its substantialism.

Professor Radhakrishnan treats the different systems as completely isolated, and does not sufficiently consider the main stream of the history of Indian thought. It is a matter of no small importance for the understanding of the Indian systems themselves when and in what circumstances they arose and developed. It is true that the history of Indian philosophy still lies largely in the dark, but nevertheless we do know more than Professor Radhakrishnan's book would lead us to believe.

Although this book has serious deficiencies it deserves diligent study. The special attention of missionary readers may be directed to the concluding sections of the separate chapters and of the whole book, where the systems are evaluated.

Every missionary should read *The Hindu View of Life*, since it shows clearly how Indian religion and culture are reflected in the mind of an Indian of modern European education.

The author speaks first of the nature and content of religious experience, then of the Hindu attitude in the conflict of religions and finally of the Hindu *Dharma*, i.e. chiefly of *karma* and caste. The whole book bears the character of an apology of Hinduism as a syncretic religion which, during its long history, has absorbed many other religions and has thereby maintained many different aspects. This many-sidedness in no way repels the author; rather it seems to him an advantage. Since it has so many aspects, Hinduism can meet all the religious needs of men at the most varied stages of development and can lead them, without doing violence to their spirits by making proselytes, to ever greater heights of religious knowledge and experience. In the teaching on *karma* the author tries to restore its ethical value. Caste, he says, had a great positive meaning, but now it is out of date and should be abandoned.

Missionaries in India need to gain a clear understanding of the syncretic character of Hinduism and of its power of assimilation. Will Hinduism be able successfully to assimilate Christianity also? This seems to me perhaps the most important of missionary questions, on the answering of which the whole future of Christianity in India depends.

H. W. Schomerus

Halle, Saale

INDIA'S PAST

INDIA'S PAST: A Survey of her Literature, Religions, Languages and Antiquities. By A. A. MACDONELL. Illustrated. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 1927.

THE early history of the Indo-European family of peoples has been slowly recovered by patient research during recent decades. European culture is the outcome of the common life of western members of the family; while, in the Far East, another member, the Aryan people, fell into two sections, which created respectively the civilizations of Persia and India.

Strange to tell, the key to the whole problem was discovered in India. Sanskrit, the language of that section of the Aryan group from which the culture of India sprang, proved of so luminous a structure that, to intelligent study, its relations, not only with its Persian neighbour, Avestan, but with Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic also, stood out plain. This discovery was made in Calcutta about one hundred and forty years ago; the keen-eyed discoverer was Sir William Jones. He perceived that Sanskrit was closely related to Latin and Greek; and that discovery has led to all that has been learned about the Indo-European peoples since then. Thus one of the greatest discoveries of modern times arose, in the last analysis, from the commercial eagerness which sent Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danish and British business men to India. Professor Macdonell tells of this supreme discovery, and then shows how India's past has been brought to light by long, patient, triumphant research.

The people of this country are slowly awaking to a consciousness of the extraordinary glory and interest of India and of the wonder of our own national connexion with the country. Professor Macdonell's volume ought to prove of great value in enabling thoughtful men to realize the main facts about the civilization of India, its age, its splendour, its variety, its limitations. Despite every necessary deduction, India remains by far the most wonderful of all the lands of the Far East. A copy of the book ought to appear at once in every library in both Britain and India.

Sanskrit literature necessarily bulks large in the pages of this work; and the literatures of the many vernacular tongues are duly emphasized. Since the books of the three great religions of India are so fully dealt with in standard works, they are only briefly

sketched here ; but epic, lyric and dramatic poetry, and then stories, fairy tales and fables, in both prose and verse, which have been eagerly cultivated in India both in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, are luminously dealt with.

Most readers will also be glad that the Professor has devoted some sixty pages to ' technical literature,' as he calls it. The bulk of this writing is definitely scientific ; but, since it covers philosophy and law, love and astrology, as well as science, the phrase is fully justified. Most of this section of the book will be quite new to the majority of readers.

It would have been well if more space could have been given to Indian art ; yet we must be grateful for the many carefully chosen examples of beautiful architecture and sculpture which adorn this volume.

Finally, the methods of Indian research are sketched in an illuminating chapter which closes this valuable work.

J. N. FARQUHAR

MANCHESTER

JESUS THE AVATĀR

JESUS THE AVATĀR. By V. CHAKKARAI. Madras : Christian Literature Society. Re. 1. 1927.

AN Indian thinker to-day is faced by a double problem. Being an Indian he thinks, both by necessity and of choice, from the Indian point of view ; and being human he is ' heir of all the ages ' and of western thought as well as of his own. To the Englishman western thought is native and finds expression in daily life ; eastern thought is for the most part a matter of book-learning only. To the Indian both ways are matters of living experience ; he has been brought up to follow sometimes the one and sometimes the other, and has often not yet found the higher unity which will reconcile the two. He gets nearest to that unity in the region of *bhakti*.

Mr Chakkarai introduces himself to us as a *bhakta* of Christ, ' one who is deeply devoted to the Master,' and it is in this personal devotion that his greatest strength lies. His most powerful chapters are those which deal with the person of Jesus. He tells us that : ' As we study the gospel narratives . . . what is vivid and real to us is the face of Jesus with a shadowy background of unknown and infinite potencies. . . . Out of the infinite nebulousness emerges the

face of Jesus. . . . Jesus . . . gives, as it were, colour, light and *rūpa* to God.'

In these chapters he draws a vigorous portrait full of attractiveness and interest. In more speculative matters his arguments are less satisfying. The revelation of the Old Testament seems to have little interest for him, and nature moves him rather to wonder than to devotion.

He deals with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit somewhat hastily; the Spirit, he tells us, is only Jesus, seen from a new point of view: 'The starting-point in the consciousness of the Christian disciple is that the Holy Spirit is Jesus Himself.'

Finally Mr Chakkarai plunges into speculation on the meaning of the Incarnation to God Himself, speaking of it as a 'great and terrible experiment,' by which 'He entered upon a new phase of His being,' terms which seem to imply, in spite of earlier contradiction, that God has become subject to time.

Mr Chakkarai's readers will find many helpful suggestions and pregnant sayings in his book. It was perhaps not intended to convert those who do not already believe.

MADRAS D. J. STEPHEN

AFRICAN RELIGIONS

DIE RELIGIONEN DER AFRIKANER IN IHREM ZUSAMMENHANG MIT DEM WIRTSCHAFTSLEBEN. (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A. VII.) Von CARL MEINHOF. Oslo: Aschehoug. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Williams & Norgate. 3s. 3d. 1926.

AS the title of these lectures delivered at Oslo shows, the author has examined African religions from a special point of view. In consequence we do not find an exhaustive description of African religions, but a valuable and instructive representation of the characteristic African religions without a literature, classified according to their connexion with life occupations. This examination proves beyond doubt that the relation between religion and occupation is of greater importance than has usually been considered.

Before entering upon the main subject, the author gives an account of religions without a literature (chap. II), how to obtain a knowledge of these religions (chap. III) and of the people of Africa (chap. IV). He combats the general opinion of Europeans that

Africans are primitive people lacking a real culture; the Natives of Central and South Africa have been familiar with the use of iron since early ages, certainly for much longer than it has been known to Europeans.

The study of a people and its religion is comparatively easy when a religious literature exists; but to enter into the religious ideas of Africa, where such literature is lacking, is a task of great difficulty. We enter into a new and strange world. Religion is closely connected with the nation, tribe or family; no one feels any obligation to propagate it; on the contrary, it is kept hidden as far as possible from the foreigner.

The only way to understand all the problems of such religion is thoroughly to learn the language and to win the confidence of the people. That is the reason why missionaries are able to do so much for the study of these religions without a literature. Professor Meinhof calls attention to the fact that missions have done much more during recent years than in earlier days. Missionaries know that a thorough knowledge of a non-Christian religion is an indispensable means for the prosecution of missionary work.

The races of Africa are few but, according to Professor Meinhof, the languages number about six hundred, distinguished one from another more than European languages are. He divides the races into three groups: pygmies, true dark-coloured Negroes and light-coloured people who lack woolly hair and whose physiognomy resembles that of the Egyptian. With regard to occupations also the people are divided into three groups corresponding to the races: the gathering or hunting people, the hoe-farming people and the pastoral people.

The light-coloured people in the north, with a written language and higher culture, are excluded from this book. The pygmies are among the most primitive in their occupation and the simplicity of their life. They gather directly from the ground and trees what they need for their subsistence. The dark-coloured Negroes farm with hoes, not with ploughs and animals. They build towns and have a higher culture. The pastoral people are cattle-farmers. Some of them rear sheep and goats also; a few in the north keep donkeys, horses and camels.

These different occupations for a livelihood correspond to three different forms of religion. The relation between the occupation and the religion is mythological in essence. In many cases the latter is the cause of an upward progress in the former. In chapters v

to VIII the author gives the characteristics of the religions of these three groups, and shows with great clearness (*a*) the different forms of religion according to group development, (*b*) a true idea of the underlying motive and origin of different forms of occupation, and (*c*) that the progress of occupation has been, step by step, dependent on religious motive.

In the last chapter Professor Meinhof considers the influence exerted by foreign religions. At the end is a list of books through the study of which the author developed his theory of the intimate relation between religion and occupation.

STJÄRNORP, SWEDEN K. E. LAMAN

WHY JEWS REJECT JESUS

THE JEW AND CHRISTIANITY: Some Phases, Ancient and Modern, of the Jewish Attitude towards Christianity. By HERBERT DANBY, D.D. London: Sheldon Press. 2s. and 3s. 6d. New York: Macmillan. $1.25. 1927.

THE supreme challenge to the universal missionary claims of Christianity is the persistent rejection of Jesus by the Jews. The religion that has won race after race to the faith of Christ has found no way to win the race with which it has been longest in contact. The people through whom the Gospel came to the world have themselves, as a people, never come under its sway. After nineteen centuries there are more Jews in the world than ever before—more than fifteen millions of them—the vast majority of whom live in Christian lands, still refusing to admit the divine authority of Jesus and still hostile to the religion that He founded.

Face to face with this disconcerting fact Canon Danby has been asking the question, Why? He has sought an answer in Jewish literature scattered over the whole period from the first century to the present. He has selected therefrom representative statements of Jewish attitudes towards Christ and Christianity, and has interpreted these statements in the light of the general conditions of the period out of which they arose.

His deliberate conclusion is that the antagonism of Jews to Jesus and the Christian faith is due almost wholly to the failure of Christians to manifest to Jews the spirit of Christ, and to the ceaseless injustice and persecution which they have heaped upon them in His name. He says: 'If the Jew did in truth become the deepest

hater of Christianity, it was most certainly the Christians who had the largest share in making him so.'

With this declaration most Christians will unqualifiedly agree, for the period beginning with Constantine in the fourth century. It was then that Christians, from being a despised and feeble folk, passed to a position of influence and authority. That they should from this time on have used their power to visit upon Jews shame and injustice and persecution is an historical fact for which Christians must continue to bear reproach and for which they must seek to make reparation. But we may fairly ask how it came about that this hostility to the Jews, so alien to the spirit and example of Christ and His apostles, took possession of the early Christians. Canon Danby, while seeking a reason for the hatred of the Jews, has not furnished any satisfactory explanation of the hatred of the Christians which needs equally to be accounted for.

The fact is that while the Talmud, from which Canon Danby freely quotes, was still in process of compilation, there is abundant evidence to show that it was Jews who relentlessly persecuted Christians, and not Christians Jews. The New Testament itself is an authentic reflection of the period. And we may add the testimony of one other authority, among several—Justin Martyr, who died 163 A.D. In his *Dialogue with Trypho* there are a number of statements like these : ' Your teachers exhort you to permit yourselves no conversation whatever with us.' ' The high priests of your nation and your teachers have caused that the name of Jesus should be profaned and reviled through the whole world.' ' The Jews regard us as foes and opponents, and kill and torture us if they have the power. In the lately ended Jewish war, Bar Cochba, the instigator of the Jewish revolt, caused Christians alone to be dragged to terrible tortures, whenever they would not deny and revile Jesus Christ.' Can we wonder that the early Christians came to look upon Jews as the bitter and implacable foes of Christ and Christianity, and that, when the power to retaliate became theirs, they forgot what manner of people they were and sought by legislation and force to do what only the spirit of Christ can accomplish ?

The fact of the matter is that our reason as Christians for rebuking wrongs perpetrated against the Jew, and for seeking to interpret Christ to him in terms of sympathy and kindness, is not at all because he is blameless but because it is demanded of us by the word and spirit of our Master. And it is here that Canon Danby has rendered

high service to the Christian Church. He has shown that the chief barrier in the way of winning the Jews to Christ has been the un-Christian conduct of His professed followers, and that wherever Christians have shown themselves to the Jews as real followers of the Saviour, in spirit and deed, deep-seated prejudices have disappeared and a way has been opened for the Gospel.

JOHN STUART CONNING

NEW YORK

JAPAN AND CHINA

REPORT ON JAPAN AND CHINA. By R. E. SPEER and H. T. KERR. New York: 156 Fifth Avenue. 1927.

THIS is the report of a deputation, consisting of Mrs C. K. Roys, Miss Gertrude Schultz and the two authors, sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to visit Japan and Chosen, and to attend a series of 'evaluation conferences' in China, in the autumn of 1926. Despite the disorder and interruption of communications in China, they were able to hold regional conferences in Tsinan, Nanking and Canton, and a general conference in Shanghai. They visited many of the Presbyterian stations, failing only to reach Hunan. Their report is voluminous, exceeding five hundred pages, not because of diffuseness but of the lines on which it is planned. While much is technical, some of Dr Speer's comment and Dr Kerr's personal impressions make a wide appeal. The main interest lies in China, but the sections on Japan and Chosen, though brief, are illuminating.

The evaluation conferences arose from the desire to reconsider the whole mission policy in China, in view of the growth of the nationalist movement. The findings are appropriately prefaced by a section of sixty pages dealing with the present environment of missionary work in China, which brings together the cream of the reading and the fruit of the interviewing by which the deputation prepared itself for its task. In the skilful hands of Dr Speer the result is a remarkably balanced conspectus of the shifting scene which is present-day China.

The central theme of the conferences was the relation of Chinese Church to foreign mission and the problems which arise from it. The findings on this subject and Dr Speer's discussion of it will be of interest to many. The tabular statement and diagrams of alter-

native schemes given in the findings are distinctly useful. Within the Presbyterian community the chief division of opinion is between the Canton region and the other fields, the former, in which the Presbyterians have joined the Church of Christ in China, favouring absorption of the mission in the Church, while the other conferences preferred the co-operation of the two distinct entities, Church and mission. The most striking omission, in view of Dr Speer's preparatory questions (as to the readiness of the Chinese Church to carry additional responsibilities and the probable effect of saddling it with them, p. 147) and his discussion (p. 314), is any explicit answer to the queries he raises. We are left to infer the answer from the actions taken.

Next in importance came the question of registration of schools and colleges under government regulations, involving 'voluntary' religion, and the problems connected with the ultimate handing over of large educational and medical institutions to the Church. There was recognition of the need to link such institutions more closely with the Church. The pros and cons of substituting for foreign missionaries Chinese workers, receiving high salaries, were fully canvassed.

The general impression left by the report is of Chinese and foreigners, neither grasping at nor clinging to authority, seeking together the best means of co-operation towards the fulfilment of a common aim. In an atmosphere of goodwill a solution is being worked out, but it is realized that a fuller spiritual life would sweep over and past many of the conference proposals. Christian activities and institutions in China must be increasingly those that are the spontaneous expression of the life of the Chinese Church, and that Church needs the spiritual enthusiasm which Dr Kerr describes as returning to the Korean Church.

PEKING J. B. TAYLER

MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION

TWENTY YEARS OF MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION. By KENNETH MACLENNAN. London: Edinburgh House Press. 1s. 1927.

THERE are few men who can write autobiography or form an estimate of the value of their own work or that of their friends. Mr Maclennan's little book reveals that he is among that choice company. He writes with restraint on a topic about which

he might easily have been forgiven if he had boasted, and he describes with the detachment of an onlooker things in which he himself played a leading part.

It is significant that there has been no attempt to repeat the World Conference of 1910 in Edinburgh. That stands unique, a memorable achievement, not so much for its spectacular evidence of the essential spiritual unity and common evangelistic purpose of the reformed Churches of the world, but because it was the beginning of a new order in the missionary enterprise. It knit together in new bonds of partnership the Protestant missionary agencies of the world.

Those who have become responsible for missionary administration during the last twenty years would find it hard to imagine the conditions which existed before the Edinburgh Conference was planned, the *International Review of Missions* published, Edinburgh House occupied and its Press Bureau established, or the National Christian Councils of the Far East brought into being. They are so well accustomed to these things that they take them for granted and think only, perhaps, of their cost. That is why this book should be read by all missionaries and members of mission boards.

So far as the religious life of Britain is concerned, Edinburgh House is the token of something without precedent or parallel. Here is organized Christian unity so responsible as to rest upon a regular proportionate levy of income from the fifty different bodies that constitute the Conference of British Missionary Societies, so authoritative as to be able to represent all those societies in diplomatic and official business, and yet so free as not to violate any religious principle nor diminish the ultimate responsibility of each Church and board when action is taken.

The devout reader will find the signs of God's modern dealings with men on many pages of this record. The undesigned preparedness of the missionary forces to meet and survive the shock of the great war with mutual sympathy and helpfulness; the salvage of the German missions; the erection upon a co-operative basis of the Christian Councils of the Far East as the means by which the new national consciousness of the Churches in those lands may find the expression of positive and united service—these and other things greatly impress the mind.

And what Edinburgh House could not do in that it was weak through the budget, it has yet made possible in its atmosphere and by its encouragement. Groups of people interested in a particular

problem, such as a union Christian college for women in India, or Christian education in China, or work among Moslems, have been able to get together and accomplish their common purpose with mutual understanding and goodwill.

Here Mr Maclennan provides his readers with both encouragement and warning. It is possible to expect Edinburgh House to do too much for us—to overload the staff and to run the risk of a failure that would damage the organization and spoil its reputation. It is also possible to multiply and extend the influence of co-operation freely in every direction. There are still some of us who sincerely believe our denominational divisions to be not sinful schism but a part of the divine plan for conserving truth and keeping the forces of the Church mobile. It is a duty and privilege that those who so believe should combine in every practicable way with their fellow-disciples of Christ in preparing the way of the Lord.

London C. E. Wilson

A MASS MOVEMENT SURVEY

The Mass Movement in the Telegu Area (10 pp.); The Mass Movement in Tinnevelly (27 pp.); The Mass Movement in Travancore (23 pp.); The Mass Movement in Western India (18 pp.); The Mass Movement in the United Provinces (15 pp.); The Call from the Land of the Five Rivers (19 pp.). London: Church Missionary Society. 1926.

TO the student of church history there can be no more thrilling study than that of the mass movements of the depressed classes of India into the Christian Church. There are features common to all the six mass movement areas for which the C.M.S. is responsible which make for common problems and methods.

The mass movements in these areas are all at varying stages of development. Some show clear signs of statesmanlike leadership, in co-ordinated organization of all branches of the work, and in well-developed Indian leadership, with the clear goal in view, even if still distant, of a self-governing and self-supporting indigenous Church. Other areas are still in the initial stages, and if in some the leaders are obviously overwhelmed with the details of every side of the work, so that they cannot for a moment step aside to view it as a whole and give time to constructive thought and planning, then surely the fault is not theirs but that of the home Church which should have given them better support.

From all six areas comes the same appeal to meet a need that is both urgent and passing. The clear statements of needs and resources given in these surveys should do something to stimulate the imagination of the home Church to realize the heart-breaking position of these mass movement missionaries as they face the alternatives of establishing a vigorous Church, which may be the means of evangelizing the whole of India, or, if present opportunities are missed, of a failure of Christianity in the eyes of India, which will put back the cause of Christ for generations. One writer says:

> If we are willing and able to take the tide at the flood there is every possibility, human and divine, that within five years we shall see a most notable ingathering into the Church of God. If we find that the cost is too great, and, on one ground or another, refuse the challenge of the moment, it is almost certain that the tide will sink back into that restless sea from which it has emerged.

BECKENHAM, KENT V. A. VODDEN

SHORTER NOTICES

A Straight Way toward To-morrow. By Mary Schauffler Platt. (Cambridge, Mass.: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions. 50 and 75 cents. 1927.) In a series of six studies the author outlines forces at work moulding the world of to-morrow. She describes the evil effects both of old custom and of new economic conditions on the children in the world to-day, and, at the same time, the ameliorative and constructive work which is being built up. The book is plentifully illustrated with photographs, some of which are of unusual charm, depicting child life in many parts of the world. The studies were prepared in order to arouse women to the necessity for their co-operation if the coming race is to grow to manhood and womanhood in a world better than that into which it is now being born.

Encyclopædia of Books on China. By Arthur Probsthain. (London: Probsthain. 30s. 1927.) This bibliography, comprising Nos. 35 to 38 of the compiler's *Catalogue of Valuable Books*, contains over four thousand titles in forty-three sections, with terse but descriptive annotations. The arrangement and printing are excellent. The fact that Professor Percy Bruce supplies the foreword is a guarantee of merit. Books on Tibet, Korea, Indo-China, Siam and Formosa are also included. M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rt Rev. E. J. Palmer, D.D., Bishop of Bombay, has worked for many years for the autonomy of the Anglican Church in India and for church reunion. He attended the Lausanne Conference.

The Rev. T. T. Lew, Ph.D., D.D., is a professor in Yenching University, Peking, and is lecturing during the present winter at several leading universities and theological colleges in the United States. Dr Lew also attended the Lausanne Conference.

Professor Latourette, Ph.D., of Yale University, himself formerly a missionary in China, is known as a student of church and missionary history.

The Rev. A. K. Reischauer, D.D., a professor in Meiji Gakuin (American Presbyterian College), Tokyo, has made a special study of Japanese Buddhism.

Professor Karl Heim, D.Dr., who holds the chair of Theology in Tübingen University, commands the confidence of a large body of theologians in Germany.

Mr Manilal C. Parekh, by birth a Jain, found his way to Christ through the teaching of Keshub Chunder Sen, whose devout disciple he still remains. He looks for a ' Hindu Church of Christ.'

The Rt Rev. V. S. Azariah, D.D., Bishop of Dornakal, does not accept Mr Parekh's position. He has had long experience of the Church in rural communities.

Mr D. Tagawa, President of Meiji Gakuin, Tokyo, a former member of Parliament, is a leading Christian layman and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council.

Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for India in London, is an authority on labour conditions in India. He represented the Government of India at the International Labour Conference at Washington in 1919 and at successive conferences at Geneva, being President of that held at Geneva in 1927.

Mr J. D. Rheinallt Jones is Lecturer on Bantu Studies in the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, and the Honorary Secretary of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives.

Mr Frimodt-Möller, M.B., Ch.B., went to India in 1907 under the Danish Missionary Society. Since 1912 he has been Superintendent of the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle, South India.

The Rev. P. H. J. Lerrigo, M.D., formerly a medical missionary, has travelled widely in Congo. He is a secretary of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society.

The Rev. E. W. Wallace, D.D., a missionary of the United Church of Canada and Associate General Secretary of the China Christian Educational Association, has been in China since 1906.

The writers of book reviews are: Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Professor J. C. Archer, Ph.D., of Yale University; the Rev. E. Shillito, Literary Superintendent of the London Missionary Society; Professor H. W. Schomerus, in the University of Halle, a former missionary of the Leipzig Mission in India; Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.D., D.Litt., of Manchester University; Miss D. J. Stephen, Warden of the newly founded St Andrew's College, Madras; the Rev. K. E. Laman, D.D., of Lund University, a former missionary in Congo; the Rev. J. S. Conning, D.D., Superintendent of the Department of Jewish Evangelization in the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; the Rev. J. B. Tayler, M.Sc., of Yenching University, Peking; the Rev. C. E. Wilson, a secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society; and Mrs Vodden, formerly a missionary in Western India.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Rev. E. W. Smith (London), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 256.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

Survey of Smoking Opium Conditions in the Far East: A Report to the Executive Board of the Foreign Policy Association (March 1927). Herbert L. May. 56 pp. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 18 East 41st Street. 1927. *134.*

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XIV. New Missionary Magazines

†The Church Overseas. A Quarterly Review of the Missionary Work of the Church of England. No. 1. January 1928. London: Press and Publications Board, Church House, Westminster, S.W.1. 1s. single copy. 4s. per annum. *135.*

†Revue Missionnaire des Jesuites Belges. No. 1. January 1928. Louvain: 11 Rue des Récollets. Annual subs., Fr. 31.50. *136.*
An illustrated monthly (except for August and September) serving as a joint organ for all Belgian Jesuit missions. Formerly *Missions elges de la Compagnie de Jésu.*

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO =*Church Overseas*
CR =*Chinese Recorder*
EM =*Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM =*Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM =*International Review of Missions*
JCQ =*Japan Christian Quarterly*
JIR =*Journal of International Relations*
MRW =*Missionary Review of the World*
MW =*Moslem World*
MZW =*Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ =*Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR =*National Christian Council Review*
NMT =*Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT =*Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM =*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR =*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

HONOLULU AND JERUSALEM: THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS

By SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

'FROM Honolulu to Jerusalem' sounds like a Cook's Tour or a Dollar Line Cruise. For our present purpose it is merely a convenient caption under which to discuss one aspect which is common to the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the International Missionary Council. Honolulu was the scene last July (1927) of a remarkable conference, under the auspices of the Institute, at which unofficial representatives of the ten peoples chiefly concerned with the problems of the Pacific Ocean met to discuss them. Jerusalem is about to witness a similar assembly, more completely international in composition and specifically Christian in purpose, which will meet on the Mount of Olives under the auspices of the Council.[1] The common aspect of these two meetings is their international and inter-racial character and purpose: character, because many races meet in both cases; purpose, because the problems which arise from race contact are perhaps the most urgent which can be discussed at Honolulu, Jerusalem or elsewhere.

[1] A succinct account of the Honolulu Conference will be found in the *Round Table* for December 1927. The prospectus of the Jerusalem meeting is published in the form of a pamphlet, entitled *Jerusalem, 1928*, by William Paton, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W. 1, or 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Now, it is clear from a study of the literature of both these bodies that mere conference does not satisfy their purpose. In Honolulu, for instance, there is a distinction to be drawn between the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Honolulu Conference, for the latter is but one function of the former. The Conference is an essential part, some would say the necessary point of departure, in a process over which the Institute must stand as guide and controller; but the contribution which the Conference can make to the study of Pacific problems, in the actual days of its meeting, is limited to the impetus which it can give to the disinterested and dispassionate study of the facts. This is not the sole function of the Conference; but, since no conference can assemble, sift and interpret the material of its own discussions, it follows that 'Honolulu' cannot be stated in terms of conference alone. Once this was realized—it was present to some minds in 1925 and took definite form in 1927—the Institute assumed a definite character, embracing the whole process by which conference promotes research and research in its turn fructifies conference. In a word, the Institute, having launched the Conference, had to take measures to provide effective continuity between one Conference and another in such a manner that the area of co-ordinated knowledge should be continuously increased by expert study, and that each successive Conference should mark definite stages in the search for truth. It is the business of the Conference not only to familiarize its members with the general character of Pacific problems, but also to permeate their minds with the idea that the surest way out of the difficulties which beset peoples and races is to be found in that dispassionate study of the facts which is now seen to be the main purpose of the Institute.

The Honolulu Conference, with all its consequences in study and research, exists 'to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.' It is a fact-finding, fact-interpreting

body which formulates no policy of reform and has nothing to do with diplomacy, but may none the less be able so to define international problems in the Pacific that governments and nations hereafter will be enabled to approach their solution in the light of established facts, sifted and interpreted beforehand by those who have no axe to grind. In a word, the Pacific Institute is, in a sense, a zealous agnostic in pursuit of political and economic truth, without the pessimism which sometimes sterilizes the type. The International Missionary Council, on the other hand, has a creed and a militant purpose without which it could not exist; but, unless I am much mistaken, it contrives to combine in its policy the belief that Christian faith and Christian ethics offer a better solution of world problems than any other with a determination to study the material facts of all problems without prejudice or bias.

The programmes of these two organizations offer most encouraging evidence of a real development in the technique of reform. We are passing, if we have not already passed, from the days when conferences conferred and dissolved without issue and the scientific method had no place in the larger politics of the world. And, with the recognition of all that this implies, we also discern the part which private non-official agencies can play in conceiving and maturing even those projects of reform which may eventually require the sanction of the governments. Governments, in the last resort, are the agents of the world-as-it-is; and, as a rule, it is in the private imagination that there arises the vision of the world-as-it-ought-to-be. And now private enterprise takes the dream into the laboratory of experience and attempts, by a scientific method, to discover how reality may be refashioned in the image of the vision.

The reality with which this article is concerned is the problem of race relations: not indeed the intricate merits of the problem, but rather the opportunities for its treat-

ment which are presented by such bodies as the Institute of Pacific Relations and the International Missionary Council. A word upon the problem itself, however, is not inappropriate as preface to the matter in hand. It is commonly stated in terms of white and colour; but Jerusalem, with its conflict of Arab and Jew under a British mandate, and Honolulu with its melting-pot of brown, yellow and white under the Stars and Stripes, are apt illustrations of the fact that the problem includes all contacts of all colours. At the outset we may well remind ourselves that there is contact, friction, prejudice and all those elements which conjure up the spectre of race war, in places where colour of one kind meets colour of any other kind. Yellow is not necessarily friendly to yellow, nor yellow to brown. Nor are they all fatefully destined to combine in bellicose alliance against white.

The white peoples, none the less, bear a special responsibility in the present state of the colour controversy, for two reasons. As far as one may judge, who possesses but a meagre knowledge of history, there was a social equality and an almost complete absence of race-consciousness in that great era of civilization when the Greeks and the Romans made the Mediterranean the western centre of the globe. Not until national consciousness awoke to create the sovereign states of Europe did a sense of exclusiveness arise, and with it the false criteria of superiority and inferiority. As late as the fifteenth century Marco Polo could speak of Asia not merely as a world of wonder but as a state of society which rivalled his own in political and economic achievement. But the Renaissance which gave Europe such a sense of new opportunity, and the growth of national states thereafter, were alike the fruits of a powerful and active spirit which eventually wafted the European to America and Asia where his new-found dynamic power made him feel superior to the static and fatalistic peoples whom he found there. And with the growth of his power during the next three centuries his arrogance also grew.

Applying standards derived from his successful conquest of nature and from his equally successful creation of new political institutions, he judged as inferior all those who failed to survive his own test. In his exuberance he forgot the debt of Europe to Asia, in letters, astronomy, navigation and, not least, in religion; and his sense of superiority became a rooted conviction.

On the other hand, the peoples of Asia were not impressed by his criterion of progress, in which they professed to see movement without any ultimate aim. And they denied his claim to superiority because, judged by the standard of first and last things, he had created nothing at all. In a word, in all that really mattered, namely, the interpretation of life through religion, the European seemed to be definitely inferior; because not only had he made no original contribution (or so the Asiatic thought) to religion, but he showed little care for it. Moreover, in addition to her religious superiority, Asia could claim credit for excellence in nearly all the arts and in material achievement of a certain kind, except perhaps the art of politics; while even Asiatic politics had an indigenous claim of their own. It was only when the peoples of Asia began to turn from their traditional forms of government and to seek substitutes that their difference from Europeans could be read in terms of inferiority, because they did not possess the European faculty of doing things for themselves, either in governing themselves or in bending the forces of nature to human purpose. The so-called inferiority complex of the Asiatic is probably due to the impotent fury which surges within him when he contemplates the European, whom he regards as his inferior in mind, calmly assuming political control of large regions of Asia by means of his superior control of nature. To be ruled by one whom you believe to be fundamentally your inferior is the most galling of all ironies. Jesus escaped from that fate because He frankly rendered to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and His calm indifference to the ephemera of politics is one of the supreme lessons

of His message which may be commended to the politicians of His continent to-day. Asia has often been the weaker vessel in Cæsar's realm, while arrogantly claiming superiority in other spheres.

Now, it may seem a far cry from the coin bearing Cæsar's superscription to the race problem in the twentieth century; but if there be no direct continuity from that day in Jerusalem to our own, there is a moral in the story itself so obvious that it were impertinence to labour it. We may go farther and say that no historical account of the birth and growth of race feeling, with all its incalculable consequences, would be complete which did not probe the question how far that sense of separateness, which is a strong feature in the literature of all Jewry for instance, has contributed to the growth of fissiparous tendencies; or again, how far condescending arrogance, which has sometimes marked the attitude of Jew and Christian alike to the followers of other faiths, is one of the parents of our modern estrangements. It is a great error to suppose that these are matters of ancient history so remote as to be of no avail to help us now. Indeed, one of the first of a series of scientific studies designed to reveal the whole truth of the race problem would have to cover some of the historical and religious questions mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. A great deal of the material has already been furnished in the writings of historians and critics in Germany and Great Britain, but the light which it can throw on this problem has never been focussed upon it through interpretative exposition by a writer solely concerned with this aspect.

Assuming for our purpose that we have possessed ourselves of an introductory study of this kind which will give subsequent students a rich historical background for their work, whither do we turn in search of more light? We shall know the answer if we can say where races meet and when. Those countries and those epochs in which alien races have met most closely or most prolongedly are the sources to which we must go. As for epochs, the Mediterranean era

in classical times was a period of constant contact without much race friction, and it would be invaluable to know to what extent the races of that littoral actually mixed and with what results. And when we turn to countries, we find that each of three continents has a distinct contribution to make. The North American continent has been for two centuries the laboratory of an experiment which has sometimes seemed to be almost a nightmare in its resistance to any solution; but the racial contact of black and white has continued long enough and on so large a scale as to offer material for a most illuminating record of race relations, and the written record grows every year. The African continent will soon rival America both as laboratory and as witness-box in the case, but its contribution is necessarily of a somewhat different character from that of America. Asia, in her turn, is again different from both, and may perhaps claim to be the most important witness: for within the wide bounds of the oldest continent there are many varieties of race relations of which the most significant, intrinsically and in universal import, is the race contact in British India. It would appear that, in America and in Africa, the social and economic features of the relationship predominate, while in India, and to a lesser degree in China, the political factor looms largest. Or, perhaps it would be truer to say that while the social and economic influences imparted by the West are actually the most penetrating and profound in effect, the political revolution which accompanies them is more evident and audible and the political problem the most urgent.

Now what is required in the first place is a survey of this field, in the form of a statement of the problem in its three aspects, American, African and Asian, with a succinct account of the phenomena of race contact, the causes of race friction and the means (if any) adopted to treat the resultant problem. With the necessary annotated bibliography, not confined to the English language, which would be an essential feature of the task, the survey would occupy

a volume of not less than five hundred pages (perhaps even two volumes), a survey which, properly executed, could not fail to make as large a contribution to human knowledge and therefore to human progress as has been made in our time within the covers of one book.

I can imagine the Jerusalem meeting or the Honolulu Conference proceeding from such general but ambitious introduction to specific tasks which shall be performed while the survey is being made; and as they assign specific tasks to individual men, reminding themselves, with the iteration of *Delenda est Carthago*, that the secret of the whole matter is that difference is not inferiority and that we differ as much from others as they differ from us.

The specific tasks are many. There is the project of a study of race mixture in the islands of the Pacific Ocean which has already made some progress in Honolulu and in isolated monographs of British, French and American origin. In the same line there could be, and some day will be, a searching study of Eurasian marriage in which race contact appears in its most poignant manifestation. There is the Indian question in South Africa, as well as the South African Native question in its different aspects. There are the Orientals of the Pacific Coast of North America;[1] and the Arabs and Zionists of Palestine. There is the shrouded activity of Soviet Russia in a region of the world where race contact necessarily dominates politics; and the Russians, let us remember, are no novices in this field. This alone would take time and care to investigate. There are more general questions, such as the causes and consequences of differences of race attitude observable among the white peoples, e.g. the Latin as compared with the Anglo-Saxon. Moreover, a most rewarding study awaits the right student in the development of the relationship between English and Indian in British India from Queen Elizabeth to King George V. The problem, obviously, is not to enumerate

[1] See *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, by E. G. Mears, Institute of Pacific Relations (American Group), 129 East Fifty-Second Street, New York City.

but to eliminate. And hard upon the heels of elimination is the problem of allotting these tasks to appropriate hands. To that problem I contribute a suggestion as follows :

Let the Royal Institute of International Affairs make itself responsible for the survey, undertaking to produce it within the shortest period compatible with sound work and scientific results. Beyond that let the International Missionary Council and the Institute of Pacific Relations confer upon scientific projects and compare programmes. The co-ordination which will thus be effected will produce its proper fruit and the resources of both organizations will be most effectively and economically employed. There is no need here to litter this argument with further detail ; and so that plea is left to speak for itself.

In conclusion, however, let us remember that meetings at Honolulu and Jerusalem and all enterprises of their kind justify themselves even without elaborate aftermaths. They are not really open to the scorn of practical gentlemen in arm-chairs who discuss the participants of such conferences as ' pedlars of uplift ' and ' hot-air merchants.' They do not belong to the category of ' platitudes and free meals ' : for candour, even to the brutal truth, is the method, and the freedom to speak your mind is the secret, of their success. The Honolulu Conference, at all events, brought men and women together in such a way that the occasion is not quickly forgotten and the personal contact is likely to be permanent. On personal and human grounds it is well justified, for these men of standing in ten different countries found a congenial arena for social intercourse and quickly made friendships which may have greater influence on the future relations of their peoples than any of them could guess. So, no doubt, will it be in Jerusalem.

A. Frederick Whyte

THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA

By WEBSTER E. BROWNING, Ph.D., Litt.D.

A CAREFUL study of the world missionary programme as it is to-day carried forward would demonstrate that one of the most extensive and most neglected fields is to be found among the indigenous races of Latin America. The Churches of both Great Britain and the United States of America have focussed their missionary endeavours on the peoples of the Near East, Africa and the Orient, and no criticism of these efforts—much less extensive and effective than the urgency of the situation demands—is here suggested. But, in comparison with the millions of pounds sterling and the thousands of lives invested in those fields, the native peoples of Latin America have been almost totally neglected. Although they are the nearest neighbours of the United States, yet they have been passed by, while the Churches of the great Republic of the North have given their utmost endeavour to carry tidings of the Gospel to the lands that lie on the other side of the world.

To enable us to understand something of this tremendous problem, of which only the fringe has been touched by missionary administrators, it may be considered under several heads.

The Great Past

Ethnologists and historians are being continually amazed at the revelations of past greatness made by the spade of the archæologist in Mexico, Central America and some of the countries of South America. The ruins that have been discovered, and in some cases unearthed, show that the Mayan and other civilizations which existed long before the

discovery of the western continent by Europeans easily rivalled those of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt. Pyramids, temples and the ruins of well-laid-out cities attest the extraordinary advance in architectural culture made by these primitive races. Huge, carefully made and intricate calendar stones have been discovered, deciphered and correlated with early Christian chronology, and the records kept by the Mayas show a profound knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies. In Quiriguá, in Guatemala, enormous monoliths which rival those of Egypt, with beautifully sculptured faces and as yet undeciphered stelae, still stand erect in the midst of a dense tropical vegetation that long concealed them from the knowledge of the modern world. In the highlands of Colombia and Ecuador there are ruins of cities which denote a high degree of civilization; in Peru there are many notable centres, such as the shrine or fortress of Sacsahuaman above Cuzco, and Chan-Chan, the capital of the great Chimu, near Trujillo, probably one of the largest cities of America in pre-Columbian times; and in Bolivia, on the now bleak shores of Lake Titicaca, we find the extensive and imposing ruins of the mysterious Tiahuanacu.

The study of the monuments and ruins of this great past shows that the primitive peoples of America were not only advanced in architecture and building, but that they solved difficult problems of transport and engineering, were skilled in the ceramic arts, were skilful workers in jade and other semi-precious stones, were artificers in gold and other precious metals, understood the loom-weaving of cloth and fine embroideries and were unusually proficient in stone sculpture and the painting of their handiwork with pigments which in many cases have withstood the ravages of the centuries.

The various gods of their pantheon were half-human and half-animal and ruled over the forces of nature and human activities. The serpent motif predominates in their sculptures and this reptile seems to have been an object of worship. Their cosmogonic myths have, in some cases,

startling resemblance to the Bible stories of the Creation and early times, and this resemblance is explained by some students as indicating an early connexion with the Semitic peoples. But their religion was a religion of blood, and human sacrifices to demonic deities figured largely in the attempts to placate their wrath.

The later civilization of the Aztec and Incan empires, as revealed by the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, was below the level of that of the prehistoric peoples. They made no pretence to extensive building and were ignorant of the origin and meaning of the ruins of the past, on which they looked with wonder. But they had a well-developed social organization and led a simple, contented, pastoral life.

This was all changed by Spain. Since the irruption of European civilization, the trend of the social and physical standing of the Indian has been gradually downward, until to-day, when he is dominated by the white man and wherever the tide of European civilization has rolled up from the coast, he is but a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, the modern helot, illtreated and despised by his conquerors. But the high grade of civilization reached by these peoples in the past indicates the possibilities that may be developed among their unfortunate descendants, once their feet are placed in paths that lead upward.

Present Number and Distribution

Any figures that may be given as the present number of Indians in Latin America are but estimates, inasmuch as exact statistics of population have never been made by the majority of these countries, and those that deal with the Indians are especially faulty. But those given below may be taken as nearly correct, in any case as under rather than over-estimated.

Brazil, the largest of all the Latin American countries, might be expected to have the largest indigenous population. But, according to General Rondon, who accompanied

Colonel Roosevelt on his travels in that country and who is the outstanding Brazilian authority on the matter, there are not at the most more than one and a half million Indians. Other estimates are as low as eight hundred thousand, while the official figures, as given by States, reach more than two million. The greater number are found in the States of Amazonas and Matto-Grosso. The largest tribe, the Nhambaquari, has not more than twenty thousand members, and other known tribes of importance vary from one to five thousand. The degree of civilization ranges from that of the semi-civilized, who are in more or less intimate touch with the white population, to the wild and hostile tribes in the unexplored regions of the interior, of whose mode of life or numbers but little is known by white men. They are divided into many tribes, and seem to have little or no connexion with one another, no bond of common interest.

In Argentina there are probably not more than fifty thousand wild Indians. These live in the tropical region in the far north-west, generally known as the Chaco, or in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego in the far south, and seldom come into direct contact with the white population. With the exception of these tribes on the outer fringes of the republic, where their presence in no way conflicts with the industrial development of the country, all were exterminated some years ago.

In Paraguay the estimates are uncertain, but the number of wild and semi-wild Indians would not exceed one hundred thousand. Most of them live in the Chaco, in the interior of the country, and in general are uninfluenced by the civilization brought from Spain. Uruguay alone, of all the South American republics, has no Indian population.

The Indians in Chile number about one hundred thousand, the great majority of whom live in the country districts. These Indians are generally known as Araucanians, but are subdivided into various tribes. Along the Straits and in Tierra del Fuego and adjacent islands there are still a few of the Onas, the Yahgans and the Aliculufs. These tribes,

whose habitat is the southern extremity of the continent, have been described by some ethnologists as probably the lowest of all known human beings in the scale of civilization.

It is in the agrarian communities of the highlands of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador that one finds most of the Indians of South America and at the same time the strongest and most virile races. In these three republics there are probably between five and six millions of pure Indians, the majority of whom are semi-independent and thoroughly pagan. The most important tribes, from the linguistic standpoint, are the Aymará and the Quechua, but there are more than twenty other major tribes in all, each with its own dialect, religion, customs and dress. Some of these tribes till the soil, and are in at least a semi-friendly contact with the white or mestizo population, while others are cannibals, or head-hunters and head-shrinkers, who live in the far interior in a state of utter savagery. Chief among these last are the Gibaros, or Aguarunas, whose centre is in Ecuador and northern Peru, on the eastern slopes of the Andes.

Other and more pacific tribes that have been brought to public attention are the Huitotos and the Boras, who live in the region drained by the Putumayo, the region which, because of the atrocities committed on the Indians as revealed by Sir Roger Casement and others, has well been called 'The Devil's Paradise.'

In Colombia there is a widely scattered but comparatively scanty Indian population beginning in the far south, extending along certain branches of the Magdalena river and centring in the far north in the Goajira peninsula. In this small extent of land it is estimated that there are some forty thousand Indians in a state of absolute savagery, probably the remnant of the once powerful Carib empire. No white man has ever penetrated far among them and returned to tell of what he saw.

Venezuela probably has three hundred thousand Indians, but in this country the statistics vary exceedingly, even from year to year. There are vast unexplored regions which lie

along the upper Orinoco and other rivers, and a fair estimate of the Indian population would put the total number at that given above, although the Government has occasionally reported more.

In Central America are large numbers of distinct tribes, scattered from Panama in the south, where, on the coast and neighbouring islands, one finds the San Blas tribe; along the eastern coast of Nicaragua, which is the centre for the Misskito Indians, who gave their (corrupted) name to the 'Mosquito Coast'; to Guatemala in the north. In this last-named republic there are considerably over a million of pure Indians. Many small tribes are separated only by hills or a river, and each has its peculiar customs, its dialect and its tribal divinities.

Mexico has a large Indian population, divided into hundreds of tribes, most of which have their own dialects and forms of religion. Some writers claim seven millions of pure Indians for Mexico. Those in the far south are the direct descendants of the Mayas, to whom is ascribed the ancient and powerful civilization already mentioned, and in the far north and west we have the warlike Yaquis and a few groups of degenerates along the shores of the bay of Lower California. There is scarcely a state in Mexico which is free from Indians, and it is stated that even in the federal district there are many who are as pagan as were their forefathers when Hernán Cortés overthrew the empire of Montezuma and forced his people to acknowledge the Christians' God.

As already stated, the statistics of population are but estimates, but it would be safe to say that there are more than fifteen millions of pure Indians in Latin America. Most of them are pagan, although many have been baptized and outwardly pose as Christians. One such, when asked by a traveller to sell a small idol, refused, saying, 'I cannot sell it. It is my god.' When reminded that he had been baptized by the priest, he replied, 'Yes, I reverence the saints—but I worship my own gods.' Christianity with all

such is but a veneer, and in time of stress the Indian recurs to his tribal and ancient divinities for help.

Organized Christian Activities among the Indians

In the Argentine and Paraguayan Chacos the Roman Catholics have in the past sustained a few missions among the Indians, but the fires of their missionary zeal seem to have burned low and evangelical workers seldom come in contact with their work. The South American Missionary Society is the only society which now seriously grapples with the problem of the Christianization of the Indians in this immense region. Its representatives first established missions in the Paraguayan Chaco, which were afterward extended into the Argentine Chaco, and are now seeing gratifying results from the years of patient seed-sowing. Some of their Churches are already being turned over to the Indians themselves and a spirit of independence is being developed.

In Chile, too, the South American Missionary Society is the only non-Roman Catholic organization which has taken an interest in the Araucanians, but the German Capuchins have also a work which is principally industrial.

In Bolivia and Peru, in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca, the outstanding work is that of the Seventh Day Adventists who have established a large number of farm and industrial schools, and through them are raising the Indians to a higher state of civilization and independence. At Urco, near Cuzco, the Evangelical Union of South America has established a farm school, and in Cuzco maintains a small hospital which has done, and is doing, a splendid work among the Indians and the poorer classes. A few other sporadic efforts have been made by small and independent groups, but practical and permanent results have not been accomplished except within reduced circles.

In Brazil, the Inland South America Missionary Union has a promising work in the great territory of Matto-Grosso,

where it is reaching needy tribes which have never been evangelized by other organizations, and has made visits to the tribes on the headwaters of the Zingu river. Only a few isolated attempts have been made to reach the wild Indians of the Amazon basin, and this region, as large as the whole of Europe excepting Russia and mostly covered with dense forests, is still largely a *terra incognita*, peopled by tribes of whose numbers and habits the outer world has but scant knowledge.

Of the attempts to reach these forest Indians, the following merit special notice. At Cahuapanas, on the Pichis river, the Christian and Missionary Alliance (of New York) has initiated a promising effort to reach the Campas Indians of the hitherto unpenetrated Gran Pajonal. The Campas are the most virile tribe in all this region, and land has been obtained, a clearing made and a house built at this strategic point for reaching them.

The Church of the Nazarene has also initiated an interesting work among the Aguaruna head-hunters on the Marañon, and a number of catechumens have already visited the annual Bible Conference held at Chiclayo, Peru, greatly to the delighted astonishment of the local authorities.

In Central America and Mexico, the evangelical Churches have scarcely interested themselves in the problem of the Indians. Here and there a few devoted and self-sacrificing workers have undertaken to reach isolated groups, such as the Presbyterian missionaries among the Cachikels in Guatemala, and the workers of the Central American Mission in a number of other points in that republic. But, on the whole, it may be said, as of all Latin America, that the Christian forces of both Great Britain and the United States have passed by the millions of native children of these republics, and whatever missionary effort has been undertaken has been amongst those of Spanish speech, who are nominally linked up with the Roman Catholic Church. Just across the Rio Grande from the United States of America there are tribes of Indians who are as thoroughly non-

Christian as the peoples of India or China, and with a much more belated civilization.

In most of the countries of Latin America where there is a considerable Indian population the Roman Catholic Church has at some time or other attempted some form of missionary work. But one seldom hears of these centres of work to-day, and the zeal of the missionaries has evidently declined since the days when the zealous Jesuit fathers established their missions among the Guarani, in Paraguay, in the sixteenth century. Rome cannot say that she has solved the problem of the evangelization of the Indians in Latin America, thus making it unnecessary for evangelical Christians to continue their efforts on their behalf.

The truth is that both Roman Catholic and evangelical Christians have failed to appreciate their responsibility for these millions of dark-skinned dwellers of the forest and the uplands, and in their mission work they have merely played at what should have been taken up centuries ago as a serious problem.

In strict justice, the above statements as to the extent of work done among the Indians must be modified in the light of what seems to be an unusual awakening of interest in this work during the last five or six years.

One who has recently made an exploratory trip into the hinterland of the continent reports that in one country where, six years ago, but two missions were working, there are now twenty, while in another republic (Brazil), where there was but one mission three years ago, there are now fourteen or more.

Yet these missions must all be of independent origin, with no connexion with sustaining boards, and thus destined, if history repeats itself, to disappear after but a short and unsatisfying existence. But the fact that such interest is awakened in the Indians of Latin America is encouraging, and the lack of organization and the element of permanency makes the more necessary some concerted plan of action—possibly such as is suggested in the following section.

Suggested Programme of Action

In view of the distressing situation which now prevails among these autochthonous peoples of Latin America, for whose souls few have cared, it would seem that the Christian world ought to be stirred to action. The immediate and final responsibility rests on the peoples of English speech, and help, if any, must come from them. Moreover, the time is short. Latin America is being rapidly commercialized and the indigenous population will soon enter on a period of extermination, unless the rapacity of the predatory interests is checked by the inauguration of a programme of uplift which will eventually raise these peoples to their proper place among the citizens of the world. A few suggestions as to a programme of action may be permitted.

In the first place, the task is so great that it may be most successfully approached only through close co-operation of the available forces. No one organization is alone capable of more than limited efforts in some particular region. With a well studied and jointly developed programme, with all the forces working together to a common goal, the Christianization of the Indians of Latin America ought to be an accomplished fact within a generation. Is it futile to expect that the evangelical forces of Great Britain and the United States may unite in such an undertaking?

Secondly, such a programme might lead to the establishing of a central interdenominational organization in London or New York, from which missionaries would be sent out to the major centres of population. Such an organization would also serve to gather together and disseminate knowledge with regard to the principal tribes, their habitat, customs, religion and general accessibility, thus lifting the whole question above the horizon from its present depths of unplumbed ignorance.

In the third place, if such an interdenominational organization is not practicable, then it should be possible for six or eight leading boards or Churches which may be

interested in the evangelizing of the Indians to establish work in the principal areas of Indian population, with an amicable understanding as to territorial limits and primary responsibilities. Such areas might be: the Amazon basin, which would include the lowlands of the six bordering republics; Paraguay, to include southern Brazil, the Argentine Chaco and the small but definite group in Chile; Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, the centre to be located in the highlands of Peru, probably in the vicinity of Cuzco; Colombia and Venezuela with the centre probably in the Goajira peninsula; Guatemala, to include Central America and southern Mexico; and northern Mexico, to include the tribes from the federal district north to the Rio Grande.

In each of these areas the responsible group could take advantage of, and would naturally wish to submit to, local legislation in regard to the indigenous population, and, as in Brazil, would sometimes find a well-developed governmental service for the protection of the Indians, which would be willing to co-operate in any movement that looks to the physical and moral uplift of its charges. In most of these areas there are also well-organized committees on co-operation, which include the principal evangelical groups and which would be able to render invaluable help in many ways.

The Content of the Programme

Probably among no people or group of peoples in the world to-day is there such urgent need for the presentation of the many-sided Gospel. The Master Himself spent much time in feeding the hungry, in healing the sick and in instilling new ideals of life as a natural part of His message. The Indian of Latin America is degraded and sick and hungry. His ideas of life here, and of the life beyond, are of the most primitive. Consequently, with the evangelist who, alone, merely scratches the surface, should go the physician with his dispensaries and his central hospital; the practical farmer who, with his knowledge of seeds and the care of

live-stock, could teach simple agriculture; the carpenter and the mason who could train for trades; the nurse and the teacher of hygiene; the skilled elementary teacher; and the industrialist who could develop the simple arts of the Indian and raise life to a higher plane—and all these should go in the spirit of Him who found no one too mean or too humble to merit His most patient and loving attention.

WEBSTER E. BROWNING

AN INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIAN WORK AMONG SOUTH AMERICAN STUDENTS

By JOHN A. MACKAY, Ph.D.

IF I were writing an article for this Review on Christian work among students in China or India, Egypt or Turkey, it would be a reflection upon the cultural background of my readers, as well as a pedantic breach of literary good taste, did I preface what I wrote by an excursion into national geography and sociology. Writing as I am, however, on the problem of Christian work among the students of South America, I offer no apology whatever for making such an excursion. For the plain fact is that, for the majority of people interested in Christian missions, South America is little more than a name, reminiscent largely of far-away schoolday studies, though doubtless, also, of an occasional paragraph in a morning newspaper, telling of an earthquake or a revolution, an aviation flight or a territorial quarrel. Sometimes, unhappily, the lack of cerebration on one's stock of time-worn geographical knowledge leads to curious confusions, as, for example, when a distinguished titled gentleman, presiding at a meeting at which I spoke some years ago, in one of our British cities, made the remark that he had been interested in South America ever since a relative of his went tiger shooting on the head waters of the Zambezi; or, as when letters come to one in the Uruguayan capital, regarded by many as the Athens and Geneva of South America, addressed 'Montevideo, Brazil.' I even venture to say that on the mental map of the world of not a few readers of this Review South America appears as a blur.

Unknown South America

It is not an excursion into the South American hinterland in search of Indians, or archæological remains, or the mythical El Dorado, that I have in mind by applying the term ' unknown ' in this connexion. I want rather to draw within the horizon of my readers' interest a number of outstanding, but little known, facts about South America, such as would be given a prominent place in any ' What's What ' that might be written about the world of to-day.

Between the Panamanian isthmus and the Magellan straits lies one of the largest and most extraordinary tracts of clean-cut territory in the world. Poets have called it New Latium. Here the Latin race has established its colonial home. Brazil, one of its ten republics, watered by the world's mightiest river system, is larger than the United States of America, and equal to them in possibilities as regards production and population. Its actual population is thirty-nine millions, of whom only a million and a half are Indians. Buenos Aires, the Argentine capital with its more than two million inhabitants, is the queen of the southern hemisphere and the second Latin city of the world. Through the port of Buenos Aires, the illimitable pampas send more meat into the world market than any other region on earth. São Paulo, capital of the Brazilian state of the same name, which produces most of our coffee supply, won the world record for building construction in 1925. In the course of that year an average of twelve new buildings, varying in type from simple dwelling-houses to sky-scrapers, were finished in São Paulo on each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year.

Brazil and the Argentine are thrilling with new life. Europe is pouring into both a generous share of her best blood. Thousands upon thousands of Italians, Germans, Slavs, Spanish, Portuguese are flooding in every year, not to speak of Syrians, Armenians and Japanese. The coffee plantations of São Paulo alone have a population of fifty

thousand Japanese. South America is to-day the greatest melting-pot of nationalities in the whole world. And the remarkable thing is how soon foreigners become assimilated in countries like Brazil and the Argentine. The ethnic product is an extraordinarily virile race, destined in the not remote future to be a powerful factor in world politics.

The countries of the west coast are popularly associated with minerals and revolutions. Revolutions are never lacking, although in these days they are generally bloodless, not like those of Mexico and Central America. The mineral wealth is fabulous, but, unfortunately, the exploitation of copper ore, nitrate and petroleum does not draw a settler class, but only people who come, get rich and leave again. Moreover, special geographical and sociological conditions have made those countries less attractive for foreign immigration on a large scale. For that reason they are less cosmopolitan, in a quantitative sense at least, than those of the Atlantic coast. Immigration has been, notwithstanding, considerable. The rich agricultural region of southern Chile was wrested from the virgin forest by German colonists in the middle of last century, and is peopled at present by many thousands of their descendants. These men are to-day a decisive factor in the life and progress of Chile. Perú has had large invasions from Japan and China, and receives year by year contingents of immigrants from Europe and the Asiatic countries of the Mediterranean. The Negro also is found in Perú in considerable numbers.

In the countries of the west coast the indigenous population is much more numerous than on the east coast, and we find to a much greater extent the mestizo or half-caste. Of Perú's five million inhabitants, three millions are of pure Indian blood. Perú, we might say, is a replica of Mexico, with the same racial, religious and agrarian problems. And let it not be surprising if, within the next two decades, it repeats Mexico's political experiments. Chile claims at the present moment to have extirpated communism, but it leaves untouched the agrarian problem upon which com-

munism grows. While all this is so, I think I am safe in saying that the cultured class in these Pacific lands, because of the very difficulty and tragedy of many of the problems to be faced, possesses wider human interests and deeper intellectual preoccupations than the same class in the republics of the Atlantic, where living is easier and life more monotonously prosperous, where the gravest problem of most people is their unawareness of any.

Such then are representative regions, peoples and problems of the great home of South American students. These preliminary facts of a geographical and sociological character will have provided, I hope, the necessary background to enable us to appreciate a study of those students and of Christian work among them. It should also give a new richness of content to the famous utterance of an Argentine statesman: 'South America for Humanity.' This motto and not any narrow, chauvinistic banner of pan-Americanism, nor Ibero, nor Latin Americanism, is the messianic lodestar that guides South America's destiny.

The Soul of a South American Student

It would be natural to suppose from the above that South American students will, in general, be as different from one another as the place of their birth and the race of their parents. To a considerable extent that is true. There is, however, a generic type which can serve us for our study. This type appears in a somewhat modified form in different countries, but in its general features it may be taken as representative of South American students as a whole. There are two reasons for this: First, the great majority of students on the continent are of Iberian, that is, Spanish or Portuguese origin; and secondly, conditions in South American universities are, in the main, so similar throughout the whole continent, that they tend to produce a classic type of student, whatever the individual's personal antecedents.

Let me refer, first, to the racial traits of this type.

The typical South American student is of an individualistic temperament. Individualism is a classic trait of Spanish and Spanish-American character. The Spanish mystics, for example, as has been remarked by Miguel de Unamuno, differ profoundly from the German in their passion to absorb the Deity into themselves, while the German mystics are content to lose themselves in Deity. Calderon de la Barca, the greatest and most representative of Spanish dramatists, is extraordinarily limited in his range of character portrayal. His absorbing individuality projects itself into all his *dramatis personæ*, seriously prejudicing thereby his powers of original creation. The prince of Spanish painters, Velasquez, was above all else a painter of men, of men who fill his whole canvas. Spain has been the mother of men, not of ideas.

This classic individualism, this emphasis on personality, shows itself in a number of ways in student life in South America. It appears in the almost entire absence of a university spirit, in the lack of cohesion and continuity in student organizations and in the passion for politics, in which ambitious personalities rather than principles supply the motive power. This trait has an important significance for the propagators of ideas. New ideas will not win their own unaided way among South American students, but only as the ideas of personalities who have won the students' respect and sympathy. Truth must be personalized to give it a chance of victory; the abstract must be made concretely and palpitatingly human.

Another trait of South American students is what we might call an architectonic mind. This trait is characteristically Latin. South American legislation is full of the fruits of it. In every new enterprise, be it the founding of a club or the organization of a society, it is considered the primary requisite to draw up a constitution which shall contemplate the most minute details of the organization and provide for the remotest possibilities. South Americans

have been afraid to be empirical. They have wanted to begin with abstract perfection in the hope that hard reality would conform to logical norms. Hence the frequent disillusionment, and hence the proverbial contrast between theory and practice. Augustin Alvarez, the eminent Argentine publicist, once wrote an article entitled 'Leyes perfectas y costumbres pésimas' ('Perfect laws and shocking customs').

I think I am safe in saying, however, that the present generation of students is deeply conscious of this architectonic tendency and its implications; and one may observe, in a variety of ways, a reaction against it. One symptom of this reaction is the fact that student groups begin to do things now without absorbing all their vital energies in previously perfecting the announcement of their intentions; another is the tendency among the students of some South American countries to discredit professional politicians, as being the sinister symbol of architectonic form devoid of content. At the same time, this particular trait, while it may become modified in certain applied features, will at its best always be constitutive of South American mentality. Moreover, stripped of its unfortunate *a priori* quality, it is ideal for the production of great jurists. It is not by chance that some of the greatest authorities on international law are South Americans, and that South American statesmen possess such a keen sense of the legal issues involved in international questions.

A messianic passion is a third trait of the present student generation in South America. It is a trait limited so far to the students of the west coast. It characterizes to a striking degree a considerable group of Peruvian students. But groups of Chilean, Bolivian and Mexican students possess the same passion. It has its roots in the tragedy that has marked the life of these countries for many generations. But it harks back also to a messianic note in the Indian peoples with whom the race that created the messianic Don Quixote fused its blood. The fact is that deep

down in the consciousness of scores of the finest young men in those lands of the Pacific there is something that tells them they were born to be deliverers. That consciousness inspires their profound interest in the social problems of their respective countries, and their self-sacrificing efforts in favour of the downtrodden masses. A great and far-reaching Youth Movement is incubating under the shadow of the Andes, even while its chief leaders are exiles in many foreign lands.

Cultural Environment

Great universities like those of Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires and Montevideo are in closest touch with the world's culture. In their libraries are received the leading reviews on all subjects from the chief countries of the world. A passion for up-to-dateness in point of knowledge is one of the characteristics of the men who fill professors' chairs. Modernity has become almost a fetish. I venture to say that an average South American student possesses more varied knowledge of a cultural nature, even though it may be less profound, than an average North American or British student. A Spanish translation of Otto's *Idea of the Holy* was issued almost at the same time as the English edition, while the leading ideas of Spengler in his *Decadence of the West* were being canvassed in student circles in South America before the work had been translated into English. Great dailies like *La Prensa* and *La Nación* of Buenos Aires are powerful propagators of knowledge. These newspapers publish from time to time special articles from leading contemporary figures. Raymond Poincaré, Lord Birkenhead, Philip Snowden and Norman Angell, and scores of others of the same category, have all made contributions at different times. According to a recent statement of Mr Karl Bickel, President of the United Press Association, these two newspapers publish every morning from three to four times more foreign news than the London or New York *Times*. Every year some of the leaders of contemporary thought give

lecture courses in South American cities. In 1925, Einstein lectured in the River Plate. In 1926, Madame Curie lectured in Rio de Janeiro and Madame Montessori in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Quite recently a Spanish publishing house issued a new series of books of the type of the 'Home University Library.' Most of these are translations from a similar German series, but some are translations from other languages. Among them I have observed an edition of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *Introduction to Science*, more attractively produced in the Spanish edition than in the English. This is the cultural environment in which South American students grow up.

Student Interests

What are the interests of the South American student? How do his special qualities and his particular environment find active expression?

Until within recent years, the life of South American students outside the classroom might be summed up in a premature *début* into party politics, listless idling in cafés and taverns, a prurient hawking of sex experience, a blatant atheism and rabid anticlericalism. But within the last decade a profound change has begun to operate. Perú is the country where this change has been most marked. To quote the words of a leading Peruvian student now living in exile in Buenos Aires:

> The students of Peruvian universities no longer while away their leisure moments in useless conversation in cafés, or in empty gossip with the inmates of sensual saloons; they prefer more energetic expressions of life. The firm, tumultuous notes of Wagner suit their taste better than the delicate and sentimental notes of Schubert. The students of the present hour have a loftier and less egoistic conception of duty. They realize they have a noble and immediate social mission to fulfil. They are not indifferent to the cry of the people who drag out a miserable existence.

The first indication that a renaissance was at hand was the student revolution in the Argentine university of Cordoba

in 1918. This movement was rapidly followed by similar movements in the universities of Buenos Aires, La Plata, Lima and Santiago. The students stood for a programme of university reform. They demanded the dismissal of incompetent professors, the modernization of teaching methods, the election of university teachers by competitive examination, the direct intervention of the student body in the shaping of university policies through their representatives, who were required to be graduates. The students won, and university life in many South American countries entered upon a new era.

But more important than the achievement of academic reform was the appearance of a new interest in living human problems on the part of the young revolutionists. A new social conscience was created and interest in the problems of the spirit was quickened. As indicative of the new trend in university circles in South America let me here relate briefly one or two facts about Peruvian student interests during the last few years. I select Peruvian students because, after a study of student life in Brazil, Uruguay, the Argentine and Chile, I have become convinced that the true leaders of the student renaissance in South America are young Peruvians.

In 1920 a group of Peruvian students founded what they called 'The People's University.' It was a University Extension Movement designed to bring the elements of useful knowledge to the masses. They gave it the name of Gonzalez Prada, a famous Peruvian liberal of last generation. Night after night for several years classes were held in the Students' Federation building in Lima and a small factory town called Vitarte, some miles out of the city. Hundreds of workpeople, men and women, attended, after their day's work was done. Student instructors gave them lessons in arithmetic, Spanish, geography, science and hygiene. Special emphasis was put upon total abstinence. At the end of two or three years a new spirit was manifest among the workpeople of Lima and its suburbs. The town

of Vitarte, which had formerly been notorious for drunkenness and criminality, became completely transformed. The student founder of the movement became the idol of the masses. During several years the workers had closely observed their student friends and, having become convinced of their disinterestedness, gave them their unswerving confidence. A Student-Workers' Entente was formed under the auspices of the People's University. The new Entente repudiated politicians, and politics as traditionally carried on in Perú. They held aloft the ideals of social justice within the country, and brotherly relations between their own and all countries. They began immediately to put their ideals into practice by taking up the cause of the oppressed Indians of the Sierra, and by establishing friendly relations with the students and workmen of Chile, Perú's traditional enemy. Their advanced socialism, their pacificism and internationalism made the Government uneasy.

An event took place in May 1923 which demonstrated the extraordinary strength of this movement, and became at the same time the occasion of government intervention to destroy it. Perú was about to be consecrated to an immense bronze image of the Sacred Heart, in spite of the protests of public opinion. On the eve of the date fixed for this unconstitutional act, a gigantic demonstration organized by the Student-Workers' Entente obliged the Government to suspend indefinitely the mediæval ceremony. But the vials of official vengeance were soon poured out upon the leaders of the Entente, and by their imprisonment and banishment the purest and most idealistic movement in the social history of South America was broken up. But no one who has known those young men and seen their work can believe for a moment that they have said their last word in the history of this continent.

Side by side with a new social conscience is beginning to appear a new interest in religion on the part of South American students. A decade ago no one would dare make public mention of religion within the precincts of a South

American university, unless to vaunt his personal irreligion. Militant opposition to religion is exceedingly uncommon now in student circles. There is decided opposition to clericalism, but rarely to religion as such. The ultra-radical generation of Uruguayan students which, when it came into power, tried to extirpate religious sentiment from the public consciousness, not only separating Church and State, but changing the name of Christmas day into 'family day' and holy week into 'touring week,' is not likely to reproduce itself in South America. Not so long ago it was the common opinion in university circles that to be religious and to be intellectual were incompatible attributes in any man. But now the influence of philosophers like James and Boutroux, Bergson and Höffding, and of literary men like Tolstoy and Miguel de Unamuno, have made religion a subject of free academic discussion for the first time in the history of South American universities. I do not say it is so to the same extent in all, nor even to any extent in some, but I do say that religion is gradually becoming a subject of intellectual interest.

Let me speak for the university I know best, old St Mark's, Lima, my second Alma Mater. It was my privilege in 1925 to be invited to take charge of two chairs in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, Metaphysics and the History of Modern Philosophy. The fact that the head of an evangelical college should be asked to join the university staff was itself indicative of the liberalizing influences that had been at work within the Faculty. That he should be asked to teach philosophy testified to the fact that the days of Spencer and Comte were past, and that a new idealism was in vogue. The intense interest of the students in the religious problem may be illustrated from the subject the majority chose for an essay in the metaphysics class. There were three options, as follows: The statement of F. H. Bradley's that 'metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe by instinct, but the finding of those reasons is no less an instinct'; mechanism and teleology;

and the metaphysics of religious experience. Sixty of the ninety students who formed the class wrote on the last subject. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* was largely consulted.

I shall never forget my last encounter with this class. The subject of my closing lecture was : ' God as a regulative idea of thought and as a constitutive fact of experience.' It was sunset when we met for the last time. The classroom was crowded even to the passage-ways. At the beginning of the hour the electric light went out, and I was left to continue by the flicker of a little candle on my desk. I ended the discussion, and brought the course to a close, by presenting Christ as the most illuminating and transforming fact of human experience, and as the true key to the philosophic interpretation of the world. A few moments of silence were followed by a burst of sympathetic approbation. Jesus Christ was recognized at least as a figure with whom young men had to reckon as they faced the problems of thought and of action.

The Task

How shall Jesus Christ become enthroned as Saviour and Lord in the lives of South America's leaders of to-morrow ? That is the task. If I have convinced readers of this Review that such a task exists, that it is supremely important, that the co-operation of evangelical Christendom is needed for its accomplishment, I shall not have written in vain. Roman Catholicism has lost the religious leadership of youth in South America. That is the truth of the situation, whether people care to recognize it or not, or to face its implications. Who will shepherd the rising generation of youth in the continent of the future ?

Hitherto the evangelical missions of South America have been able to do but little for the student class as such. Individual missionaries, on the other hand, have done much in a private capacity. Students are deeply prejudiced

against anything that savours of ecclesiasticism, and when we consider the religious background of South American history we can sympathize with their prejudices. For the word ' Protestant ' they have an ingrained dislike. On the other hand, the national evangelical Churches have come to a period in their development when they send considerable members of their own youth into the universities. Especially is this so in Brazil. The faculty of medicine of São Paulo has five evangelicals on its staff. Special churches for students have sometimes been talked about, but the chief difficulty has always been to find the men capable of attracting the students. Evangelical Christianity makes its greatest contribution to the student problem by its schools. Institutions like the McKenzie College, Brazil ; Ward College, Buenos Aires ; the English Institute, Santiago ; and the Anglo-Peruvian College, Lima, have exerted a profound Christian influence upon the thousands of pupils who have passed through them.

It is admitted, however, on all hands, that no Christian organization on the continent is in such a strategic position to do Christian work among students as the Young Men's Christian Association. The international student camps held in Piriapolis, Uruguay, have meant a new birth for more than one choice spirit in recent years. The Association has lately taken means to intensify its religious work. No one who comes into close contact with the Student Department of the Y.M.C.A. in the chief university centres can doubt that God is at work in many hearts.

If I were seeking a symbol to interpret the meaning and possibilities of the present hour in South American student life, I would take Jeremiah's early vision, and, borrowing the phrase of its latest commentator, say : ' Behold, beneath the Southern Cross, a blossoming twig and a boiling caldron.'

JOHN A. MACKAY

MODERN MOVEMENTS AMONG WOMEN IN INDIA

By ALICE B. VAN DOREN

THE energy of the Women's Movement has not been confined to European countries nor to the 'Nordic' race. Every great oriental nation from Japan westward to Turkey has felt its urge. In India, especially during the last decade, progress has been amazing. In many ways the leap taken has been longer and more rapid than in western countries. Such advances as university education, admission into the learned professions and the right to vote and to sit upon representative governing bodies have been won with less opposition in India than in the West. Where opposition exists, it is generally confined to members of the family circle. An Indian father or husband, too conservative to allow modern notions of freedom in his own family, is usually too tolerant to oppose them in others. He is quite willing that other men's wives and daughters shall win university degrees, sit on district boards and attend reform conferences, so long as it does not compromise the orthodoxy of his own family or the matrimonial prospects of his own daughters. He is even willing to pay his tribute of sincere admiration to emancipated women such as Mrs Sarojini Naidu.

Yet the vastness of the Indian sub-continent and the diversity of its life make all generalizations dangerous. Statements made concerning the women of Madras will be wholly untrue if applied to Bihar or Rajputana. Differences even greater exist among the different communities—Christian, Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee. More appalling still is the gulf between the educated minority and the illiterate majority scattered throughout rural India. Among

the latter one would not be far wrong in saying that no movements are as yet taking place. The statements made in this article apply only to India's educated women, among whom are found representatives of all groups, both geographical and religious.

In any consideration of progress, the subject of education must be given first place, for it is at once the root and the fruit of all modern movements among women. It is the root, for without it none of these stirrings of consciousness and none of the resulting activities would be taking place. It is also the fruit, for certain of these movements have as their aim the extension of educational opportunities for girls and improvement in the type and quality of the education offered. We see here an exemplification of the truth of Professor Dewey's statement that 'the aim of education is more education.'

In regard to women's education the student of India's problems feels either elated or depressed in accordance with his perspective—positive or negative. The fact that between one and two thousand young women are enrolled in arts colleges fills him with hope for the future, until he views them in perspective against the background of one hundred and sixty millions of India's womanhood, nearly ninety-nine per cent of whom are still illiterate. Yet, considered positively, the thousands of privileged young women in colleges, in medical and training schools and high schools, do represent a vast potential force, especially when one realizes that many of them are energized with Christ's ideals of service. Year by year such women are entering the home, the school, the hospital and even the governing bodies of India with aspirations to serve and uplift the motherland.

University education for women is of two distinct types. Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow and Lahore provide separate Christian colleges for women leading up to B.A., and Madras also affords a training college with provision for graduates,

intermediates and matriculates. Vellore and Ludhiana provide similar opportunities for medical education. In several of the places mentioned above, government colleges for women also flourish. In Bombay and Poona, however, an entirely different educational policy prevails. Here co-education is accepted and seems to be liked. Women students, Christian and non-Christian alike, share the men's lecture halls and laboratories. In conversations with two women graduates—one a Parsee and one a Hindu—I have attempted to offer sympathy concerning their lack of the privileges of a women's college, and have been promptly informed that my commiseration was not required. Both of these young women explained that they greatly valued the opportunity of acquaintance with men outside their own families and communities—an acquaintance for which the social structure of Indian society offers little opportunity. The Hindu graduate added that she considered that co-education offered the best means for convincing men of women's intellectual equality, and that she would not wish to see the system changed for at least one hundred years.

India now possesses a number of indigenous educational institutions for women, originated, organized and financed by Indians. In Poona, interestingly enough, these are a protest against the tendency toward co-education. The Women's University carries on all instruction through the medium of the vernacular and has devised a curriculum adapted to the needs of women, with emphasis upon biological science and household economy. As its degree is not recognized by Bombay University, it does not attract as large a number of students as it should. A number of prosperous high schools are affiliated to it. The Seva Sadan, whose head is the President of the Servants of India Society, carries on an extensive work in elementary and industrial education, stressing teacher training, health and welfare work and various vocational experiments. Both these institutions are directed by men who are giving their lives in efforts for the advancement of women.

In the Panjab the Arya Samaj carries on a number of schools for girls on purely indigenous lines. Its boarding schools are along the lines of the famous Gurukula for boys at Hardwar. These institutions teach through the medium of the vernacular, emphasize simplicity of life and the duty of social service and give religious instruction in a purified Hinduism which discountenances idol worship.

Christians in South India are now carrying on two indigenous girls' schools, chiefly designed for the well-to-do class of Christians who can afford to pay for better food and more individual care than is afforded by the ordinary mission boarding school. One of these is in Madras, under the care of Mrs Paul Appasamy ; the other is a new venture by the Syrian Christians of North Travancore and is planned on the cottage system.

Year by year, larger numbers of Indian women are venturing abroad for study in Europe and America. A leading Indian Christian once remarked to the writer that, as a class, women students from India seem to stand the process of transplanting better than men. It may be due to more careful selection or to wiser guidance during their time abroad, but for whatever reason, the fact remains that the average woman student shows better moral stamina and greater adaptability to new conditions of life. As these young women return and enter important positions of service to India, their careers will be followed with keen interest and expectation.

An unused source of power for India's social and educational advancement is found in her great community of Hindu widows. It is becoming more clearly recognized that among this class is found a potential supply of teachers, doctors and social workers, turning women who have been in the past a social liability into an immense asset for the welfare of the community. The Hindu community, especially the Brahmans, are fast coming to recognize the benefits of education for widows, and the prejudice against it is lessening. The work begun by Pandita Ramabai has spread to

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOL

all parts of India. Widows are found in large numbers in the Poona Seva Sadan, in a government Home in Madras and in Sir Ganga Ram's Home in Lahore, as well as in other parts of India.

In high schools and universities there is an increasing demand that the course of study for girls be differentiated from that for boys. This demand comes from all classes in the educational world. The University of Madras has recognized this tendency by including domestic science as an optional in its Licentiate of Teaching course. The best solution of the problem will doubtless be the sending of Indian women graduates to the West, to take domestic science courses, which they can later adapt to Indian conditions. This problem can never be solved satisfactorily by foreigners.

From a consideration of women's education, we pass to some of its reactions, personal, social and religious. One of the first results of modern education is that the woman begins to think and act for herself. She comes to consider herself not merely as a member of a family or caste, but as an individual, with rights of personal decision and action. The centre of authority shifts from external force to inner compulsion. The quality of this inner compulsion decides whether her life will be ruled by whim and licence or by wise and reasonable liberty.

The results of this transition appear first in thought and speech, and may show themselves as criticism of standards accepted in the community. Such criticism ranges from the fault-finding of an adolescent schoolgirl, known to the writer, who during holiday-time annoyed her family by asking concerning every household decision, 'Is it right? Is it just?' to the carefully considered words of a mature Mohammedan woman, who, in an educational conference in Calcutta, attacked the men of her community with stinging accusations for their indifference toward the just rights of their womenfolk. This individualistic attitude expresses itself not only in thought and speech but also in action.

Young people demand more freedom, at times to the dismay of parents. Young wives claim the right to a certain amount of liberty, to the dismay of certain husbands.

Not only does the educated woman detach herself from the thinking of her family or caste; she learns to think of herself as a unit in a new community made up of the members of her own sex. During the winter of 1926–7 this new solidarity was expressed through a remarkable series of women's conferences on reform. Twenty-two constituent conferences were held in all the chief centres of India, with a total attendance of over five thousand women. These were followed by a carefully selected All-India Conference held in Poona in January 1927. While the initial impulse of these conferences came from a European woman, the delegates, organizers and speakers were predominantly Indian.

One of the best things about the whole series was the constant co-operation of women of all communities and all forms of religious belief; Hindus, Theosophists, Mohammedans, Parsees and Christians joined not only in attendance but also in discussions. Reforms were advocated not only by students returned from England and by recent graduates of Indian universities, but older women of the supposedly orthodox communities, educated only in their own vernaculars, were quite as insistent as their younger sisters in pleading for the raising of the age of consent and for other related reforms. Perhaps they spoke with even greater feeling because of what they themselves had suffered. Among well-known Indian women who had a part in the meetings were Mrs Sarojini Naidu and H.H. the Maharani Gaekwad of Baroda.

The speeches and resolutions dealt with the general aims of education and with its various phases, elementary, secondary and collegiate. Such allied questions as child marriage, the age of consent, the purdah system and the need of compulsory free education for girls as well as for boys, received their share of attention. A chief subject for

discussion was that of the adaptation of education to the needs of women, ensuring to them healthy physical development, and the acquisition of knowledge, interest and skill which would prepare them for home-making as well as for public life. A standing committee of twelve Indians and two Europeans was appointed to carry on the work of the conference and to arrange for another session to be held in Delhi early in 1928.

Perhaps the greatest benefit resulting from this series of conferences is the opportunity they offer for co-operation among women and for the formation of a group mind. For a woman with an urge toward reform to realize that she no longer stands alone, but has behind her the sentiment of thousands of other women, some of them the highest in educational opportunity and social position, will count for much in future achievement.

Nowhere does the transition stage in India's social life show itself more clearly than in questions concerning marriage. I do not propose to deal here with the bills concerning the age of marriage which are agitating the Legislative Assembly and the various Provincial Legislative Councils. These are public matters and can be followed in the newspapers. In this brief space it may be more useful to consider matters as they are seen from the point of view of the home and the individual—shall we rather say of some homes and some individuals ?

The matter of marriage reform is far less simple than it appears to the outsider, for it is closely bound up with the present structure of Indian society. Early marriage and the joint family system stand and fall together. Higher education for women is the natural enemy of both. The joint family system is by no means an unmixed evil ; one who so judges it has never seen it at its best ; yet so long as it continues, the bride must enter it at an early age. No mature young woman of twenty-two, with education, developed personality and habits of decision and self-direction can submerge herself in the group life of the

ordinary joint family, where the individual—at least the young individual—counts for nothing. On the other hand, as long as girls become mothers at fourteen or fifteen, so long will it be necessary for them to live under the care of mother-in-law or mother. A girl of that age is not yet capable of making a home and caring for her own children. In the usual Hindu home the children of early marriages are really brought up by the grandmother or aunts. But just as, on the one hand, marriage is conditioned by the joint family system, so, on the other, education is conditioned by marriage. The complexity of the whole situation is hard for the foreign woman to grasp; she can do it only as her personal acquaintance with Indians grows and she is slowly admitted to the intimacies of family life. She then begins to realize that these customs are not externals to be sloughed off at will, but threads of the warp and woof of the social structure, hard to alter without rending the whole fabric.

This stage of rending works much hardship to the present generation of educated young men and women. Dissatisfied with the old system and eager to rebel against it, they as yet find little opportunity to experiment successfully with the new.

A Parsee woman graduate confided to the writer some of the problems now faced in her community. Parsee girls who would formerly without question accept an arranged marriage at the age of sixteen or seventeen, instead now go on to college. At the age of twenty-two they reject with scorn any marriage arranged by their parents, yet are in no position to choose for themselves. Many remain unmarried, and this leads in some cases to dangerous moral conditions and in many others to discontent and an empty life, especially in the case of the well-to-do who enter no profession.

The struggle concerning the age of marriage is probably felt most keenly in the Brahman community, for so many centuries the stronghold of child marriage. My personal

knowledge of the matter is confined to South India. Not long ago a Brahman lady expressed in my hearing her doubts and anxieties concerning the future of her young daughter. Herself the child of a 'reforming' father, but married into an orthodox family, she found herself torn between the old and the new. 'It must be the one thing or the other,' she said to me, 'there is no middle ground. Either we must marry her at the age of puberty—and it wrings my heart to think of that child entering upon the pains of motherhood—or else she must go the whole length a college course, a profession, ability to stand on her own feet and face the world married or unmarried as the case may be. I doubt whether she can do it—and there is no middle course.'

Yet some, a slowly increasing number, do find and keep a middle course, though its difficulties and costs are known only to themselves. Brahman brides of seventeen are not now unknown. In other families, less venturesome, one more frequently meets the half-way measure of a daughter who goes through the rites of marriage at puberty but remains for some years in her father's house, while the bridegroom is sent away to continue his education. The danger of early widowhood is not removed, but at least experiences of wifehood and motherhood are postponed until a more fitting age.

Marriages of choice now occasionally take place. An extreme instance agitated Poona a few months ago. A Hindu woman, over thirty years of age, a graduate of Bombay University and a member of a well-known family belonging to the Brahmo Samaj, married a Mohammedan. A civil marriage was performed and neither party's religious affiliation was given up. The bride has not entered purdah. Poona Hindus were greatly excited and large protest meetings were held, but both husband and wife continued in their positions as teachers and the storm of opposition has died down. It is impossible to generalize as to the results of the two systems. Every one who knows India has seen

successful and unsuccessful marriages under both classes. The marriage of choice is certainly on the increase.

Unmarried women are gradually finding a place in India's social structure. Especially among Christians an increasing number are either postponing marriage or remaining permanently unmarried. The ' old maid ' is becoming a factor in Indian life.

This postponement may be due merely to ambition or to the desire for an easy life. Not infrequently a girl refuses to accept offers made either to her or through her parents, hoping for a bridegroom financially or socially more desirable. Among the poorer classes of Christians, an educated woman is often expected to continue her teaching or nursing after marriage as before. In such cases she sometimes refuses to accept the additional burden of house-work and child-bearing and chooses to remain single. Again, marriage may be delayed or refused because of unwillingness to accept an ideal lower than that which has been formed during student days. Recently a publisher urged the acceptance of *Treasure Island* as a matriculation text-book, ' because it contains not a single woman character.' When pressed for an explanation he said, ' All these love affairs in English literature upset the minds of our young people.'

There are also Indian women who deliberately set marriage aside for the sake of a life of service inspired by religious or social ideals. The increase of unmarried women presents both dangers and advantages. There is the danger that the woman may repent when too late. This may lead either to moral evils or more often to the formation of complexes. On the other hand, unmarried women with a true sense of vocation are of inestimable value, both social and religious. Without an increasing number of such women, it is difficult to see how Indian life can advance.

In the sphere of family relationships the strain of readjustment is also felt. Even under the old régime, an older woman of pronounced personality held much power

within the walls of her home. Now, however, in many cases, younger women are being put upon a new footing of equality. In this the Christian and Parsee communities take foremost rank while the Mohammedans come last.

In the Christian community consideration for the wife is a thing to be expected. It is cheering to see the growth of it in other communities as well. In towns, the sight, formerly all too common, of a wife following a set number of paces behind her husband is now so rare as to arouse comment from the beholders. To see husbands and wives walking or driving together in the cool of the evening is a thing common in the advanced sections of all communities. I could name a Brahman official, possessed of but one motor-car, who sent it with his wife for her use at the hills, and himself for a period of several months toiled to his court and back on a pedal bicycle. Another, a non-Brahman Hindu, cheerfully gave up plans for an expensive holiday in Kashmir that his wife and children might share in one nearer home. Yet all this does not mean that woman's millennium has come; these are but the advance guard of India's men; the rank and file yet lag far behind.

The homes of many educated women show great improvement in neatness and attractiveness over those of the uneducated, though this, too, is not universally true. Home life is in a state of transition between eastern and western customs as regards style of house, furniture and food. One may find the extreme of complete Europeanization, the extreme of almost complete adherence to Indian customs and all the stages between. Among Christians of depressed class origin there is often a regrettable tendency to copy European ways, due to the fact that they have no culture-traditions in their own community.

One noticeable effect of education upon women is that a mother who has had even a little education desires and demands for her children better opportunities than she has herself received.

As in every country, teaching is the first profession to

be followed by large numbers of women. Many continue it after marriage, often to the detriment of their own health, the upbringing of their children and the efficiency of their school work. Here and there a woman of exceptional health and ability is able to manage both home and school successfully. There is need for women teachers not only in girls' schools, but also in the lower classes of boys' schools; indeed, it is the opinion of more than one educationist that the quality of boys' education will never be on a par with that of girls until women have a hand in it. That day has not yet arrived. As forerunner of it, however, a Parsee woman has recently held a post as lecturer in Wilson College, Bombay, and has lectured successfully to large classes composed chiefly of men students. Many Christian women hold positions in non-mission schools—government, board and private. Until lately, Christians have been the only women available for the teaching profession. Hindu women teachers are now becoming increasingly available, and if Christian women hold their own it will need to be by real superiority. Too often the Christian women in such positions are the least desirable—those who have been rejected by mission schools. At times, however, we find Christian women of real ability and character holding responsible educational positions and wielding large influence. Occasionally we find Hindu women trained in Christian colleges shaping the education of non-Christian institutions, e.g. the Headmistress of the Arya Girls' School at Delhi, a most earnest and self-sacrificing woman, is a former student of Isabella Thoburn College.

At present the medical profession, including nursing, maternity work, health visiting and baby welfare, is becoming in popularity a close second to teaching. Ludhiana in the Panjab and Vellore in South India furnish their yearly quota of young women trained as licensed medical practitioners, and so far there is no difficulty in finding place for them all. Some work in mission hospitals, some under Government and some are venturing into private

practice. There are also several government medical schools for women, while in the large cities a few women students work for the M.B. degree in men's colleges.

The need for trained nurses is no less than that for women doctors. Most hospitals have their training classes. Nursing has had a hard fight in India; owing to caste prejudice, it was at first despised as work fit only for outcastes. Little by little this feeling is dying out, but even yet the profession is handicapped by the comparatively low educational qualifications of most of its candidates. The United Free Church of Scotland's hospital in Madras has been able to start an innovation in the shape of a nurses' training class which admits only students who have studied up to the matriculation standard. At Delhi, the Government offers short courses in midwifery and health visiting. The need for all these forms of work, especially among purdah women, is too well known to need further amplification.

A few Indian women are now following the footsteps of Miss Cornelia Sorabji in taking up the study of law and qualifying themselves for admission to the bar. It is as yet too soon to say what the results will be, but there is doubtless a place for women lawyers who will champion causes such as the protection of children and the care of women and children in industry. There are already a number of women Justices of the Peace who look to the needs of women brought before the courts.

Several Indian women have either completed courses in social service training abroad, or are now engaged in such study. Bombay has now a course for social workers, under the leadership of Miss Tarabai Tilak, lately returned from study in England. It is hoped that the investigation of industrial conditions in India now being carried on under the direction of the National Christian Council will result in the undertaking of new schemes of welfare work, which will give place for the employment of such workers.

Indian women are making a surprisingly rapid entrance into public affairs. Madras has a woman member on its

University Syndicate and several women, both European and Indian, on its Senate. The Bombay University Senate has included women for some years. Women are found on the Legislative Councils of the states of Cochin and Travancore. This year the Madras Legislative Council has elected as its Deputy-President Dr (Mrs) Muthulakshmi Ammal, and have found her anything but the silent figure-head that vice-presidents, male or female, are popularly supposed to be. She is the champion of every reform affecting such questions as compulsory education for girls, or the age of consent; and is now fervently leading the efforts for the abolition of *devadasis*. The end of the system of temple-prostitution, therefore, now seems to be in sight.

In local bodies, such as district boards, district educational councils and municipal councils, it is becoming increasingly customary to have at least one woman member. Indian women do a great deal in the management of baby welfare centres and in carrying out the programme of 'Baby Week.' The Girl Guide movement has spread with great rapidity, and has perhaps done more than anything else to foster cordial relations between Indians and non-missionary English women.

This article has been written concerning India's educated women as a whole, but much of what has been said applies to the women of the Christian community. In closing, a few words should be added as to their distinctive place in the Indian Church. The various Churches differ in their attitude toward the function of women in church life. In the South India United Church, women have lately been made elders and deacons, and assist in distributing the elements in the communion service. They are entitled to vote in congregational meetings. In the Arcot Assembly, also in South India, a number of Indian women are members with full right of speaking and voting. Not all Churches yet are so liberal, and Indian men differ widely in their attitude. There is, however, no doubt that there is a

rapidly growing readiness on the part of men to admit women to all privileges of church service, and in many cases to urge such participation upon them.

A number of the Provincial Christian Councils have Indian women among their members. At the National Christian Council meeting in Calcutta in November 1926, there was one Indian woman member. Women are still diffident about taking part in such large gatherings. In smaller groups and committees they speak much more readily and often well. It is probable that in another ten years, when the young graduates who have recently left college have reached an age of more maturity and wider experience, they will be able to form a new tradition of participation in such meetings and councils.

Meantime one cannot speak too highly of the work of some of the more conservative women of the older generation. They may not be given to public speaking, but their actual work is in many cases beyond praise. In isolated up-country villages, in the zenanas of great cities, in hospitals and schools and in the life of their own homes they are working toward the coming of a new and better India. I know of nothing finer than to be an educated woman, Indian or European, in the India of to-day.

ALICE B. VAN DOREN

CHANGES IN MISSIONARY POLICIES AND METHODS IN CHINA

I. NORTH AMERICAN BOARDS

By A. L. WARNSHUIS, D.D.

IN a growing movement, as in a living body, changes and adjustments between the different parts are naturally and constantly taking place. Periods occur when these changes are more rapid, and also when they are less evident while a consolidation of the advance that has been made is effected. The beginnings and endings of such periods are not easily dated.

So in China recent years have been a time of much change in the missionary movement. The mission boards have been aware of this for some time. For example, the Presbyterian Board (U.S.A.) in 1926 sent a strong deputation to China to hold 'evaluation conferences' in which all the policies and methods in force in its missions were reviewed. The United Church in Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society sent deputations early in 1927, so that it happened that they were in China during the unexpectedly difficult months of the spring and early summer. Other boards have sent deputations to China both earlier and later than this.

That the missionary movement in China is now in the midst, or only at the beginning, of a period of change appears also from the following resolution adopted by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America at its annual meeting in January 1928 :

The Business Committee finds itself unable during the meeting of the Conference to prepare a statement which could satisfactorily evaluate

the present situation in China in its bearing on Christian missions in that country. Nor is there time for any adequate discussion here of the numerous important questions relative to missionary policies and methods in China. Therefore the Committee makes the following recommendations:

That the Foreign Missions Conference of North America instruct its Committee of Reference and Counsel to appoint a commission of twenty-five members, to be known as a Commission on Missionary Policies and Methods in China, which will study the conditions affecting Christian work in China and those questions of policy and method on which mission boards are now seeking light and guidance.

That the proposed commission be instructed to seek fullest information and expression of opinion from the various boards at work in China and from their missionaries; that it especially seek information and advice from the Chinese Christian forces.

. . . . . .

The changes that have already been made in the last year or two affect the relationships of the missionary, the control of finances, the ownership of property and the management of educational institutions. Naturally, the more far-reaching changes have taken place in the provinces where the work is older and where the Christian Church is more fully established.

In the North Fukien area, the mission of the American Board has transferred to the Foochow Congregational Church—now the Mid-Fukien Divisional Council of the Church of Christ in China—the responsibility for the administration of all the work of the mission. The missionaries will be directly responsible to the Church, only their salaries and allowances, residential and furlough expenses and language tuition being taken care of by the mission as in the past. Requests for missionary reinforcements, including those for special types of workers, will be made directly to the American Board by the Church. This elimination of the mission, excepting only as regards some of the personal affairs of the missionaries, is a policy that had been adopted by the North China Mission of the American Board in 1914.

A similar development is taking place in the West China Mission of the United Church of Canada, where the administration of all the mission's work is being transferred

to departmental boards organically related to the West China Conference of the Chinese Church, the majority of the members of each board being Chinese.

The Swatow Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Missions Society is another example of this practically complete merging of the mission in the Chinese Church. The Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has endorsed the proposal to organize a council to be composed of missionaries and Chinese to take the place of the mission organization that has existed hitherto. The Foreign Mission Board of the Reformed Church in the United States in planning for the return of its missionaries to Hunan has adopted a resolution that instructs the missionaries to ' press forward as rapidly as possible in organizing boards and committees on which Chinese will have a full share of responsibility.'

The Kwangtung Divisional Council of the Church of Christ in China is also seeking to establish direct relations with missionary boards of the Churches in America, England and New Zealand that send missionaries to work within its borders, and to take over the responsibilities of the missions for the administration of all matters pertaining to the Church, the schools and the hospitals. The Board of the United Brethren in Christ has approved in principle of the whole plan. The New Zealand Presbyterian Church is the first to complete the reorganization of all its work on the basis proposed by the Divisional Council of the Church.

The mission of the United Church of Canada is handing over its evangelistic work to the Church from the beginning of 1928. The mission of the Presbyterian Board (U.S.A.) has definitely committed its evangelistic work to the Divisional Council and is making adjustments of the relationships of its missionaries to the Church. The transfer of its boys' middle school has been approved.

As bearing on this subject of the transfer of mission responsibility, the following action of the Presbyterian Board (U.S.A.) taken in May 1927 is of interest :

The transfer includes in general the evangelistic and elementary day-school work which the missions have supported, and contemplates the transfer of higher schools and hospitals and other institutions and forms of work as the Church or other Chinese Christian organizations can assume responsibility for them. The Board approves also of the continuance of financial help when that is involved in the plans, with the expectation that in due time and without any avoidable delay the Church will provide the support and development of the work of which it assumes the control, the Board and the missions desiring to offer all practicable aid and to continue their co-operation in seeking to sustain worthy work that has been begun and still more in reaching out to accomplish the vast unfinished task.

Proposals are being considered for the transfer of all administrative power from the Kwangtung Mission of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to a Council composed of missionaries and representatives of the Chinese Churches.

The board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in November 1927 authorized a conference (which met in January 1928), composed only of Chinese representatives of the Methodist Conferences in China, and provided the necessary expenses, requesting this conference to express its judgments on the policies and program of the Church, ' with reference to ecclesiastical organization and supervision, rituals of worship, credal statements and the whole outward expression of the Christian religion, that they may be true to the genius of the Chinese people.'

In the Young Men's Christian Associations the entire responsibility for all questions relating to the foreign staff since January 1926 rests with the National Committee of China.

A complete survey would include reference to action by other boards and missions, revealing a rapidly increasing trend towards the transfer of responsibility for the direction and control of all forms of Christian service within its bounds to the Chinese Church. Moreover, it should be noted that an even larger number of missions have taken action by which the return of missionaries to their stations is made subject to some sort of consultation with the Chinese

Church. In some cases such a return depends upon the receipt of a definite request from a church court. The American Board and the Methodist Episcopal Board have adopted resolutions in substance as follows: Those missionaries should return to China who are acceptable to the Chinese, who are individually approved by the Board, who are physically able to go, who keenly desire to go in spite of hazardous conditions, and who, above all, are prepared in the light of the new situation in China to identify themselves with the Chinese Church and people to the limit of their ability.

The new plans of administration mentioned above generally include the transfer of financial responsibility to the Chinese Church, so that the grants of the mission board are expended under the direction of committees or councils of the Church in which the missionaries may or may not be represented. It is too early to discover what the effect of this may be in increasing the proportionate financial share of the Chinese Church in the support of its work. The North Kiangsi Mission of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.), several members of which recently spent some months in Korea, have adopted a definite program by which in the space of four years they hope to make all the groups of Chinese believers in their area either self-supporting, or at least dependent altogether on their own efforts in that direction.

With reference to property titles, with the exception of missionary residences, proposals are being considered by which property which is necessary to the Church will be leased or loaned to the Church. In a few cases, as in the Fukien Mission of the American Board, these proposals have been adopted. In other cases, the decision is postponed pending a more settled state of government. Again, the developments indicate a trend, although not yet so clearly marked as is the case in matters referring to the direction of the work of the missionaries or the expenditure of current funds. It may be well to note that several

boards, such as the Methodist Episcopal, Reformed Presbyterian and Young Women's Christian Association, have taken action affirming the principle that the properties devoted to the use of the Chinese Church are to be transferred to the ownership of the Church. As soon as a satisfactory plan can be adopted for the holding of such property titles, the transfer will be made. The transfer of the property of educational, medical and other institutions is reserved for special consideration. The Presbyterian Board (U.S.A.) maintains a somewhat different principle, according to which the funds for properties in general are considered as having been given to the Board for its world-wide work, unless otherwise designated, and any transfer of these properties to a local or national body must fulfil the conditions of the Board's trusteeship. Particular cases are decided on their merits.

With regard to indemnities for property losses due to mob action or resulting from military occupation, definite action has been taken by several boards. For example, the Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, which has sustained serious losses in Hunan, has adopted the following resolution :

> While the Board of Foreign Missions considers the destruction of some of the valuable property and equipment of our China Mission as unjustifiable acts, and can in no wise condone the same ; and while we recognize the right of our Government to demand indemnities for the losses sustained, yet being in China on a mission of love and goodwill and for the spiritual benefit of the people, and realizing that the penalty would fall upon the local citizens, most of whom are innocent, we therefore waive this right and do not file any claim, and request the United States Government not to demand reparation for damages to property owned by the Board without first consulting it.

The Methodist Episcopal Board and the American Board have taken similar action. The Presbyterian Board (U.S.A.) and several other boards have definitely undertaken themselves to reimburse their missionaries for their losses of personal property.

With reference to the revision of treaties, practically all the North American boards have adopted resolutions urging their governments to undertake this at the earliest practicable time and on a basis of equity and justice. A recent development has to do with the protection of missionaries. The Prudential Committee of the American Board in December 1927 adopted the following resolution :

The Prudential Committee is disposed, in behalf of the American Board, to petition the United States Government, through the State Department, that it make it possible for the missionaries of the American Board who desire to live outside the concessions, legations and other ' protected areas ' to be given only such diplomatic protection as may be provided without the use, threat or show of military force and by such methods only as will promote goodwill in personal and official relations.

The Prudential Committee submitted this statement to the China missionaries of the American Board and to other missionary boards having work in China, through the Foreign Missions Conference, in the hope that these boards would join in this petition. The Foreign Missions Conference in its annual meeting in January 1928 adopted the following two resolutions :

Resolved : That the resolutions adopted by the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions relative to the protection of missionaries be forwarded to the mission boards of North America, having mission work in China, and that they be requested to report their action to the Committee of Reference and Counsel.

Resolved : That in the judgment of this Conference the use or threat of foreign military force for the protection of missionaries is in general a serious hindrance to missionary work and that the effort should be made to secure for those missionaries desiring it the privilege of waiving their right to such protection.

The changes that have been made in the union universities are summarized in the following statement :

YENCHING.—Registration with the Peking Government was completed in 1927. There has been a gradual increase in the proportion of the Chinese members on the field board of managers. A reorganization of the administrative offices provides that the honorary head of the institution will be a Chinese with the title of chancellor, the present title of

president will be dropped, the acting head will be the provost, and there will be a vice-provost. The board of trustees is making a study of the details of this plan of reorganization and will shortly be considering changes in constitution and by-laws necessary to make such reorganization effective.

Shantung Christian University.—For a number of years the university has been seeking to strengthen the Chinese staff and to increase Chinese representation on the field board of managers, the membership of which at present is about evenly divided between Chinese and Westerners. At present a Chinese is serving as acting-president. The board of governors has approved in principle the registration of the university and has placed responsibility for proceeding with registration in the hands of the field board of managers, which has been making a careful study of the whole question of registration and reorganization but has felt that the time for completing the steps has not as yet arrived.

University of Nanking.—Reorganization has gone forward rapidly. The former board of managers has been replaced by a board of directors, a majority of whom are Chinese. A Chinese president has been elected by this board. The board of trustees in America approved in principle the organization of the board of directors, the election of a Chinese president and the placing in the hands of the board of directors of a large part of the responsibility formerly carried by the board of trustees which will lease the university property to the board of directors for five years. The annual rental to be charged is still under discussion. The directors seem to favour the Lingnan plan of renting the university property for $1.00 a year. The board of trustees, whose title under reorganization becomes the board of founders, have tentatively approved the general outline of reorganization on an experimental basis for a period of five years.

Fukien Christian University.—During 1927 the board of managers worked out in general a plan of reorganization, looking to the registration of the university. The board of trustees approved this plan in general and communicated it to the co-operating mission boards, whose answers are still awaited. At present the board of managers has a Chinese majority. The university has at present no president, but is in charge of an administrative commission, the chairman of which is a Chinese. The board of trustees has given the board of managers discretionary power to proceed with registration. The question of renting the university property is under consideration. Whether a merely nominal rental will be charged, or a more substantial sum will be paid and at once returned for the use of the university, has not yet been settled.

West China Union University.—The senate has requested the board of governors to authorize them to proceed with registration and

reorganization. The board has approved in general the principle of registration and reorganization, but no final steps will be taken until the president, now in America, returns to the field and sends back a report with recommendations. The senate, which exercises substantially the functions of a field board of managers, has a large majority of Chinese. It has presented an application for registration to the provincial authorities of Szechuan Province, but since Szechuan is practically independent of both the northern and southern governments the application has not been forwarded either to Peking, Nanking or Hankow.

In the case of all five union universities the home boards have approved the general principle of registration and reorganization so as to give greater place and responsibility to the Chinese. Their chief solicitude and provision has been that the essential Christian character of the institutions be maintained at all costs. The boards have considered too their obligations as trustees of the property and have indicated that registration and reorganization shall be effected in ways that will not invalidate the ownership of the property of the universities.

As regards other Christian colleges :

Foochow College.—This has been transferred entirely to the management of a board of the Foochow Congregational Church, the American Board continuing to serve as the trustees.

Ginling College.—This is in the hands of an administrative committee, composed of five Chinese, with two Americans in an advisory capacity. A Chinese president has been nominated by the board of control, and action on this nomination was taken by the college committee last January.

Lingnan University.—Reorganization was undertaken in 1926. It now has a Chinese president, and its affairs are managed entirely by a board of directors in Canton. The board in New York is now a board of founders, which has transferred all its properties by a lease for five years to the board in China, the annual rental being one dollar in Canton currency. The founders undertake to make certain financial annual grants, the financial management and responsibility being carried by the Chinese board. The staff of American teachers will be appointed and supported by the founders, subject to requests from year to year by the directors. Lingnan University represents probably the most complete transfer of responsibility to Chinese shoulders of any missionary institution or work in China.

A. L. Warnshuis

II. BRITISH SOCIETIES

By F. H. HAWKINS, LL.B.

WHILE writing this section the writer is travelling about China as a deputation from the London Missionary Society. During the last five or six months he has paid visits to a large number of centres, and has had many opportunities for conference with missionaries and Chinese Christian leaders, and at almost all places questions with regard to administrative developments and readjustments by missions necessitated by recent events have come up for discussion.

The change in the relations between the Chinese Christian Church and the western missions, which has apparently come with such startling suddenness, has in fact been anticipated and prepared for by several of the British mission boards and their missionaries on the field during the last twenty years or more. The process of transferring administrative responsibility to the Chinese Church has been going forward with rapidity, especially since the revolution of 1911. It is a matter for thankfulness that there have been on the field wise missionary administrators who have been able to read the signs of the times, and to prepare for what was inevitably coming to pass. The process has not been confined to missions of any particular denomination or ecclesiastical organization.

The national synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, which was organized in 1912 by the missions of the Church of England, through its diocesan councils has taken over increasingly responsibilities which formerly rested almost exclusively on the Anglican bishops and societies. The bishop, whether Chinese or foreign, still symbolizes ultimate authority. So far no Chinese has been consecrated as a diocesan bishop, but in certain cases a Chinese archdeacon, serving immediately under the bishop, has been appointed,

and more recently in two dioceses Chinese suffragan-bishops have been consecrated. The national synod is functioning in an ever-increasing degree in administrative work, and is giving greater weight to Chinese opinion.

The Presbyterian missions in China were amongst the first to organize mission councils and presbyteries. In South Fukien a Chinese presbytery was organized upwards of sixty years ago, and gradually the elementary schools of the missions passed under the presbytery. At first western missionaries were assessors on the presbytery, without a vote. The recent tendency has been to give them, in all ecclesiastical matters, identical powers with Chinese workers of similar standing. Arrangements personal to the individual missionary, such as salary, house accommodation, furlough and pension, naturally remain under the control of the mission; but, apart from these subjects, the actual authority in carrying on the church work has been devolved upon the presbytery or synod, on which the ordained missionary has a seat. With the recent formation of the Church of Christ in China, which consists of a union of almost all the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, this tendency towards handing over responsibility in church matters to the assembly, the synod and the presbytery, has been considerably accelerated.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, like other British societies, at first handled all its business on the field through a local committee of missionaries. For many years past this Church has been organized into synods on which ordained missionaries and Chinese pastors sit on a basis of equality. There has been a constant tendency to hand over mission responsibilities from the local committee of missionaries to the synod.

As regards the London Missionary Society, eighteen years ago there existed a system of provincial, district and local church councils, which were the Chinese counterpart of the Society's district and local committees in its five distinct fields in China. At that time there was organized

an advisory council to co-ordinate the work of the five districts, and subsequently a Chinese advisory council, which in effect represented the provincial church councils, came into being. These two councils met at the same time and place. The missionary advisory council handled all mission matters, and the Chinese advisory council handled all church business. On matters of joint interest the two councils sat and voted together; for instance, acting together they gave attention to the question of union between the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. This union became effective in South Fukien in 1919, and later in Kwangtung, Hupeh and East China. One of the unexpected results of the union has been that the Chinese advisory council has passed out of being, as the Chinese Churches participating in the union became members of the Church of Christ in China and quite rightly took the position that they could not send delegates to an exclusively L.M.S. council. For years past, elementary education and other matters formerly handled by the mission have increasingly been brought under the councils above referred to, and latterly under the synods and presbyteries.

All societies at work in China have now under consideration the altered relations of the missions and their missionaries to the Chinese Church. Probably the most advanced constitution is that of the Kwangtung Divisional Church Council. It is mainly the work of the Chinese, but it has in principle been accepted by most of the missions in that province. It is one thing, however, to frame a constitution, but quite another thing to set it to work. The writer was present at an informal conference held on January 2nd, 1928, between the representatives of some seven or eight different missionary societies for the consideration of the relations between the missions and the Church. The following extracts from a memorandum drawn up by a missionary of great experience in preparation for this conference will throw light on the kind of practical questions which arise :

With the reorganization of its work under church administrative bodies, the mission does not go out of existence. It attains new life as a supporting organization of the Chinese Church. Its interest in the forms of work which it initiated is renewed with the new position they now hold in the Church's programme. But a new relation to the Church and its work permits and requires the mission to reconsider its methods of aid. With the promotion of the work must be considered the placing of it on a self-supporting basis, and the providing of a leadership that will ensure its continued effectiveness.

I. The mission through its membership should have a direct and intimate part in the activities of the Church, sharing with their Chinese brethren the responsibility for carrying forward the work of the Church. Much will depend on how fully we missionaries identify ourselves and our work with the interests of the Church, how loyal we are to it and how full of zeal for it.

II. The mission and its members should seek to strengthen the Church and the various organizations responsible to it. How these organizations succeed will depend largely on the attitude to them of the missions and the missionaries connected with them.

Proper procedure should be insisted upon. The longer experience of missionaries should contribute to the orderly working of the new administration. They should set an example of responsibility to its authority, securing due authorization for plans and scrupulously observing its regulations.

III. The mission and its members should seek to strengthen Chinese leadership: by providing opportunities for training and development; by holding them to their responsibilities (facts and considerations may be brought to their attention, but the decision should be left with them); by readiness to follow their lead and aid in their plans and projects.

The memorandum goes on to emphasize that the mission should aid the local churches to attain self-support, and should actively support plans for the training of voluntary workers, and assist projects for the extension of the work by the employment of travelling evangelists, and concludes as follows :

The transfer to the Church of the heavy administrative duties hitherto carried on by the mission creates a need for a group of men of highest training giving their whole time to the general work of the Church.

The resources of the Church are as yet inadequate to the support of the best trained workers. The gifts of the Church should be devoted mainly to the attainment of local self-support.

The mission should continue to aid medical and educational work by supplying foreign workers, by grants towards current expenses and by contributions towards building, equipment and endowment conditioned on sufficient sums being raised from Chinese sources; until this can be provided, granting free use of available buildings and equipment.

At the conference strong emphasis was placed upon the need for the training of Chinese leadership.

It is generally recognized that one of the most difficult and immediate problems in working out the new adjustments will be to get the Chinese Church through its local church bodies to realize the new responsibilities which it is assuming. Missionaries in large numbers are expressing their willingness to accept appointment by and to work under the direction of the Chinese Church, but it is doubtful whether that Church recognizes the implications of the practical adoption of these new principles.

It is inevitable that hardships will be encountered in carrying into effect the policy contemplated. It is assumed that the synods or other church bodies will exercise the right of discrimination in accepting the appointment of missionaries; that decisions as to location and the forms of work to be undertaken by such missionaries will be in the hands of the Church, through its properly constituted synods or committees; that mission boards will only make new appointments at their request; and that where the principle of probation exists, it will be the synod and not the mission which will have the responsibility of deciding upon the permanent appointment of the missionary. The expenditure of considerable sums of money and the life-work of individuals who often have sacrificed much for the privilege of working with that Church will be in its hands, and it is inevitable that the supply of new candidates will in the long run depend upon the wise and sympathetic administration by the Chinese Church of these responsibilities. The functions of the local mission bodies under the new conditions will be much restricted, and will need to be carried out as unobtrusively as possible. New and careful

adjustments must be made with regard to communications between the Chinese Church and the home boards.

Probably in an increasing degree elementary education will be transferred to the Church, but a longer period will have to elapse before the Chinese Church is strong enough in finance, leadership and experience to take over the higher educational work and the medical work of the missions. During the transition period it will probably be found wise for the Chinese Church to abstain from taking over the direct control of such work, but to make its contact with such work through boards and committees appointed by it and consisting largely of experts.

F. H. Hawkins

III. GERMAN SOCIETIES

By S. KNAK, D.Theol.

THE changes in the administration of missionary work in China owing to the events of recent years are naturally of a less radical and comprehensive nature in the case of German missions than in that of many others, since all German missionaries were able to remain unmolested at their stations. A number of the larger German missions, several years ago, set themselves to the problem of the development of independence from the mission on the part of the Chinese Church.

In 1922 there was introduced a church constitution for the whole area of the Basel Mission, in 1924 a similar constitution for all the congregations of the Berlin Mission and in 1927 for those of the Rhenish Mission—all in the Province of Kwangtung. In the two former missions the Chinese Christians were given the opportunity of sharing in the development of church life through parochial and general synods. In the meanwhile, the leadership of the Church in the mission field is in the hands of the executive of the general synod. This executive is composed, in the case of

the Berlin Mission, of three missionaries, two Chinese pastors and one Chinese layman; in the case of the Basel Mission, of four missionaries, four Chinese pastors and one Chinese layman. The Chinese members were chosen in both cases by the Chinese members of the general synod. Among the Basel Mission churches five have already attained the status of independent local churches, but they are not excluded from the bond of union which holds together all the Basel Mission churches.

In the Berlin Mission no local church has as yet attained independence, although progress towards it, contemplated by the church constitution, has been accelerated by the most recent events. In the Berlin Mission an ordained Chinese minister has been appointed to the superintendence of a district, with all the responsibility accorded to a European missionary, an experiment which has so far been entirely satisfactory. These two missions contemplate a complete separation of the Chinese Church from mission organization. This is clear, for example, from the method of granting funds in the Berlin Mission. The home board budgets one block grant for the mission and one for the Church. The conference of missionaries, on the one hand, and the executive of the general synod, on the other, have full liberty to spend the respective sums at their discretion for the needs of the mission and of the Church.

As regards education, it is necessary to comply with the regulations of the Chinese educational department. The prohibition of compulsory religious education has not occasioned difficulties in the Berlin Mission, because in both of their high schools, as well as in the girls' middle school with a training department in Shiu-chow and in the German-Chinese middle school in Canton, religious instruction has for some while been on an optional basis. The same thing is true of the middle school in Tsingtau of the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society, which is the largest German mission school in China, and which in the last few years—like the Canton school—has received large

additions to its numbers. As regards the German-Chinese middle school of the Basel Mission in Kayingchow, in view of the new regulations, which were applied by the local authorities in a particularly rigorous way, the missionary character of the school was considered too slight to warrant the expense of maintaining it by the mission. It was left to the Church to carry it on, the mission lending the building to the Church for two years in the first instance. The Church has not yet been able to raise the necessary funds.

Optional religious instruction has also been introduced into the elementary schools. As a matter of fact, in the greater number of schools all the children are present for the religious teaching. Registration of the remaining schools, except for some small, out-of-the-way village schools, is complete. Chinese principals and directors have also, and as a result of registration, been appointed. Only the girls' middle school of the Liebenzell Mission in Paoking (Hunan) has been given up and will not be reopened for the present. The Breklum Mission's schools in Pakhoi and Limchow (Kwangtung) have also been registered. The Rhenish Mission's girls' school in Taiping-Fumun is for the present retaining compulsory religious instruction.

Medical missions are in a separate category. The large well-known hospital of the Rhenish Mission in Tung-kun has made no change in the administration, which remains entirely European. The Basel Mission hospitals in Honyen and Kaying are more European in their administration than they were formerly. The doctors could not carry on their work at all if Chinese had any authoritative share in the administration. A European male nurse has been sent to Kaying to replace the Chinese hospital administrator. In the Berlin Mission they have adopted the principle that the mission should neither acquire the site nor provide funds for building a hospital. On the contrary, a Chinese executive committee was formed and obtained from the Government in Canton the grant of a temple site in Namyung for a hospital under German control, collecting the necessary

funds for building the hospital by subscriptions from Chinese. The hospital was able to carry on as a Chinese institution through all the political changes, in spite of severe opposition at times from the communists.

The Liebenzell Mission has not made any change in the conduct of the medical work in its two hospitals in Hunan. In Changsha, where Hudson Taylor died, a hospital bearing his name has just been opened which is entirely under European management. When the hospital work of the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society in Tsining-chow (Shantung) was started, no share in the management was given to Chinese.

The German missions have up till now had no occasion for discussions and negotiations concerning the ownership of mission property, although here also the problem can be discerned beneath the surface in uneasiness on the part of the missionaries or in utopian hopes on the part of the Chinese. The relation between missionaries and their Chinese colleagues naturally has its difficulties in German as in other missions, especially in the older and larger missions. These difficulties are greater in the Basel than in the Berlin and Rhenish Missions, corresponding to the character of the Chinese involved. The Berlin Mission was able to hold a referendum in the general synod of Chinese members on the question of the objections held by Chinese Christians to missionary administration. Discussion was carried on with the greatest frankness and showed both an appreciative and a brotherly spirit.

The tendency of German missions is in general not to let themselves be carried away by the catchwords of the day into new policies which could only in the long run hinder the sound development of the Church. German missions do not consider the Chinese congregations ready yet for complete independence, but are working steadily towards developing fitness for it. The missions are not a retarding element, but endeavour to stimulate the congregations to a more rapid development of their powers.

Up till now there have been good reasons for remaining apart from the Church of Christ in China. Not only the missionaries, but the pastors and congregations also are opposed to it. But a brotherly co-operation in the fellowship of prayer and in evangelistic work is maintained with neighbouring congregations of other denominations.

S. KNAK

IV. SCANDINAVIAN MISSIONS

By GUNNAR BRUNDIN

THE tension of the feelings of the Chinese towards the foreign powers, so threatening at this time a year ago, has undoubtedly relaxed a great deal at the present day. But as long as internal dissensions and fighting among the Chinese continue, and no government can enforce its authority, it is difficult to draw up any lines of policy along which mission work should be directed in future. The evacuation of stations, enforced or otherwise deemed necessary on account of the disturbed situation, has interrupted missionary work so seriously that in most cases a quite new orientation will be necessary, when calm is so far restored that missions can take up their full activity again. But in certain quarters it has been asked seriously whether this can be done, and whether there are sufficient reasons for taking up the interrupted work again, or whether the right thing would not be to leave the work once for all to the Chinese Christians themselves.

I have been requested to explain how the Scandinavian missions look upon the situation in general and I am glad to be able to declare that the thought of giving up work in China is not even entertained by these missions. On the contrary, they consider the present situation full of possibilities for the Kingdom, as China in the present stage of evolution needs the Gospel more than ever and more than anything else as a power to call men to a new life.

The question along which lines the work should be taken up is closely connected with the question of how it has been organized before, and especially of the degree of responsibility and the kind of activity which for a longer or shorter period have been borne by the Chinese. Most of the Scandinavian missions which have worked for some time in the country have already introduced some type of constitution by which the Chinese have enjoyed a greater or less amount of responsibility. The constitution in force has of course had to function as well as it could during the last year without missionaries, or with only a few who have remained in a purely advisory capacity alongside the Chinese leaders.

There seems to be a general opinion among the missions that where there exists a Church with an organized congregation, church control should be made over completely into the hands of the Chinese, and a fixed yearly grant be given by the mission concerned to meet the expenses connected with these activities as far as the resources of the Chinese Christians are insufficient for the purpose. Where it is necessary and possible, one or more missionaries should be associated with the church council as advisory members. Such an arrangement is likely to be in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese themselves.

As regards education, the prevailing opinion seems to be that elementary schools for Christian children should be made over to the Chinese—if this is not already done—and that the Chinese should bear the expense of these schools.

For higher education, on the other hand, including training schools for teachers, evangelists and clergy, the foreign missions should for the present continue to be responsible. If the situation makes it necessary or expedient for the principal of such an institution to be a Chinese, he should always have a missionary as advisor at his side.

As regards the question as to whether missions should apply for registration of their schools, opinion differs. Certain missions consider it a matter of course that registration should be applied for and schools thus be recognized by

Government; other missions have great doubts on the matter. Such doubts are caused by fear that registration would encroach upon their freedom to give religious instruction, which instruction they consider—and rightly—to be inherent in the very aim of their work and essential for the life of the Chinese Church. In view of the regulations regarding registration issued by former governments, such fears are not groundless. If, on the other hand, there remain in force those registration rules which were issued in December 1927 by the Nanking Government, in which the general conditions for registration are far more moderate than those of preceding regulations, there seems to be no reason for apprehension.

Evangelistic work, which is and will remain one of the most important tasks of Christian missions, must of course adapt itself to such conditions as prevail on the different fields on the return of the missionaries. Missions, for their own part, must never lose sight of this great essential task, but at the same time they must teach the Chinese to take as active a part as possible in the evangelization of their own people. China is best evangelized through its own children.

Of the Scandinavian missions, the Danish Missionary Society and the Swedish Holiness Union (Helgelseförbundet) have been comparatively unaffected by last year's catastrophe; the missions which have their work in Central China and in the Yangtse valley have suffered most.

The Lutheran College at Taohwalun, in Hunan, which had to close in November 1926, is expected to reopen this autumn. According to the revised constitution drawn up by the Church of Sweden Mission, this college will be under the authority of the church council of the Lutheran Church of China, working in active co-operation with the missions associated with this Church. Its former principal, Professor K. B. Westman, has at the moment of writing started on his journey back to China in order to prepare for a restarting of the educational work.

GUNNAR BRUNDIN

THE RACE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By W. AIDAN COTTON, C.R.

IN the morning of June 17th, 1924, I cast my vote in the parliamentary election which launched General Hertzog on his first administration. In the evening of the same day, after thirteen years' residence in the Transvaal, I took train for Rhodesia. And it was during the following nine months that my chapters on *The Race Problem in South Africa* were written.[1]

It is said, and many are thereby offended, that I have advocated intermarriage between Europeans and Africans. But I can truly say that this was not my purpose.

What spurred me on was rather the conviction that the time has come to issue a last call for that territorial segregation which alone can prevent the operation of the forces that lead to race fusion, and which would confine racial intermarriages to a comparatively narrow sphere. Archdeacon Lee of Zululand has stated that the present decade is probably the most critical in the history of the two races. Professor Brookes, I think, has put 1935 as the limit of the time within which any real segregation as regards the holding of land will be possible. Already many of my friends are impatient of the issue being raised, for they say its discussion hinders the initiation of movements and the formulation of demands concerning what really is practicable in the cause of Native progress; while, on the other hand, it paralyses our statesmen and disables them for action according to the plain requirements of justice. They demand a conclusion to the vague talk of segregation.

It is a last call. And it is peremptory. Standing at

[1] London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. 1926.

the beginning of the second quarter of this century, we know that it will see the decision, for or against, irrevocably made, and segregation or its contrary established by South Africa, in the face of the world, as its chosen law of national development.

It may or it may not be in accordance with the will and purpose of Providence. And I am blamed for visualizing the only alternative that I personally am able to conceive as being congruous with the laws and powers of nature, and in harmony with what has been revealed of the character and purposes of the Creator and Upholder of mankind.

But it is my belief that His absolute and infallible will is to be discerned by us men, stumbling in the dark, in no other way than by considering the alternatives that appear to be lawful, eliminating the counsels that we know to be depraved, and making our choice in the spirit of reverent dependence. Mistaken, we can still count on the overruling power of the Most High, and with chastened minds we can return to the tasks set before us. It was in that spirit that I have been bold to challenge the utterances of my fellow South Africans in regard to intermarriage. And to that challenge I shall return later on.

But what I have advocated is segregation. What I have advocated is the principle that to each race of people, unified through history, a native land is given by destiny and belongs by right ; and that ultimately there is room for only one nation in one country. What I have advocated is Christian nationalism as a better social scheme than the system of Asiatic caste separations. What I have advocated, and here alone I will not admit the possibility of mistake, is that justice as regards the Natives is to be construed in exactly the same sense as that in which we British and Dutch South Africans own its sway over our relations one with another—a principle paramount over all claims, dominating all social ideals, accounting for all facts and spurning all forms of hypocrisy. And my proposals have been condemned as impracticable.

General Smuts was recently reported to have said that the only settlement of the 'Native Question' would be attained by securing a large increase in the European population of South Africa. Now if that increase can be concentrated upon the southernmost portion of the continent, which I have described as being both suitable for and fairly belonging to a European State, my argument leads to full agreement with him. But if the increase of white population is to spread itself northward, over all the African areas that invite by their pleasantness and salubrity of climate as well as by their fertility of soil and wealth of mineral deposits, then it can only carry throughout the whole continent the formidable difficulties that now confront the Union of South Africa.

For this is the question and this constitutes the problem: How far and in what bulk and mass and on what principles is the European colonization of Africa to proceed? It is said to be impracticable to put any limit upon the extent of this colonization 'in the present state of the public mind in South Africa.' It is said to be beyond the capabilities of the white man to control the numbers of his own race migrating into the essentially African lands.

But can it indeed be so? Have our statesmen to-day as little control over the migrations of their people as had the chiefs of the Aryan hordes that swept across the steppes of Asia into Europe before the dawn of modern history? Must the populations merely follow, sightless and thoughtless, along the broad ways of their felt needs and their impelling desires? [1]

It has long appeared to me that our European folk in South Africa are indeed like a great army descending blindfold through narrow gorges into a dark valley full of sinister possibilities. And of these possibilities they are

[1] Since completing my MS. I have had opportunity to read Professor E. H. Brookes' *Political Future of South Africa*. On the subject of this section he says: 'Is this expansion northwards to be our aim? Are we to make a great South Africa reaching to the Equator our ideal to be consciously, if slowly, striven for? It is perhaps the most important point that South Africa has to decide' (p. 59).

willingly ignorant. A game of bridge might call for more thoughtful calculation of chances, putting two and two together, than is given by most of them to the consideration of what the future holds in store for themselves and their posterity. I seem to see them choosing by their acts a destiny against which, when they are face to face with it, they will fight with violence bitter but unavailing. And I do wish to help to take the veil away that they may see and think and consider.

I find it difficult to think that the ideal of racial integrity which is so nearly universally held among us can really be so weak, and its holders so inept, as to have no power at all to persuade men to accept the measures required for its realization. If these be but clearly and authoritatively set before them I could hope for a loyal and determined response. T. H. Huxley has warned us of the constant struggle that lies before the human race to maintain an organized polity, and a worthy civilization constantly improving itself, in opposition to the sway of cosmic process and the state of nature.

I do not ask that Africa shall be abandoned to the Africans. Far from it. Everywhere I recognize that the administration of its governments, the development of its resources, as well as the care of its peoples, must be for many decades organized by Europeans. What I do ask is that these shall not, in bulk and mass, pass a line that should be drawn as the northward boundary of a South African European State. South of and inside that line policy should be directed to increase and attain a complete predominance of the people of European race. North of and outside it the present proportion of white to African, whether one to ten or one to twenty, should be recognized as sufficient for the good and lawful purposes cherished by the former towards the latter. What I ask is that the white settlers of the Northern Transvaal, of Zululand and of Southern Rhodesia, maintaining their high quality, deepening their sympathy, enlarging their generosity and increasing their

efficiency, as well as their racial integrity, shall be content with the numerical relation they now bear to the Africans, although it is such as can never hope to challenge the title of nationhood in those countries.

The members of these colonies would have the inspiration of a magnificent task—to administer, to enlighten, to develop their territories for all the purposes that appeal to men of goodwill. To them would come the high call to furnish recruits for the army of rulers, of physicians, of teachers, of captains of industry and of missionaries that must take account of every corner of the continent.

Only, they would not think of establishing white nations in essential Africa. They would clearly perceive that incoming masses of Europeans, rejecting racial fusion as well as any equal partnership in control, must inevitably come into oppressive rivalry with the peoples of the land. And this they would recognize all the more clearly, and from it revolt all the more generously, if time proves us and our children to be physically fit to thrive at manual labour in Tropical Africa.

It is pointed out as a glaring error in my essay that I have suggested doubts as to this fitness. And it is said that the error vitiates much of my argument. On the contrary, the removal of these doubts would strengthen it. For my main concern is to secure on behalf of the Africans a righteous settlement of the problem that is created by white immigration. And if the white man in Africa has no fundamental need of the black, but can, when he is ready, supplant him in every sphere of labour, then the increasing competition between the two might be all the more conscienceless and merciless as the intruders press in. So that whereas now we need to withstand unjust exploitation of the Natives, condoned in the interests of the establishment of European settlers, in the future their entire disappearance might begin to be wished for in order to secure the expansion, in complete racial integrity, of European nationalities.

A fine young English settler, born in Rhodesia, in love

with his native land and imbued with a patriotic ambition for its progress as a British colony, once expressed this wish to me. He was friendly to the Natives and well able to direct their labour without friction. Yet his thought was that the best plan for the future would be for the whole native population to be removed to the north of the Zambezi. And, as a harsh and blatant instance of the same instinctive tendency to exclude the native Africans from the scope of our colonial ambitions, this extract from a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald* of January 28th, 1927, may suffice :

> Let us find out for certain whether the Native really is necessary for farm work (i.e. whether the white man supplied with machinery can do without him). If the Native is not necessary then let us kick him out with all possible speed and leave him . . . in his own reserves, and see that he stays there. If he is necessary then . . . native labour must be compulsory and it must be pooled.

I say that from the prospect thus suggested to the imagination conscience revolts. I believe the colonists of Rhodesia and similar territories within the Union to be for the most part noble-minded men. I think it both possible and practicable that, could they but discern the issues involved, they should willingly abdicate the hope of being the founders of European nations in Africa and accept the trust and guardianship of the essentially African nations to whom, in these lands, the future of right belongs. And I believe they might see the wisdom for themselves of regarding the Empire, the British Commonwealth, as their nation, and might agree with the policy of directing British and European emigration towards the empty spaces of Australia and Canada, rather than to the black and brown man's countries of Africa—until, perhaps towards the end of the present century, the whole position as to the relation of the primary races of mankind one to another is much clearer than it is at the present day.

The plea is made that it is too late. And, strangely, it is made by men who express in terms almost pathetic their longing for a just segregation. It is made in tones that

paralyse action. And yet I greatly doubt whether the truth of the situation can allow the plea.

Too late : when we are only in the second decade of the Union's history. And yet never until now have the people been sufficiently united to frame a strong and consistent policy on any important national question.

Too late : just at the moment when South Africa is proclaimed, amid the acclamations of all parties, to be at last the mistress in her own house.

Too late : for a free people to take a decisive step in a matter which, far beyond all else, affects its nationhood and the heritage it will hand down to posterity.

Too late : so shortly after the area governed by the Union has been almost doubled in extent by the addition of South-West Africa, and when there is still ample room for the whole white population in Cape Colony, Natal and the cold high veld of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

Too late : when the universities of South Africa, its centres of light and reasoned ideals, all of them within the borders of the suggested South African European State, are still in the initial stages of a course that may well be as long and honourable as that of their European exemplars.

Too late : at the time when Rhodesia, having been assigned a separate government, suggesting a destiny apart from the Union, is just making its first infant movements of political significance ; and when one sovereign power having come into control of almost the whole East African littoral, guarding the gates, her statesmen are but beginning to think out the relations that should subsist between the immigrant colonists and the aboriginal inhabitants.

No. If it is right and desirable I am confident it is not too late for the South African colonists to pass a self-denying ordinance as to the extent of African land they will attempt to turn into a white man's country. It is not too late to stem the tide that has begun to flow, but is not yet pressing strongly northward.

The migration to the Cape of many thousands of Natives

within the past twenty years may be interpreted as a gesture that the African, unconsciously yet resolutely, means to fill Africa. But nevertheless I cannot believe it to be too late for this south-westward Bantu advance to be returned beyond a boundary fixed in accordance with prudence.

No doubt in every generation great questions of policy, profoundly affecting those who come after, are settled without much realization of what is afoot. Thus in the last century the Indians were introduced into Natal. Thus from the seventeenth century onwards African slaves were imported into Virginia and other American States. Thus, contrariwise, early in the present century, many thousands of Chinese miners working on the Rand were repatriated, following the resolution of the electorate. However we may judge as to the justice and wisdom of such decisive actions, one thing is clear—the responsibility and the gravity of the fault of those who, allowing circumstances however massive to move them from the better course, decide weakly to accept the worse.

No second best is good enough for South Africa. And that must be a second best which is accepted because something more desirable is condemned as impracticable. It is said that every attempt made in the past to achieve a territorial separation of white and black people has failed. Let it then be questioned, not whether it is possible or practicable, but whether it really is the best. If it is not, let the merits of a contrary policy, having been examined and approved, be proclaimed. If it is, let us surpass in our earnest determination every former effort to attain it. To such an examination of alternatives I have essayed to make a contribution.

In Southern Rhodesia, contrary to the policy I have been defending, men are demanding a speeding up of the pace of white settlement. And a strong commission has recommended an allocation of what will amount to two-thirds of the arable lands of the colony for this purpose; while in the Union proposals are made, and are well on the

way towards adoption, which are clean contrary in spirit to the genius of the Christian religion. And they are justified in terms which, duly considering what follows from them and what they imply, no loyal Christian can fail to repudiate. And my protestation is that the peoples of Great Britain and South Africa, having lately been entrusted with the destiny of practically the whole of East and South Africa, have a decision now to make as to the principles on which it shall be administered, and as to the scope of its colonization by Europeans, from the necessity of which no cry of ' Too late ' can absolve them.

If the territorial segregation put forward by many of us be finally rejected, certain further decisions will be required. And if we are asked which we shall choose : a South Africa where the Natives are segregated in social castes, low paid and with their aspirations thwarted, while the white population bases its prosperity and its amenities on their toil ; or a South African nation moulded through the generations into one homogeneous race, through mutual rendering to one another of honour and opportunity on the part of its constituent elements, and through intermarriage, then we must unhesitatingly choose the second.

I am not hostile to boundary lines separating nations one from another, whether they be large or small. I am hostile to the idea of a dividing gulf regarded as being unalterably fixed within a nation. I do not mean that being there in fact it can be quickly abolished. But I do welcome the probability of a steady process of social shift and change, through the passing generations, that works for the closing of the gulf.

We may look to Asia Minor for an example of the unhappy result of building a state on a broken foundation. There we have an example of two peoples occupying one land, but counteracting its unifying powers by race repugnance. And in these last days of the lingering misery of it, the Greek has been expelled and the Turk remains. It is

an example of the devastating results, through centuries, of unreconciled race prejudice, an example of how the refusal of two peoples to unite can mar the fairest land. And it is not an example that we can wish to follow in South Africa.

It is pointed out that I have made a glaring error in advancing the hope that the Indians of South Africa may throw in their lot with the Natives and the coloured folk, contributing valuable elements to the non-European citizenship of the country. Nevertheless I would now go further and suggest that the Indian has certain obvious qualifications for helping to draw all of these towards an ultimate national unity with the European people. Once I walked with an Indian boy along a country road in the Transvaal. I remember especially the brightness of his eyes, the freedom of his gait and the frankness of his conversation. Here is one, I thought, whom the land is making its own, upon whom those forces are working by which South Africa will be compacted and moulded as a nation.

It has been said that the biggest problem in this country is a psychological one. And fresh confirmation of what I have written about it may be found in Mrs Millin's recent book, *The South Africans* : [1]

' To-day,' she says, ' almost as an instinct of nature, the white South African is hostile to the black.' The colour feeling of the modern Boer ' has something almost religious about it. He considers it to be his *duty* to hate black blood in all its manifestations.' And the Boer ' has taught his English neighbour something of his own spirit towards his dark-skinned neighbour. . . . Children of English parentage born in the Free State and Transvaal are not less negrophobe than children of Dutch parentage.' And, therefore, it is that for the most part ' the Kaffir has little hope of generous treatment in the midst of the white people ' (pp. 167–9).

Summing up the causes of this threatening spirit we

[1] London : Constable. 7s. 6d. 1926.

find them to be three. Mrs Millin, in agreement with the analysis I have attempted, gives us the first. 'The root of this hostility,' she says, 'is probably to-day grounded in fear of miscegenation, for no other kind of physical fear can now be awakened by the Native' (p. 168).

In the famous speech of the American, Alexander Stephens, at the inauguration of the Southern Confederacy, in 1861, we may find the second. He justified slavery and a Government based upon it by the 'great physical, philosophical and moral truth' that 'the Negro is not equal to the white man,' and that 'subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition.' I have dealt with this supposed inferiority and this required subordination in my chapter on 'Race Integrity and Equality of Opportunity.'

And the third, which is midway between these two and closely interconnected with them both, is grounded in the Malthusian distrust of the fatherly power of God to provide and to grant men wisdom for finding the means of life as they multiply in the world. As it is believed that the African is lower and deeply 'other' than the European, while one circumscribed geographical and economic sphere must contain them both, fear supervenes. The increase and upward advance of the one seems to threaten the decrease and downward drift of the other. Therefore his progress is a movement against us. And we must counter it by economic, social and political defences and offences, in order to maintain our position against him.

One by one must be probed and extracted, calmly yet with firm determination, these roots of the serpent's fang of inter-racial jealousy and hatred. Adventuring to put one's hand to the task one is compelled to deal frankly with the question of intermarriage, and to deny the plea that racial self-preservation for Europeans can justify anything in the shape of repression directed against the African peoples. It must be accepted that this question is a factor, I think it is the dominant factor, in the fight for justice to which the

old English ideal and the liberal Cape tradition and the passionate love of humanity now summon us in South Africa.

But there are other considerations which render impossible any long delay in dealing with intermarriage. There are many cases of white men cohabiting with native women who have borne them children, where marriage is the only right way of making amends. By marriage it is possible for them to be spiritually recovered. This must be made clearer than it is to-day. And the remedy which Heaven offers human society must not deny. There are thousands of children to whom a righteous government must seek to restore their fathers according to the flesh as their fathers indeed.

Again, most men will admit some rôle to race fusion in the scheme of the future. Archdeacon Cameron, a benefactor of missionary work, in criticizing my book is reported to have said that in South Africa there is little race mixture now going on, but that 'the tendency is for the coloured people to become white.' I remember, too, what an ecclesiastic in one of our coastal towns once told me. There was a suggestion that information now usually asked for in the baptismal and marriage registers, as to the colour of the persons concerned, should henceforth be left out of account. For in the course of a generation or two it might be inconvenient in many cases that coloured ancestors should have to be acknowledged. And it was felt to be unfair to preserve what might be unwelcome information.

Well, such a process of becoming white, peaceably accepted as good by all, would be the hoped-for issue of the territorial limitation and concentration of European colonization which I have urged. But it does mean the acceptance of intermarriage of white with non-white persons.[1]

I do not think my advocacy of intermarriage has gone beyond this. I have only shown further that I am not

[1] E. H. Brookes, in *The Political Future of South Africa*, says: 'I do not shrink from the extreme consequence that the policy advocated may ultimately mean intermarriage and absorption of the Coloured people by the Whites' (p. 31).

revolted but can feel strong hopefulness of the ultimate result if South Africa chooses the path that leads to intermarriage on a wide scale. It appears to me as leading surely, yet through much rough country, to a national unity wherein the dignity of every human being is recognized and the idol of race supremacy is broken down.

If we decide to-day that a limitation of our migrating European advances into Africa is impossible, that it involves a sacrifice unreasonably great, we are, I feel certain, deciding that our posterity shall be a coloured people. If European immigrants in large numbers and of every type spread themselves over the whole of South Africa, up to the Zambezi, or even beyond it, wherever high upland country tempts their settlement, intermarriage must still be accepted. But it is entirely unlikely that the resulting process would be a becoming white. It is difficult to suppose that over so large a portion of the continent Europeans could be brought in, in numbers sufficient to absorb the African elements in the way that is possible in the smaller area in the South. Rather, the tendency would most probably be for these immigrating peoples to become brown. And I think that, for Africa, this tendency must be accounted equally good with the other.

The solemn duty will then devolve upon us, of making the dispositions that may keep what comes to pass in the ways of justice and virtue. For otherwise it may be through a welter of oppression and wickedness.

The reader may perhaps shrug his shoulders and say: 'Oh, well, let it be so. It will not be in our day, nor need we trouble ourselves as to what will happen in a thousand years' time.' But that is just the point. We do need to think about it. During two hundred and fifty years past it has already gone far. Not at the end of such a long time, but during that time it will be carried forward to its consummation. We are now, not indeed at the sources, but in the upper waters of the stream. And whether it is to be but a little one or a mighty river, it is incumbent on

us to guard against those pollutions which may foul the whole of its course.

I have suggested that the sources of such a river are not necessarily polluted at all. I have been chidden for saying that there are pioneers who go out, breaking with the conventions of their generation and suffering the inescapable penalties therefor, to be the progenitors of new racial developments—whether it be becoming white or brown. Some of these have been despicable men. To them I should not give the name of pioneer. But some have been virtuous as well as courageous. And some would have kept within the law, if the law itself had not transgressed.

There may be fewer children born of the mating of pure European with pure African in the future than there have been in the past. A large mixed population already exists. And these people intermarry on the one hand with the Whites and on the other hand with the Natives. On the one side they are becoming lighter and on the other side darker-skinned. So it goes on in the West Indies, so also in North and South America, and so it is going on here. And what the homogeneous nation in any part of America or of Africa will be, time alone can tell.

The movement proceeds without observation. Most of the persons determining its course are quite obscure. It is one indivisible process ; but it is all broken up into isolated happenings in unnoticed corners and remote localities over the wide stretches of a continent. It is carried forward quietly through the gentle lapse of unnumbered years.

Fewer and fewer may follow the example of the first fathers of the expanding nationality. But more and more will there be felt a deep desire and a great wish to set the abnormal and unconventional action of these in the best light possible. The term ' pioneer ' does not connote impeccability. It suggests a somewhat pre-legalistic stage of society. But it is honourable. And my hope is that a coloured boy, reading and understanding what I have written, might lift up his head with a new boldness in face of the world,

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relieved of some of the burden of shame which has been heaped upon his ancestry, and with a stronger confidence in the unmistaking wisdom of God.

Has he not a right, as well as we, to a pride in his race? We all share the fallen human lot. No human pedigree is free from stain—not even that from which, in the mystery of His Incarnation, the Saviour of the world was sprung. And He underwent that humiliation in order that He might cleanse the origins of all the families of men. Of which benefit the coloured South African, equally with us, is made the heir.

We must rid our language, concerning these matters, of the whole paraphernalia of 'tarbrush' nomenclature. Another Burns will one day arise to read a final repudiation of all colour prejudice, and of the 'guinea stamp' of outward appearance, into the songs of the beloved Scotsman:

The man's the gowd for a' that.

I should therefore wish to be understood as gravely deprecating the language that is sometimes used by men of repute in regard to racial intermarriages. They are stigmatized as unforgivable offences, horrible, revolting, unnatural and traitorous. I submit that such language belongs to the process by which human society, 'as organized apart from God,' ranges itself 'in mutually hostile groups,' incapable of just action and attitudes one towards another. I submit that they contribute to that passionate and unreasoning contempt for colour, as a stain in a man's ancestry, which renders inter-racial peace impossible.

And I would, on the other hand, summon all the sober earnestness of desire for race integrity to a determined attitude of caution, in regard to the unrestricted immigration of Europeans into Africa.

W. Aidan Cotton, C.R.

ISLAM IN MALAYA

By L. RICHMOND WHEELER, B.Sc.

MALAYA means the Peninsula under British influence at the south-east of Asia. It includes the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca; the four Federated States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang; and five other Malay States which are generally under British control, though less so than the other four.

The total area is a little less than that of England, being about 52,000 square miles. Population is unequally distributed, from over 1300 per square mile in Singapore to about 10 in Pahang. It has undoubtedly increased since the last census in 1921, when the figures were :

Europeans (mainly British)	14,919
Eurasians	12,644
Malays	1,627,108
Chinese	1,173,354
Indians	471,628
Others (including Japanese, Ceylonese, Siamese, Arabs, Jews, etc.)	32,950
Total	3,832,603

The Malays preponderate greatly in most of the Unfederated States, form about half in the Federation, and are in a minority in the Colony; in Singapore they form hardly ten per cent of the total number. Further, of their total as given above, some 32,000 are aborigines, Sakai and others, who are mostly animists in religion. Against this some of the Indians are Muslims, as are the few hundreds of Arabs. So the Muslims consist almost entirely of the Malays, and form just about one-half of the whole population. This is an important factor as, except in India, the Muslims usually form the bulk of the population in countries where that

faith has spread; and even in India they predominate in many areas. Also, as in most other places, the Muslim princes are not independent but are controlled in varying degrees by the British.

Islam in the Past

Besides the Proto-Malay communities, Malay States existed in the Peninsula before A.D. 1400, as at old Singapore or Temasek. But this was destroyed by an invasion from Java about 1377. The survivors eventually settled at Malacca, and from about 1400 till 1511 Malacca was the centre of Malay culture and held most of the Peninsula under its sway.

The early stories of the arrival of Islam are fabulous; but it is fairly certain that its first ruler was converted by Muslim missionaries from India. These were Sunnis of the Shafii sect, and this has been the prevailing type of Muhammadanism in the country ever since. An old inscription shows that Trengganu on the east coast was converted to Islam about 1377; an Achinese account shows that the ruler of Kedah was converted in 1474, and the curious Islamic tombs at Pengkalen Kempas bear the same date.

At this period Islam was also spreading rapidly in Sumatra, Java and neighbouring countries, so that soon little trace remained, save in Bali, of the powerful Hindu and Buddhist civilizations which had flourished there for hundreds of years. There is no evidence that Islam was spread by the sword in this part of the world, at least at first. It superseded paganism and the Indian religions through the energy and eloquence of its preachers, some of whom may have been regular missionaries, while others doubtless came as traders and brought their religion with them, as in many parts of Africa.

The glory of Malacca even in its most palmy days is largely legendary. The populations involved were not large; the whole place fell before an assault by about

eight hundred Portuguese in 1511. Its trade was largely in the hands of foreigners, Chinese, Indians and others. An amazing loyalty, often under great provocation, is the chief redeeming feature of the Malays of the period; otherwise their own records show a lamentable standard of action and morals.

The Portuguese maintained themselves in Malacca town till 1641, when the Dutch captured it after a long struggle. Later it was ceded to Britain, finally so in 1824, after Penang and Singapore had been founded.

While the command of the Straits of Malacca passed into European hands the Malays split up among a number of weak sultanates, each distracted by the claims of local rajas. The country was invaded by Bugis and Achinese and finally, from the middle of the nineteenth century, thrown into complete confusion by the gangs of Chinese miners who sought the tin which the Malays themselves took no trouble to work. War, disease and unsettlement played havoc among the Malays. Their total number dwindled down to a quarter of a million before the British, after much delay and unwillingness, took over the control of the anarchic interior, and only this saved the race from extinction.

During this melancholy period, from 1511 till about 1875, Islam was a negligible force, save as an added weight on the side of obscurantism and oppression. The narratives of Munshi Abdullah show the state of affairs during the time of Raffles, and are substantiated by all other accounts whether Malay, British or Dutch. Superstition was rife; education utterly neglected; mosques were unused; gambling, drunkenness and vice combined with constant feuds to produce disastrous conditions. Only the women worked; the men loitered about all day armed to the teeth. Piracy was for many the chief pursuit till even this fell into the more capable hands of the Chinese. Sanitation and medicine were practically non-existent. Though slavery of Muslims by Muslims is forbidden by the Koran many were reduced to that condition by the system of debt slavery. Punish-

ments were arbitrary and consisted largely of killings and maimings ; prisons when they existed were even worse than those of Christendom before the reforms of Howard and Miss Fry.

Islam in the Present

The general features are much the same as in other Muslim countries, save for one important exception : though the Malays are mostly staunch believers, there is a refreshing absence of fanaticism or intolerance.

The five ' foundations ' (*rukun*) of Islam are well in evidence — confession of faith, prayers, fasting (chiefly in the month of Ramadan), almsgiving, pilgrimage. Circumcision is universally practised, though at a later age than in many countries ; here it occurs about the age of fifteen or so and is looked upon as a sign of entry into full manhood.

Muslim law is respected in many details ; but, as in other countries under European control, its cruder tenets are willingly abrogated. Religious officials, *kathis*, *imams* and the rest, and the *sayids* or descendants of the Prophet, are held in honour, and the prestige of the sultans is enhanced by their religious status. The lowly position assigned to women in Islam is partly modified by the natural kindliness and good sense of the Malays ; but women do not share in mosque worship, and female education is still backward among this people.

As they are most conservative, their Islamic beliefs are thickly interwoven with others from earlier days when first animism and then Hinduism held sway over their ancestors ; their marriage customs, rice planting and harvest and other everyday practices are still largely influenced by the older cults.

When the present condition of the Malays is compared with that prevailing up to about fifty years ago, a great improvement is seen. They share increasingly in the amenities of modern life. Murders and internecine strife have

been stopped by a firm and just government, an adequate police and the prohibition of the wearing of weapons. Once it was not worth a man's while to labour, as he was sure to be robbed of its fruits by those of superior rank and force; now he can enjoy his earnings in peace, and the traditional laziness of the Malays is becoming a thing of the past. Formerly the crafty and unscrupulous flourished; now the intelligent and public-spirited are given a chance, and students, teachers, rajas and peasants are doing good service to the common weal, their own people and themselves. Piracy and fighting are displaced not only by peaceful avocations but also by healthy and interesting games. Football is the chief favourite, but the Malays are proficient at many others whether exotic or native in origin.

Medical assistance and instruction in hygiene are being appreciated. There is free education open to all Malays in schools of ascending grades, and is taken advantage of by boys; though female education still lags behind. Many Malays have learned English, enjoy western books and newspapers and take a share in the government of their country. There are also many organs in the vernacular, which is the medium of instruction in the elementary schools. Large tracts of suitable land are reserved for Malays and industry is stimulated by co-operative societies and savings banks. As the Natives of the country, the Malays receive special help and consideration from the Government, and their own leaders co-operate successfully in this process.

The old religion, which under less propitious circumstances was so impotent, has revived considerably and become a force to be reckoned with in morals and practical behaviour among all sections of the Malay community.

The mosque, built by the Public Works Department, is now the most dignified and important building in the village. It serves not only as a parish church but as an institute for social converse among the men and as a school for religious instruction. The chief Friday service is well attended by the men and older lads; the idle are induced

to be regular by fines which are levied by the local headman or *kathi* acting for the sultan of the state. The daily prayers, at least the more convenient, are observed by many, and it is quite common to find parties of men and lads assembling on week-days for instruction in Muslim ritual and doctrine. The formation of religious clubs and schools is also typical of this modern revival of Islam.

The fast of Ramadan is kept strictly by a good number of Malays of all stations of life, though doubtless there are others who adhere to the easy-going ways of their forbears.

Many years ago Wilkinson noted that the proportion of Muslims who performed the Meccan pilgrimage was greater from Malaya than from any other Muslim country, despite its greater distance. The hardships, expenses and even dangers of the journey are well known, and the extortions and callousness of the Arabs towards their co-religionists are the subject of much comment ; also the Malays are a quiet, stay-at-home folk and mostly poor in actual money. Yet the numbers who go on the *Haj* continues to grow.

But Islam is not only a religion ; it is a social and political system. In the Malay idiom, to become a Malay and to enter Islam are synonymous terms. Thus Islam is strongly allied to the local racial or national feeling which, quite properly, animates all true Malays, who look on even the allied peoples from neighbouring islands as foreigners, though they recognize the religious and wide racial link as a loose connexion. Similarly they recognize the Indian Muslims as of the same faith, though in the bigger towns they worship at different mosques.

For hundreds of years Islam as a world federation had little interest for the Malay ; but this feeling has changed of recent years. This is partly due to the spread of education, to newspapers and books and to meeting with various types of Muslims made possible by peace and prosperity. It is also stimulated by the frequent pilgrimages, by foreign religious teachers and by the greater interest taken in religious matters in general.

The spread of a limited education has as much to do with it as anything. In the ordinary Malayan conception of geography the Americas mean very little ; Africa, except for Egypt, not much more. Europe means little more than England. In Asia, Siberia means nothing, the huge population of China is not grasped at all and India ranks about equal to Siam, from which most of the local rice supply comes. Turkey and Arabia figure disproportionally great—the first for its exaggerated temporal prowess, the latter for its spiritual significance. Palestine is also known of. And that is the world. In such a cosmos Islam occupies a large place, centring round the Hedjaz which holds the key to eternal life and felicity for those who can manage to get there.

For a time the theory of the holy Caliphate was preached energetically and pan-Islamic doctrine was making headway even in the stolid Malay imagination. The successive crises in Constantinople and Mecca meant less to the Malays than to more politically minded Muslims ; yet they came as a shock to the keener spirits who are even now wondering where the true home and leader of the faithful is to be found, since the local sultan is found less adequate than of yore.

Amid the rising generation a considerable proportion is of the old-fashioned type. Many Malays live in remote places, in small villages far from the currents of modern life, where the advent of a white man is still a rarity, the evolution of an idea an event. Others take service as car drivers, clerks and so on, but take little share in the mental stir that occurs in even a small and quiet town as compared with a primitive village.

Yet a new type is forming, influenced by contact with the wider life, its new institutions, books and papers, trains, steamers and motor-cars, the cinema, the presence of other races with other beliefs, customs and powers. Health teaching, law and justice play their part as well as education technically so-called. The number of Malays who believe that we live on a round, revolving planet instead of on a

flat plain, bordered by mysterious mountains and by a single ocean whose tides are caused by the movements of a gigantic crab, increases rapidly. The world has grown larger. There are glimmerings of a universe.

Amid these new varying ideas the old orthodoxy persists. In Singapore it is still possible to collect a crowd who profess to be ready to stone the heretics. But new knowledge and thought continue to spread, sometimes in spite of the Islamic revival, sometimes in alliance with it. The possibility of new adjustments in Islam is perceived along with the prospect of improved material conditions. And together with a natural desire to utilize these for the benefit of the individual in the present lucky days there exists in many minds the wish to elevate the Malay race as a whole.

Christian Work

The attempts of the Portuguese to convert the 'Moors' were of a forcible and unsympathetic nature, and not supported by any corresponding consistency of life. Their Protestant successors, the Dutch, were for long opposed on principle to missionary work among the Natives of their extensive eastern empire.

Under British rule there have been various efforts, but mostly poorly organized and remarkably unsuccessful. Many missionary schools have been started in Singapore and other places, offering the elements of ordinary instruction together with religious teaching. But the Malays naturally fought shy of the latter and were for long indifferent to the former, and most of these schools have become extinct or are little used by the Malays for whom Government has now provided an excellent system of education which allows for Islamic teaching. The most famous school of the old type was that organized in Malacca by the great missionaries, Milne and Morrison; but their thoughts were mostly directed towards the more receptive Chinese. Now there are many good schools run by missionary bodies, mostly

Roman Catholic and Methodist Episcopal ; but the religious teaching given affects the Malays but little. In these and in government schools Scripture is taken for the Cambridge Local Examinations by the senior boys, Malays and others, but the direct missionary results are nil, at least as regards the Malays.

Some distribution of the Bible in the vernacular has taken place, but with slight results as regards conversions. Few missionary workers in this country have had a sound knowledge of Malay or of the outlook and mode of thought of the Malays, so direct evangelistic work among this people has been but weak and spasmodic.

There is here a perfectly open door. The Malays are on terms of good feeling and mutual respect with their English friends which are seldom equalled ; many of them are British citizens in the Straits Settlements, and in the Malay States there are no obstacles to reasonable missionary enterprise. The agreements with the different sultans in the Federated States run that the advice of the British Resident shall be ' asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom.' There is no limitation upon the propagation of the Christian or any other religion, except the perfectly sound one that the Malays shall be free to follow their own. The religion specified is Malay not Muslim ; though these are synonymous at present, there is no formula to state that they shall always be so. An immediate turning of the Malays towards Christianity is extremely unlikely for many reasons.

On the spiritual side, there has been no determined effort on the part of the Church in prayer, hope, study or propaganda ; and there is nothing in Christian history to suggest that such an effect will occur without adequate cause. References to the almightiness of God or the power of the Holy Spirit simply burke the question. In such matters the Supreme Being does not act arbitrarily but only through the responsiveness of human beings. Missionary work among Malays has been spasmodic and relatively meagre.

The entire lack of missionary keenness among otherwise religious people is probably a greater hindrance than the obvious carelessness of many others, important as this is as a factor in conversion of non-Christians. The record of Islam is far from creditable ; but if another creed is proposed as a higher one pious Muslims naturally look suspiciously upon the failings of many of its nominal adherents. Then the British Government has been scrupulously fair towards other religions and has aided the religion of the Malays as well as missionary schools. The Islamic revival is potent in influence and is helped by the propaganda from India and elsewhere, which criticizes Christian beliefs and practices in papers which circulate freely in Malaya as in other eastern countries. Finally, Christianity, especially perhaps in its Protestant forms, emphasizes the importance of individual conviction. But isolated conversions among Muslims are specially difficult, not only because of the laws against apostasy but because a convert appears to be leaving not only a religion but the ordinary social routine of a conservative people.

The ' World Call ' has devoted definite recognition to the claims of this Anglican diocese. It points out that Singapore is the centre of one of the largest Muhammadan areas in the world ; yet the Church of England, which has missions in nearly all other large Muslim areas, has never had a single ordained man or catechist for similar work here where there are some forty million Muslims, of whom one and a half million are under British protection in the Peninsula. The Bishop of Singapore states that the minimum staff required to begin evangelistic work here would be four priests and two women workers, and that the whole cost, including training in linguistic and Islamic studies, would have to be borne by the Church at home.

Thus the proposal made in the ' Call,' which has not so far received any definite response, is that a mission of enthusiastic but professional workers should be set to work, while the Christians already in the diocese appear to take

no definite part. This is, of course, what is occurring in other places with varying success. New missionary workers will need not only training in Islamics but a sound knowledge of the Malay language. This is quite easy up to an elementary stage, but considerable practice and study are required to learn it properly. The grammar is not difficult, but as a vehicle for thought it is utterly different from European languages, more so than Arabic is. The people, their history, tastes, proverbs, customs, must also be understood. They are a shy race and do not easily get beyond ordinary politenesses with strangers. And when they know certain people are there primarily for the purpose of inducing them to change their religion—and with that many of their national habits—they may feel a natural reluctance to enter into close relations.

In spite of difficulties, the idea of special workers deserves close consideration; but there are other methods which may be tried. The Malays, like other Muslims, are accustomed to lay evangelization. An intimate and sympathetic knowledge of the people is a prime consideration; and this already lies with the numerous laymen who direct and share in every department of Malay national life. Many of these are keen adherents of the Faith, so it would seem that a hopeful approach is ready here.

Again, there should be suitable books for further study. For non-English-speaking Malays these should be written in good literary Malay; the Book of Common Prayer, translated by the late Bishop Hose, is a good example of this, but some of the books written for Malay-speaking Chinese are likely to repel real Malays. The way is easier among the English-speaking Malays who have come more under the influence of western ideas, which are more Christian than some people realize. But simple books on doctrine and practice should be ready for these, while the presence of genuine religious feeling among their brethren must not be lost sight of.

In other countries the bad results of depriving whole

races of their old safeguards for decent conduct without giving them other and better ones, or before they were ready to receive them, are regrettably apparent. No such error must be made in the prosperous and peaceful land of the Malays. Till they willingly elect to chose another creed, at least not less worthy than the one they have already, it is good that state support and approval is given to Islam and that it is taught in all government Malay schools. Therefore, while individual conviction must be sought in those who can and do think for themselves and have the power to express themselves—two categories which have often been confused by religious workers in the past to the great loss and confusion of the kingdom of God—full consideration must be given to the eventual change in national life which its spread among the more thoughtful spirits will produce at some time or other.

L. Richmond Wheeler

WHERE THE DAY BEGINS:

PROBLEMS OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN FIJI

By L. M. THOMPSON

IN Fijian waters the least observant traveller eastward recognizes the advent of a new day. The ship's authorities, after remorselessly cutting down his day by half an hour every midnight, adopt revolutionary methods at the 180th meridian and insert a whole extra day into his calendar, thus reminding him impressively that, in the time sense at least, he has entered a new hemisphere. It may be said that the day begins for the world at Fiji, and the morning sun casts his rays first upon the people of that picturesque island group.

The Fijian

However trifling such matters of geographical adaptation may be, there is no doubt that a new day has been breaking upon Fiji in senses that are vastly more important. It may be justly claimed that no other people in the world can show a more remarkable progress in so short a time. Less than a century since, in 1831, William Endicott of Salem, Massachusetts, witnessed the horrors of a cannibal feast, then a common practice, as set forth recently in a publication by the Marine Research Society of Salem. Only sixty years have passed since Thomas Baker, a Methodist missionary who dwelt on the site of a mission house now occupied by the writer, was slain and eaten together with seven native Christians. The Fijians of those days are described by a writer of repute as 'pre-eminent for war, fearfully damaged by polygamy, guilty of strangling

and infanticide, and extremely cruel. They were terribly degraded by horrible cannibalism, eating upon some occasions at one feast as many as one hundred persons.'

To-day, not only is cannibalism forgotten, with all that likewise belonged to its past, but other cruel practices and degrading superstitions have been exterminated; marriage is sacred; the ordinances of religion are observed; schools are generally established; and the people are peaceable, law-abiding and hospitable. These facts need to be understood to be appreciated.

The present-day Fijians present material well worth preserving. The Fiji government handbook, published in 1924, speaks of them as 'these highly interesting people, who are undoubtedly one of the finest of the native races.' Their splendid physique, natural proficiency in arts and crafts, skill in nautical pursuits, as well as in native forms of agriculture, alike show their fine possibilities of development. A people who evolved so interesting and valuable a social culture as theirs may well be able to adapt it to present-day conditions in ways that will be helpful both to themselves and to the world. The Fijian is a born teacher, capable of working in conformity with the most modern principles of freedom and expression. That he has a large influence upon less progressive native races in the Pacific is indicated by the fact that Fijian teachers who have volunteered for educational service are found to-day in several distant island groups. A Fijian medical practitioner is rendering effective missionary service in Papua. A few students have been sent for training to Australia and New Zealand and have profited by their experience; while one, the son of a high chief, after service in the great war resumed his course at Oxford, where he took his degree in law and was called to the bar.

No fair-minded observer will deny that this remarkable change is the result of Christianity. If we lived in a day when missionary results were estimated by the counting of heads it would be regarded as impressive to tabulate the

great Native Methodist Church, largely self-governing and self-supporting, with its 118 native ministers, its 26,000 members and over 70,000 attendants at public worship. More arresting, however, is the change noted above in habits and character. A new spirit of light, love and truth entered, casting out the old evil spirits of darkness, bondage and fear. The fruits of the Spirit are evident. Perhaps the soundest evidence of reality in Fijian Christianity exists in the missionaries who carry the Gospel to neighbouring peoples in the Pacific still sunk in heathenism and cruelty, a service often performed at the risk of life.

The romance of early missionary achievement in Fiji comes with bracing stimulus in these days to a Church often disposed to distrust the supernatural and sometimes dubious as to that which our fathers triumphantly called 'the power of the Gospel.' On the lonely island of Viwa is the grave of John Hunt, the Lincolnshire ploughboy who became the saint and genius of pioneer missionary work in Fiji. Across a narrow stretch of shallow water lies the town of Bau, the old native capital. When missionaries had long been resident on Viwa, cannibalism was still rampant in Bau. There in plain view heathenism frequently exhibited its most revolting practices of cruelty and degradation, as if in mocking defiance of the message of love and peace. John Hunt died, worn out at the age of thirty-six, with the situation largely unchanged. There was no warrant for belief that those scenes of unspeakable horror would speedily pass; but, could John Hunt see the Fiji of to-day, imperfect though it may seem to the present generation, he would assuredly regard as answered his dying prayer to Christ to save Fiji.

'New occasions bring new duties.' It is impossible to live on the triumphs of the past. The words of a former Governor are true to-day: 'The dangers are past; the difficulties have begun.'

One of the tasks of to-day is to enable the Fijian to establish himself within the human family of the twentieth

century. It is not an easy feat for him to leap in a generation or two across the gulf bridged by others through slow centuries. It is hard for him to live a full and sane manhood to-day, when his childhood was but yesterday. Not only has he a new life to live as an individual ; he must also seek to adjust his social, tribal and political customs to the needs of the present day.

To begin with, there is the matter of race preservation. While the estimates of early visitors to Fiji vary, there is not much doubt that within the period since white people have known the group the number of Natives has decreased by half. To-day, fortunately, there is no lack of zest for life, there is none of that apathy of spirit which is the chief cause leading to a disappearance of some of the Polynesian peoples. From 1921 to 1923 there was an increase in population of two per cent, in spite of the fact that the Fijian mortality rate for infants under one year is approximately seventeen per cent. The danger to the race through infant mortality is undeniably great ; but if the leakage at that point can be controlled the prospects of a steady and satisfactory increase would appear to be bright. Measures are being taken to meet the need by the practical education of women and girls in conjunction with child welfare work.

There are aspects of the question of race preservation other than those concerned with infant mortality. Indications are apparent of evil habits following upon civilization, particularly amongst Fijians of chiefly rank, causing concern to those who love the race. Prevention of the devastating effects of liquor and drugs upon these hitherto sober people calls for strong and vigilant administration and for well-considered educational effort. It is satisfactory that the Royal Commission on Education appointed by the Governor of Fiji in 1926 includes amongst its recommendations ' that the syllabus of health lessons for all schools should include a simple treatment of the dangers incidental to the abuse of alcohol and narcotics.'

It is not sufficient to provide people with the means to

live. Rather is it necessary to enable them to live well. The old manner of primitive life has gone, never to return. With it has gone much that was vivid and colourful, whether in war or peace. The challenge is upon civilization to provide something better. This is true for the life of the individual, the home, the clan or the race. Fortunately the Fijian has not been dispossessed of his inherited holdings like some other native races in Africa and elsewhere, though question may arise as to lands leased for a song in earlier days, the value of which has now been increased by improvements. Whatever protection may be necessary to the rights of lessees, the Fijian will undoubtedly resent any action amounting to deprivation. He has the right to develop his native land. His race remains so far practically unmixed with the Orientals who dwell by his side. If he can develop his lands, therefore, the Fijian may yet live his own life, the life of an educated industrious rural race, under the conditions not of an artificial western civilization but of a state natural to the Pacific, yet one uplifted and enriched by the best in modern life.

The future of the Fijian people lies largely with the school and the Church. Since the task of the school is to train the present generation of young Fijians for life, the methods need to be elastic and far removed from the stereotyped ones of the classroom. It would be little less than a crime to take the healthy child from the forest, the reef and the stream, and by education so-called to make him a clerical parasite of the towns. Yet he has a right to share in the intellectual inheritance of the age. His training as it makes him a better man will give him a desire for the better things of life; but it will do him a grave injustice if it does not enable him to earn these better things honestly through skilled industry. If he is to take his part in the life and the government of his own country he must learn how to develop its resources. Changes must come in his social system. As compared with the ruthless competition of western individualism, where so often the rule is 'every

man for himself and the devil take the hindmost,' there is much that is attractive in the old Fijian communism. But it can hardly remain unchanged. Neither can the old chiefly domination persist, so far as it depends merely upon accident of birth. The development of agriculture, the readjustment of social life, the practical training of Fijian girls to be good wives and mothers, the finding of worthy leaders capable of inspiring and guiding their own people—in these education must play an important part during the next decade.

If the progress of the coming period is to be commensurate with that of the past it is a condition that religion remain with the Fijian as an inspiring and controlling force. Deprived of the convictions and beliefs which transformed him from savagery, he would lose both his buoyancy of temperament and his integrity of character. If leadership is needed in social, agricultural, industrial and political life, even more is it necessary through a native ministry strong in personnel and training. Only by such leadership will the Fijian Church retain its spiritual life against the insidious effects of white irreligion and Hindu cynical materialism. If the race is to conserve the glorious history of the past and to realize the splendid possibilities of the future, one of the most urgent needs to-day is that the Christian Church shall provide for the adequate and permanent endowment of training a native ministry.

The Indian

'It began with trade' is the arresting remark which opens an able, if pessimistic, volume dealing with the history of Britain in India. Such also was the genesis of the colonization of Fiji by East Indians. Over forty years ago Indian indentured labourers were introduced to work in the sugar fields and mills. On completion of five years under indenture and a further five years' domicile in the Colony they were entitled to permanent residence, if they

so desired, or to repatriation. It was probably not then realized that this commercial enterprise was, from another point of view, an event of historical significance in the planting of an oriental colony in the South Pacific. This fact was demonstrated some seven years ago, when several thousand Indians, discontented under post-war conditions and misguided by agitators, claimed their repatriation rights of free passage and returned to their motherland. Caste barriers and changed social conditions, together with their inability to endure the climate of India after different conditions abroad, made it impossible for these sons from overseas to be re-assimilated by Mother India. Many perished in the slums of Calcutta, a few who retained a remnant of their hard-won earnings returned to Fiji at their own expense, while others still languish in India awaiting a chance of somehow getting back to Fiji.

The old system of indentured labour under which Indian life began in Fiji was unquestionably bad. While the individual low-caste labourer was better off materially in Fiji than in his Indian village, it can hardly be claimed that his lot was a happy one. Apathetic misery and dejection, arising from many causes, were the most noticeable characteristics of these exiled serfs. But all other attendant evils were microscopic compared with the moral iniquity attached to the introduction of East Indians to Fiji. These people were recruited in India as labour units, with little or no regard to family life. It was laid down that one in every three must be a woman. Women of any description were cajoled to Fiji by recruiters who received a fee for each unit shipped overseas. The moral chaos in Fiji with a disproportionate number of women living more or less promiscuously among the men may be readily understood.

The situation to-day is influenced by the evil inheritance of old customs from India which die hard even in free Fiji. Amongst such is child marriage. Expert evidence before a commission on education in 1926 showed that many little Indian girls in Fiji are still married when about twelve

years of age. As in India, difficulties that seem almost insuperable bar the way to racial improvement at the most important point, i.e. the enlightenment of the women. It is exceedingly difficult to give suitable and sufficient training to Indian girls under twelve years of age. Again, none over twelve years would be sent by parents from their homes along the roads to school. Until moral ideals and standards in the Indian community change, this precaution on the part of parents is well justified. Over and above the difficulties imported from India, however, are those peculiar to Fiji. There are still about twice as many marriageable young men as women in the Fiji-Indian community. Yet every conscientious Hindu believes that he must secure a marriage for his son, or incur an earthly and eternal penalty that few care to face. This sex disproportion and the promiscuity of the old indentured system have caused a deplorable laxity of morals—even in many cases an absence of shame and a hopelessness of anything different. Many Indian parents to whom daughters are a valuable asset are tempted to betroth a girl to one man's son and obtain gifts and then break off from that engagement and betroth her to another. The all-too-frequent murders and crimes of violence amongst Indians are almost always traceable, directly or indirectly, to motives of sexual jealousy. Until this great sore in Indian life in Fiji is healed there can be little real advancement for the community. Reformative and educational work is difficult, again, because of disorganized, or unorganized, social conditions. The life of Indians in Fiji did not start as that of a community. Agricultural labourers were not generally accompanied by tradesmen and craftsmen. As the social life of the Indian village was lacking, so also was the *panchayat* or local court, and indeed much of the machinery of life built up in India through long ages. It is thus difficult to find any organized public opinion or any real leaders of the people.

Yet there can be no doubt that in many ways the Indian

colonist has gained much by transference to Fiji. The Indian community is prosperous ; its wealth is increasing ; poverty, as understood in India, is nowadays unknown. The Indian enjoys rights of citizenship ; provision exists for election by his community of representatives to the Legislative Council. The Government have recently constituted a department to deal with Indian affairs, administered by an experienced official from India. Special consideration was given in 1926 to Indian needs by a Royal Commission on Education which included Indian representatives. There is evidence to show that physically and mentally the youth of the coming generation are sturdier and healthier than their fathers from India. Most important of all, they are growing up in an atmosphere of freedom, where the age-long customs and traditions of Hinduism can no longer stifle growth. A few Brahmans came over from India. A few more have been ' promoted from the ranks ' on a wealth qualification ; but generally speaking, one caste is as good as another. The low-caste child has a chance in Fiji that would not have been conceded him in India. This new freedom is most marked in the case of women. Whereas in India re-marriage of a Hindu widow is rare, in Fiji few widows remain unmarried. Progress well worth recording is seen in the attendance at day schools of a small number of non-Christian girls, both in Suva and in one or two of the country districts. Along with this development comes the attendance of some young mothers who bring their children to kindergarten. The mothers have an hour of Hindi and an hour of English instruction while waiting to take their children home. It remains to be noted, however, that probably less than 150 Indian girls in the Colony attend schools regularly. If there be added those who are learning to read in the vernacular in their own homes, possibly 500 girls could be found who will be to some degree literate, out of more than 5000 of school age.

The results of Christian effort have been small so far as numbers are concerned ; but there are to be found those

whose lives adorn the doctrine of Christ and who furnish a form of Christian evidence which cannot be denied and which men seldom have the will to dispute. There are happy Christian homes where little children are growing up apart from debasing influences. There are a few young men willing to seek opportunities of service rather than of making money. Several young wives qualified as teachers are making commendable efforts to assist their husbands in the service of their people. Mission schools, which have been the chief educational agencies so far, have disseminated Christian truths and undoubtedly have influenced the thought and conduct even of their non-Christian pupils.

Some satisfaction may be felt at the above-indicated material prosperity and the diffusion of Christian ideas. To those, however, who believe that morals and religion constitute the only true basis for character, the future calls for serious thought and strenuous effort rather than for complacency. Mention has already been made of the low state of family life resulting from the old indentured labour conditions, and deterioration from the rural domestic life of the Indian village has been vividly depicted by such writers as Mr C. F. Andrews. While the young Indian in Fiji may have gained freedom from past bondage and superstition, in many cases he has lost both the restraints and the inspiration of religion. He may still acknowledge Hinduism socially and nationally, but it no longer claims the allegiance of his mind and heart. Indeed, it is probably true that the great majority of young Indians are without any effective religion whatever. One Hindu teacher, maintaining before the Education Commission that religion ought not to have any place at all in the scheme of education, admitted that Hindu children in his district have no place where they receive any religious instruction and that, so far as he knew, they did not receive any such instruction at all. Another, stating that the boy in India learns his religion both from father and from priest, went on to say, ' but I do not know about Fiji.'

Christian missions are represented by the Methodist, Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches and the Y.M.C.A. A happy arrangement exists between the Protestant Churches by which each works in an assigned sphere, agreed upon when the Anglican Church took up work among the Indians in Fiji some years ago. The work done by the missions through schools, hospital and dispensaries, with other efforts for their welfare, have won the cordial good feeling and appreciation of the Indian people.

The importance of the missionary task amongst these Indian people in Fiji cannot well be overestimated. There is some danger that it may be minimized because its urgency is not fully understood. It is surely not a matter of light concern to the Church that, whereas three or four decades ago Fiji was practically Christianized, to-day nearly half its population is non-Christian. Once more Fiji is a challenge to Christianity and victory assuredly will not be as rapid or easy of accomplishment as in the old days. It may well be that if Christianity does not win the Hindu it will in time lose the Fijian, at least in all but a nominal sense.

Again, this day of opportunity for Christianity, if not embraced, will pass. The Indian chaos is rapidly being organized into a community. There is a clamour for education. That which to-day is fluid—in thought, in belief, in temperament, in racial relationships whether with Native or white man—will to-morrow be crystallized, set hard, perhaps unalterable. What form shall the future take ? The answer lies largely with the Christian Church, while it is yet day in the sphere of opportunity. Up till the present the main portion of Christian work among the Indian people has been carried on by white missionaries, with a limited number of efficient Indian helpers. If Christianity is to progress in the future, it must be by means of a vigorous, earnest Indian Church, a Church missionary in spirit and broad in programme, whose leaders can give inspiration and whose members will commend their religion to their neighbours by their life and conduct. To build up such a

Church is a task of great responsibility resting upon the missions concerned. It is difficult to imagine that an effective Indian ministry and Church will arise unless for some years to come these societies maintain a staff which, by personality, training and experience are qualified to shape Indian opinion, to appeal to Indian imagination, to produce Indian literature and to win Indian confidence. In these matters the coming ten years are probably crucial. It should not be overlooked that the development of an Indian community overseas, under free conditions, may have a reaction of vast importance upon India.

The above are, in bare outline, a few of the tasks confronting the Church in Fiji. Side by side, in an island colony of the British Empire, are found two races widely different in history and tradition, in characteristics and in temperament. Their development provides an experiment the interest and value of which will extend beyond the coasts of Fiji or the waters of the Pacific. Their differences are so marked as to suggest to many minds the undesirability of their mixing, at any rate for many years to come. The practical disappearance of the pure Hawaiian in the sister archipelago of the North Pacific is perhaps not without its lessons. On the other hand, it is certain that the two races must learn to live together, to share a common British citizenship, to promote the welfare of one colony and in large measure to enter into possession of a common English tongue. The problem is not easy, but the past is full of inspiration. We now see in the Fijian Church the crown and fulfilment of the labours and prayers of Cross and Cargill, of Lyth and Williams, of John Hunt and Thomas Baker, together with all those who in early days strove in Fiji for the coming of Christ's kingdom. With adequate vision, with consecration of human resources and reliance upon divine power the present century may well see as remarkable a fulfilment of to-day's ideals.

L. M. Thompson

THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN SCHOOLS FOR NON-CHRISTIANS

By EDWARD A. ANNETT

THERE has been evident during recent years an increasing sense of reluctance to use the Old Testament in schemes of religious education in the mission fields, and especially in classes of children of non-Christian communities. This uneasiness appears in various forms, only occasionally taking definite shape in an outright statement. For the most part it is seen in an increasing readiness to adopt teaching curricula confined to the New Testament. Sometimes the teachers of a school or college have agreed that they do not wish to teach the Old Testament; in other cases those responsible for the religious instruction have tacitly decided that the Old Testament shall be ruled out.

The reasons for this unwillingness to include the Old Testament are confused. For one thing, there is a widespread impression that the Old Testament has been invalidated, at least to the extent that it is not possible to have confidence in it as an instrument of education. Again, there are those who feel that the stories of the Old Testament exhibit an imperfect idea of God and of His character, and contain standards of ethics that are decidedly pre-Christian and therefore of small use to Christian teachers. And yet again, to be quite candid, a considerable number of teachers, European and Indian, acknowledge that their acquaintance with the Old Testament is too meagre for them to teach it without difficulty.

It may be well, therefore, before going more deeply into the subject, to remind ourselves of the natural answer to such questionings of mind. Whatever may be one's personal feeling towards the results of modern scholarship in the

intensive study of the Old Testament books, it must be recognized that, even if it can be proved that editors and redactors have been at work on them and whatever may be the theories held as to the particular modes of origin of these Scriptures, it is still undoubtedly true that they are religious and literary masterpieces. They are, at the lowest reckoning, immortal literature, and one who does not realize that will not be able to do them justice in teaching.

But more than that—in them we have the record of God's progressive revelation of Himself to the human race. Mankind had to be taught by slow degrees and educated according to growing capacity, and even if it be affirmed that the truth as it was grasped by men of the earlier stages of our long history was imperfect, the reply is that truth is there, and this truth is mediated to us through the thought and experience of men who stand out as giants in the moral history of mankind. But even that does not say all that may be said, for behind the conceptions that great men had of God there was also the deliberate and never-ceasing labour of God to reveal Himself. Through these pioneers, in steady prophetic succession, He caused ever larger revelations of Himself to break through, the light shining more and more unto the perfect day when, in the fulness of the times, He sent forth His Son. And thus He who spoke 'unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son.'

Such, in brief, is the claim of Christendom, and the deliberate omission of these records of revelation can only be justified by clear proof that pedagogically and psychologically they are unfit instruments for the purposes of religious education. We must, therefore, consider the Old Testament Scriptures in the light of pedagogical utility if we are to come to a faithful conclusion regarding them. And at once, on that ground, we are met by the claim that it is better to concentrate upon Christ in our teaching, especially when that teaching is for non-Christian children.

This appears a reasonable, rational, sound and even pious position until it is subjected to critical examination, when fallacies begin to appear.

Coming, then, to the matter pedagogically, the chief thing to be said is that all our religious instruction, to be adequate, must keep central the child with his needs and possibilities. That is, we cannot decide this question from any ulterior standpoint, whether theological or otherwise; the child's powers and ways of learning must guide us in our choice of material. In what follows we shall confine the subject to two main lines of consideration.

First, what is implied by the demand that we concentrate on Christ in our religious teaching? Does it mean that we bar the use of any parts of the Bible outside the New Testament? This demand implies a definite aim in our religious education. The aim may be stated as that of bringing children to Christ in such a manner that they shall be true Christians in thought, word and deed. But this is a complex destination to reach, for it implies the attainment of scales of value that are Christian, the awakening of ideals and the cultivation of emotions that are in line with God's revelation through Christ, the training of the reason so that our scholars may think straight and truly according to the principles of that revelation, the steeling of will and the introduction to forms of conduct that are characteristically Christian. And then behind these goals must be the creation of inner attitudes of mind and heart towards good and evil and especially towards God in Christ, attitudes that must include faith and love, penitence and self-surrender. These complex results of our work are to be attained, it is held by some, by the use only in teaching of the New Testament, and chiefly of the four gospels.

Here at once we come to a grave difficulty. The New Testament is built into the structure of the Old; that is, it is the capstone of a long process of revelation. God had been at work for millenniums revealing Himself, and the crown of this work was seen in Christ. The method He chose was

that of using a selected people, that through their experiences and their finest individuals He might teach the world. They were not ' favourites ' as we use the term, but a vehicle. In other races also there were great men, and towards all God was equally compassionate. But unless our whole conception of the mode of His revelation be mistaken, He chose to use one particular branch of His creation as the means of the progressive revelation of Himself, even while rays of light were multiplying slowly in all other directions. Hence, though we expect to find evidences of His working amid all nations, for ' he left not himself without witness ' among any, yet we have, in the record of His dealings with the Hebrew race, a peculiar and unique operation for the sake of the whole world, crowned by the coming of His Son, born a Jew and humanly speaking a sharer in the rich religious heritage of that chosen nation.

Christ's teaching was given almost entirely to Jewish hearers and was thus built into the matrix of the accumulated religious traditions of Israel. As was well said long ago, ' Where Moses hewed, Christ carved.' He was able to take for granted the abiding values of the religious development of Judaism. His emphases, therefore, were laid upon the elements of His own final revelation of God ; these were not, however, given *de novo* but as the crown of the age-long fruits of the divine labour of the past. He was able to take for granted certain assured results of the Hebrew conceptions of God—such as monotheism, the justice of God, the power and wisdom of God, the purposefulness of God and even, to some extent, His love ; and besides these the reality of the future life. These and other cardinal principles of spiritual religion He could not have counted upon in that measure in any other race in that day, nor in this, outside of Christendom.

Life that is to be Christian in its attitudes and values must be buttressed by Christian conceptions of the great virtues and qualities, and these conceptions were already more or less in Jewish minds when Christ came. This, and

not merely a point of time in history, was surely what was meant by the phrase 'the fulness of the time.' Light had been spreading among all nations during those last few centuries B.C., to a large extent through the Jews of the Dispersion and through their Scriptures. Without such a preparation the Gospel is apt to miss its dynamic appeal. This is seen constantly to-day in lands like India. How often will Hindu students quite honestly say that they cannot regard Jesus as sinless, and for proof they point to His intense indignation. Frequently they reveal no conception of the loathsomeness, the destructiveness, the frightfulness of sin, and hence they view with apathy and even disfavour

> God's terrible and fiery finger
> Shrivel the falsehood from the souls of men.

It is often our task to present the Gospel to such unprepared minds; that is one of the serious disadvantages of the purely evangelistic method of work. Hearts that have not experienced the cultivation of true spiritual attitudes, emotions and conceptions are not greatly impressed by the fine flower of God's revelation of Himself in Christ. Even when some are sufficiently impressed by it to own themselves Christians, is there not a danger of their becoming mere partisans, external rather than internal in their allegiance, fierce and fanatical in their new attitudes?

The human heart needs educating if it is to appreciate the values and to feel the attractions of the highest. There is a grave danger that the judgment of hearts be 'when we see Him there is no beauty that we should desire Him.' It is not that the beauty is not there, but that the appreciation is not there. Certain Bantu tribes prefer as an ornament, we are told, a coarse black-and-white sea-shell to rubies and sapphires. A symphony of Beethoven or a sunset by Turner would be turned down by untutored races in favour of the drumming on a tom-tom or a crude daub of colour. It is the conviction of many who have worked among non-

Christian people that the appeal of Christ is felt most when there has been most preparation for it in the heart. Here lies the unique value of the Old Testament, used wisely, for it educates the heart and prepares the way of the Lord. Religious education is thus truly termed educational evangelism.

It is not suggested that the Old Testament only shall be taught. There is no reason why teaching from the gospels should not be given every school year. Teaching from the two Testaments should go on side by side; but, if rightly used, the Old Testament should be educating the heart steadily in general principles of spiritual ethics, so that each succeeding year the widening study of the gospels will find an ever-deeper response.

The second line of thought concerning the pedagogical values of the Old Testament in religious teaching arises in the quest of material suitable for our purpose. The placing of the child as central in the plans of educators has emphasized the absolute necessity of the material used being of a character that will appeal to the child. The days are gone when it will be allowed that 'you may teach the children what you like so long as they don't like it.' A natural and unforced interest must be found in the lessons that are taught to ensure them a welcome that tends to permanence. With children under twelve, and even under sixteen, the use of concrete rather than abstract material is needed. The fact of God's revelation will be grasped and welcomed by the child only as it is seen in action. It is not loyalty that appeals, but a loyal man; not sacrifice, but a sacrificing person. The demand for the concrete is insistent and cannot be ignored except to our grave loss.

Now the New Testament contains comparatively little of the concrete. The total number of actual incidents in the four gospels is not great. The Acts gives a number more, and a few more still may be gleaned from the epistles; but taken all in all the curriculum-maker does not find concrete material abundant. It will be said that extra-

Biblical material may be used. That is true; but why should not the magnificent material of much of the Old Testament be used, when it was the very material that prepared the way of the Lord ?

As a matter of fact, when the maker of curricula lays out his plans and clearly enunciates the lines his teaching must take, he discovers that nowhere else in the world can he find material so dramatic, so forceful, so suitable for his purposes as in the Old Testament. It may be permissible to give here a striking quotation from the late Dr John Watson :

> Within this book humanity lives in all its experiences, so that what we say in measure of writers like Shakespeare and Scott, we say of the Bible without reserve : it is the record of the drama of humanity. We realize this when we remember how the qualities of life are symbolized to us by characters in the Bible, and the situations of life by its incidents. If a man turns his hand against his brother, we think of Cain and Abel ; if any one plays tricks, it is Jacob again deceiving ; if he be an outcast with his hand against every man, we call him Ishmael ; if a man is a traitor to a cause, he is known for ever as Judas ; if he is of a simple mind, it is enough to describe him as Nathaniel.
>
> A cruel and evil woman is Jezebel, a wise and learned person is Solomon, a cunning counsellor is Ahithophel, a hypocritical person is a Pharisee, and a cynical unbeliever is a Sadducee. One who regards all religions with indifference is a Gallio, and the honest sceptic is a Thomas. Eden is for ever an estate of innocence, the ark is a place of refuge from trouble, the Jordan the passage from this world to the next, the land of promise the type of the other world, Sodom and Gomorrah are the bywords for wicked cities, while difficulties disappear like the walls of Jericho before the blast of a ram's horn. Some stripling wins the victory against overwhelming strength, as David slew Goliath. A few choice souls are like Gideon's band, true friends are as David and Jonathan, a prophet of woe is a Jeremiah, and an example of patience is a Job. Uncultured people raging against light are Philistines, and women leading men astray are called Delilahs.

The New Testament stories and incidents are the cream of Bible teaching, but beneath them lies a great deal of good milk. Take, for instance, the teaching of little children. They must have stories, stories that are simple and dramatic, in which the ethical element is apparent. Now

there are rather less than one hundred stories in the Bible that meet the demands of the teaching for this stage of the immature mind, and three-fourths of them occur in the Old Testament. Or, consider the next stage of childhood, eight to twelve years of age, when the young mind and heart demands tales of daring and achievement, of sacrifice and loyalty. There are in the New Testament the finest stories of all of this character, stories of Peter and of Paul and, most of all, of the Lord. But count them up and see how far they go on the basis of one new story a week for four years. Or if we take into our view the early stage of adolescence, twelve to sixteen years, when with a growing sense of individuality the youth yearns for light on his future career, when he is ready to learn deep lessons of life from the record of other lives. Where shall we find biographical material sufficient for our purpose? The biographies of the New Testament, again, are the finest in the world, but how many are there? It is in the Old Testament that we find them of every sort awaiting us. Where would Christians be to-day without having woven into their childhood memories the stories of Noah and Abraham and Joseph, of Gideon and David, of Elijah and Jeremiah?

Nor is any loss incurred in using Old Testament stories, even though they may not always reach the high level of those in the New; for there are many elements necessary for the completeness of our teaching found in concrete form in the Old which do not so occur in the New Testament. Many virtues that need emphasis and incarnation in human lives, such as patience, courtesy and loyalty to friends, are commended in the New Testament, but find vivid illustration in the Old.

It is not possible here to outline in detail the courses that curricula should take in the Old Testament, but a few points of particular importance may be noted in approaching such a task. There is, for instance, the burning question of the critical reconstruction of the Old Testament. While the theories we hold regarding this must perforce affect

our mode of treatment, it is plain that our theories on such a matter should not themselves be taught to the inexperienced minds of the young. The history and general structure of the Old Testament must receive increasing attention as the children grow older; but the teaching should be definitely constructive. There are those who think it their duty to explain their critical theories; others who feel it laid upon them to give these in order to refute them. Neither of these methods is wise or necessary. While our views on such things will have an effect upon the skeleton of the syllabus we choose, the syllabus must concern itself with constructive teaching along the lines of the child's present needs. It is of no particular advantage to him at ten or twelve years of age to know the conflicting hypotheses concerning the formation of the Pentateuch; but it is of great importance that he be made to feel the thrill of the incidents and the charm of the personalities found there. We are concerned rather with the teaching values of the Old Testament than with the problems of how the volume was produced.

It must be acknowledged that the unwise and undiscerning use of the Old Testament by some teachers is no argument against its utility. One of the striking facts that emerge in the intensive training of teachers and leaders in India is the poverty of the knowledge most of them possess of the Old Testament. The preacher finds his appeals even to enlightened congregations foreshortened by lamentable ignorance. An illustration drawn from some classic incident in the Old Testament fails miserably, since the connotation is vague in the minds of the hearers. It may be necessary to do much hard thinking as to how we shall use the Old Testament to the best advantage; but there can be small doubt that the way to make our religious education more useful, more appealing and more fruitful will be to give the Old Testament its due place in all our curricula.

EDWARD A. ANNETT

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE WEST IN THE EAST

HUMANITY AND LABOUR IN CHINA: An Industrial Visit and its Sequel. By ADELAIDE M. ANDERSON, D.B.E. London: Student Christian Movement. 10s. 6s. 1928.

ONCE again, in this book written out of vivid personal experience, modern industrial history may be seen repeating itself. We have watched the sorry spectacle in one European country after another, as the peoples formerly dependent on agriculture and handicraft enlarged their needs and their relationships and became more and more rapidly industrialized in the effort to satisfy the one and maintain the other; now we behold it unrolling itself on the much vaster stage of the Far East. The moving picture tells a story which is at different stages in different countries: India, Japan, China have severally reached different levels of development. But in each—as in most of their European predecessors—there has been the same refusal to profit by the experience of those who went before; each began its industrial revolution as England began hers, without heed to the fact that England subsequently found it necessary to spend several generations in undoing the evils of that beginning.

The most startling reproduction of that error is to be found in contemporary China, where the factories built on western models display the machinery of 1927 side by side with conditions of labour of 1802. Yet, to those who know something of China, it is not difficult to explain the apparent anomaly of the situation. The machinery has come in, inevitably, borne on the wave of a scientific civilization which is invading every region of the earth; the conditions—employment of young children, excessive hours of work, carelessness as to the life and health of the factory worker—is a combination in new and strange circumstances of the ordinary way of life among the Chinese labouring masses. To suppose that the foreign community in Shanghai is responsible for the introduction of these practices is to ignore China's historical past and existing social customs, as is well shown by Dame Adelaide in her careful study. We might, however, have hoped that the western manu-

facturers who followed on the first Chinese pioneers of modern industry would have brought with them to the East the higher standards long since established in their own countries. To the fact that they did not, but developed their industrial enterprises along Chinese lines, may be attributed much of the condemnation meted out to them by people who have not taken the pains to unravel a complicated situation. The situation itself is terrible enough. Few readers of this Review will be without knowledge of the Report of the Child Labour Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council, which Dame Adelaide Anderson was called from South Africa to assist with the knowledge and experience gained in twenty-seven years of highly responsible work in the British Factory Department.

That Report is a grave document, restrained in expression, challenging in its recital of facts that stir the mind to pity and indignation and a desire for action. Like the original enterprise of which it was the outcome—an enterprise having for its object the removal of industrial abuses rightly felt to be intolerable by the Christian forces at work in Shanghai—it represented a co-operative effort towards reform of Americans, British and Chinese. Its immediate proposals were limited to the protection of the child, but the outlook of those who framed it doubtless extended much further. For a time it looked as though their first object, the foundation of factory legislation everywhere, would be attained; the Shanghai Municipal Council was favourable and helpful, and it seemed possible that the apathy of the ratepayers whose votes were necessary to secure the passing of the Child Labour Law might be overcome. Moreover, the great officials in some adjacent areas were sympathetic, and the Peking Provisional Regulations for Factories, if without force, represented at least a gesture of goodwill on the part of the central Government. But the tragedy of the riots and shooting in Shanghai on May 30th, 1925, proved a death-blow to the reformers' hopes. Regulations of a foreign council, applicable to Chinese factories, had no longer any chance of acceptance.

What, then, remains for those who, personally or at second-hand, have shared this writer's experiences and still share her ideals? She herself answers the question in a single word: co-operation. Realizing that only by Chinese action can the humanizing of Chinese industry be brought about, she is yet of opinion that the foreigner and, in particular, the Briton, has a real part to play in the education

of Chinese opinion. But in order that this part may be effective, the barrier between the two races must be broken down by a joint effort. She holds that such action is even now possible between the international settlement and the Chinese city of Shanghai, where a municipal reform movement had been inaugurated before her second visit in 1926 came to an end.

LONDON CONSTANCE SMITH

CHRISTIANITY AND CHINESE IDEALS

NATURALIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA: A Study of the Relation of Christian and Chinese Idealism and Life. By FRANK RAWLINSON, D.D. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press. $3.25 Mex. and $4 Mex. 1927.

SOME CHINESE IDEAS OF THE SUPREME BEING. By FRANK RAWLINSON, D.D. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press. $1.50 Mex. 1927.

THE CHUNG-YUNG (The Centre, the Common). Translated by L. A. LYALL and KING CHIENKÜN. London: Longmans. 6s. 1927.

DR RAWLINSON has rendered us signal service by the publication of his two volumes, characterized as they are by the freshness and originality of thought, as well as by the painstaking attention to detail, which we have learned to expect from him.

The contents of the former are for the most part the reproduction in book form of lectures delivered in the language schools at Peking and Nanking, at Union Theological Seminary and at Vanderbilt University. The author's aim is threefold: To promote mutual understanding between China and the West, and the western understanding of Chinese idealism; to promote a synthesis of China's religious experience with that of Christians and the interpretation of the Christian religion in terms of Chinese experience; and to enable westerners to see how China may contribute to the building up of a Christian civilization, how western and Chinese Christians must together realize more, and reveal more, of the dynamic value of immediate personal experience of God.

In the pursuance of the task he has set himself the author goes back to the roots of China's experience in the past. He gives us a searching analysis of China's social and spiritual inheritance through her history and literature, and a discriminating discussion of the relation between this experience and Christian teaching. A valuable chapter is that entitled 'The Social Heart,' which, says the author,

'is the family.' The main question is the following: 'Is it advisable or possible to secure in China a Christian clan family, as over against the Christianized western family?' To answer this question he calls upon history and literature to contribute their respective quotas. The idea uppermost all through the book is the problem of making Christianity indigenous in China, and we are warned that 'Christianity will not be naturalized in China until it has woven itself into China's social heart.' 'Christianity emphasizes family life but cuts into the Chinese family system.' The Chinese family system is the clan family system. This system still holds sway for the masses of Chinese people. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that the 'Christian western family can only be set up in China through the displacement of the clan family,' a contingency which is 'quite unlikely.' Towards the solution of the problem thus propounded Dr Rawlinson contributes nine suggestions, which are, to say the least, stimulating.

Some Chinese Ideals of the Supreme Being is also built up of material used in lectures. It is the result of a quarter of a century's contact with Chinese life and ideas, and in the main it sets forth Chinese ideas as found in the present-day mind of China. Dr Rawlinson examines carefully and exhaustively the terms used in Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist philosophy; but he does not confine himself to books. The 'illiterate tea-shop waiter,' the Y.M.C.A. undergraduate in Oxford University, a group of school-boys ranging in age from twelve to seventeen years, the chief Taoist priest of Manchuria, the leader of modern Buddhism—all are called in to aid in the synthesis of modern Chinese ideas regarding the Supreme Being. The book is fresh and interesting, and is a valuable contribution to the understanding of a fascinating subject.

The Chung-Yung is perhaps the most fundamental classic in Chinese ethical philosophy, and every new translation worthy of the text is welcome as presenting a new point of view.

The joint work of these two translators is especially welcome because the collaboration of Chinese and western scholarship is just what is needed to make the real thought of Chinese literary works, and especially philosophical works, intelligible to the western understanding. The next best thing is for a Chinese scholar saturated with the thought of his own literature, and also thoroughly versed in the scholarship of the West, to produce such a work as we have in Ku Hung-ming's translation of the same classic, *The Conduct of Life*.

In the present work the authors have succeeded in expressing the spirit of the original in a form both dignified and chaste. As examples of the style of rendering we may quote the following :

> The Master said : 'Should not a ghost, or spirit, be a mind at the full ? Look, and thou canst not see them : hark, and thou canst not hear them. Yet, embodied in living things, none can be without them.'
>
> To be true, this is the way of heaven ; to grow true, this is the way of man. To be true is to hit without trying, to get without thought, to strike the way of our own bent, to be a holy man. To grow true is to choose what is good, and, grasping it firmly, learn it widely, question it keenly, think over it carefully, sort it clearly and do it thoroughly.

The preface takes up about half the volume, and the space allotted to it is not by any means disproportionate. It is practically a paraphrase, and makes the thought of the work as a whole much more living and real to the western reader. It would have been the more acceptable if something of a critical nature had been included. Literary criticism in relation to Chinese literature is becoming more and more a pressing problem, and every contribution to its elucidation is of value. But perhaps to have entered upon this path would have diverted the translators too far from their aim, which is to help us to understand the teaching of this remarkable classic ; and in this they have been more than ordinarily successful.

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J. Percy Bruce

THREE NOTABLE BOOKS ON CHINA

Tsêng Kuo-fan and the Tai Ping Rebellion. By W. J. Hail, Ph.D., D.D. Bibliography. New Haven, Connecticut : Yale University Press. $4. London : Oxford University Press. 18s. 1927.

China and the Occident. By G. N. Steiger, Ph.D. Appendices. Bibliography. New Haven, Connecticut : Yale University Press. $3. London : Oxford University Press. 16s. 1927.

China : Land of Famine. By Walter H. Mallory. London : Stevens & Brown. 17s. New York : American Geographical Society. $4. 1926.

THE two volumes from Yale, presenting as they do critical studies of the origins and developments of the Tai Ping Rebellion (1850–64) and of the Boxer uprising in 1900, are most illuminating with reference to the present struggle now engaging the energies of

the Chinese and the attention of the world. They present considerations of great significance regarding the complexity and interplay of Chinese political and military developments as well as regarding the traditional foreign interpretation—or, rather, misinterpretation—of each of these major episodes in the course of China's adjustment to contact with the West. Both authors write from the vantage point of intimate contact with the land and the people whose history they examine. Both make use of hitherto neglected Chinese material, the value of which is evident. Both seriously modify, if not almost completely reverse, the conclusions previously based on the impressions of foreigners, who were either too close to the events to see them in their true perspective, or were uncritical in their acceptance of reports and rumours.

Dr Hail shows that the Tai Ping Rebellion owed its initial success to a leader of political and military genius, killed in the early stages of the movement, and quite a different man from the more commonly reputed leader whose fanatical religious ideas and lack of military or political genius finally contributed to his defeat. The chief factor in the suppression of this protracted rebellion was not the foreign assistance personified first by Ward and later by Gordon, but was the work of Tsêng Kuo-fan of Hunan, a Chinese George Washington, who utilized meagre resources with a steadfastness of purpose and of policy seldom if ever equalled in the annals either of China or of the West.

Dr Steiger, in tracing the origin of the so-called Boxer Rebellion, shows clearly that it never was a rebellion, and reveals the failure by foreigners to grasp the true significance of their own part in the stimulation of this movement which had such woeful results for foreigners and Chinese alike.

No serious student of present-day China should neglect the aid to understand what at best is a complex problem offered by these two studies of the earlier surges of the people toward a China for the Chinese.

The third book, though seemingly unconnected with the other two, is, in fact, closely related to them, for several of the factors which fostered the development of these earlier uprisings, and which are operating also to-day, find their origin in those conditions of Chinese life that make China a ' land of famine.' The absence of an economic margin is certainly a most potent stimulus to revolution, and the outstanding fact of life in China is certainly the extreme

poverty of the people taken as a whole—just as the outstanding characteristic of the country is the lack of forests and good roads.

Mr Mallory, who for several years was the secretary of the China International Famine Relief Commission, gives a comprehensive review of the causes and cures of famine in China, whether these be economic, natural, political or social. The value of his study lies in the comprehensive though brief analysis and evaluation of all these phases, many of them often neglected in over-emphasizing the purely physical and economic factors.

The book is finely and copiously illustrated, but unfortunately lacks a bibliography.

NEW YORK C. K. EDMUNDS

A SOUTH AFRICAN TRIBE

THE LIFE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN TRIBE. By HENRI A. JUNOD, D.-ès-L. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 2 vols. London: Macmillan. 50s. 1927.

THIS book, the first edition of which was noticed in the Review in July 1913, has won for itself the foremost place among the few books of scientific value that have been written about African tribes. Since it was published Dr Junod has spent another seven years among the Thonga people, and has also had an opportunity of sojourning in Basutoland and among the Ba-venda of the Northern Transvaal. During this period he pursued his enquiries with unflagging zeal and gathered much additional material, which he has incorporated in this second and enlarged edition. The original pages numbered 1074: they are now increased to 1219. Dr Junod writes remarkably good English, but inevitably a few infelicities of style crept into the first edition; these have been almost entirely removed, with the help of Miss G. Quin.

We need do no more in this review than call attention to some of the additions which Dr Junod has made. He has gone more thoroughly into marriage rules and the terms denoting relationship, and as a result has drawn up a valuable comparative table of the terms employed by ten South African tribes (Appendix IV, vol. I, 496–503). This is a distinct improvement.

Another valuable addition to our knowledge is contained in the new paragraphs on hunting-rites. The process of *lurulula* is gone

through in order to avoid the evil consequences of slaying an animal that possesses *nuru*, a mysterious power which appears to pass out through the animal's nostrils with its last breath and places the slayer in a state of dangerous contamination—it may make him mad. The *nuru* is also supposed to emerge from the body of a slain enemy or of a stranger who dies in a foreign country and is not properly buried. But it is not the man's soul, or spirit—it is 'a power, an influence, a force of Nature.' Dr Junod thinks that the *nuru* idea is ancient, dating perhaps from a time when animism was not yet clearly distinguished from dynamism, and when man was not even greatly differentiated from the animal. The *lurulula* rite is protective, being aimed at the removal of this dangerous *nuru* from the hunter and his family. Dr Junod has discovered that it has other meanings also: it is a means of identifying the hunter with the animal world, so that he will be able to live in its midst without being noticed and so kill more game; and a means, too, of overcoming the charms of wizards who ride upon hippopotami. He introduces three stories to illustrate the supposed power of wizards to ride these animals and to guide them at night into gardens where they play havoc with the crops. It would be interesting, as Dr Junod says, to know whether other African tribes have this conception of *nuru*, and particularly whether the root of the word exists in other Bantu languages—this might throw light upon their doctrine of the soul, a subject about which we know too little at present.

More valuable still, to our readers, are Dr Junod's supplementary paragraphs on the cult of ancestors (vol. II, 387 *et seqq.*). He has found fresh occasions on which offerings are made, and feels able now to explain more fully the meaning of the great Thonga word *mhamba*. Under this designation come objects of two distinct categories: articles of food, clothing and so on, which are given to the ancestor-gods, and magical or magico-religious objects which are not given but only employed in the act of worship—nails, hair or faces of deceased chiefs. It is curious that the same name is applied to all these things. Their aim is identical, namely, to gain the favour and help of the gods, but their mode of working is different: the gifts are offered as a kind of prayer to living, conscious beings, while the other objects act magically, drawing the benefits from the gods by a species of compulsion. We must refer our readers to Dr Junod's illuminating discussion of this question. We would also direct their particular attention to Appendix III (vol. II, 590–2), 'On

Personal Religion amongst the Thongas.' The instances he gives of spontaneous appeals to the ancestor-gods show that this religion is not, as we have sometimes been apt to think, the concern merely of the tribe, but sometimes affords individual souls real help and relief.

Dr Junod has gained a world-wide reputation as a scientific observer, painstaking, clear-eyed and accurate. As such the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain recently elected him to an Honorary Fellowship—an honour reserved for anthropologists of the greatest distinction. But he never forgets that he is a missionary. He studies Africans not as he might study butterflies or beetles, but as men and women for whose highest welfare he seeks. His strict scientific methods lend great value to the observations he makes on the effect of civilization upon the Africans, on education, on the attitude of the Church toward native customs and on other matters. To many of our readers the sections of the book devoted to these subjects will be the most valuable of all. He says some scathing things about 'the curses of civilization'—that they 'far exceed its blessings for the South African Native: he has lost more through it than he has gained.' 'I cannot conceal the fact that I consider the situation of the South African tribe, under present conditions, as very serious. If these influences are not checked, I believe that the extinction of the race is possible in the long run' (vol. II, 629–30). He is particularly concerned at the ravages of alcoholism among the Thongas. The most painful passage in his volumes relates to the practice of homosexuality in the Johannesburg compounds—a vice of which Bantu heathenism (says Dr Junod, not quite accurately) never dreamed (vol. I, 492–5).

The author's 'practical conclusions' are now gathered together at the end of each volume. These should be read with all the attention due to the convictions of such an experienced observer. He will have no compromise with *lobola* and polygamy, but believes in strengthening the tribal system where it is still working satisfactorily. After referring to the Le Zoute discussions on the initiation rites, he does not express a definite opinion on the subject of sublimating these rites but thinks a deeper study of the question is necessary.

In conclusion, I would congratulate Dr Junod on the conclusion of his arduous task of revision, and express a desire that all missionaries proceeding to any Bantu tribe should be required to master his two massive volumes.

WALTON-ON-THAMES EDWIN W. SMITH

A TRIBUTE

FESTSCHRIFT MEINHOF: Sprachwissenschaftliche und andere Studien. Hamburg: Friederichsen. M. 40. 1927.

THIS beautifully produced volume, presented to Professor Meinhof on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (July 23rd, 1927), contains fifty papers, in English, French, German and Italian, contributed by scholars in Europe, Asia, Africa and the United States. The greater part of these is concerned with African languages and contains some valuable contributions to the knowledge of a subject which is beginning to excite a much wider interest than at one time seemed possible.

Sixteen essays deal with languages other than African—ranging from Basque to Samoan and from Samoan to Algonquian—and, finally, we have four 'contributions to other sciences,' which are not the least interesting in the book. Dr Thilenius treats 'The Problem of Animalism' (this is not, as one was at first inclined to think, a printer's error for 'animism'), i.e. the attitude of primitive races towards animals as manifested in totemism, and in the almost universal beliefs as to the reappearance of the dead in animal shapes. Dr Danzel writes on the psychological basis of mythology, a subject discussed in more than one important work by Professor Cassirer, whose essay on 'The Significance of the Linguistic Problem as a Factor in the Rise of Modern Philosophy' closes the volume. Dr Martin Schlunk, writing on the language question as it affects mission schools in Africa, points out that the principles enunciated by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and accepted by the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures had long been striven for by German missionaries in the face of an adverse government policy.

The purely linguistic essays contain a great deal of extremely important original matter, which, one hopes, the respective authors will be able to develop more fully in course of time. Professor Daniel Jones has worked out the subject of the tones in Sechwana to an extent never before attempted, and has discovered facts previously unsuspected with regard to their grammatical function. It will be news even to experts in this language that 'there exist about forty different tonal declensions of nouns and seven tonal conjugations of verbs.' The question of tones has occupied two other eminent linguistic authorities: Dr Laman, who has examined them in the Teke language of the Congo, and Professor Westermann,

whose paper, 'Laut, Sinn und Ton in westafrikanischen Sudansprachen,' throws some light on this and other disputed points. Mr Northcote D. Thomas, writing on 'The Bantu Languages of Nigeria,' has removed the border-line of the Bantu family some distance beyond the Duala, which has hitherto been considered its farthest outpost, and shows that there are enclaves of Bantu speech even beyond this line: Jarawa, Orri, Ikerri, Yala-Okpoto and others. Some, if not all, of these were reckoned by the late Sir Harry Johnston as Semi-Bantu.

Miss Marion Stevenson, of the Church of Scotland mission, Kikuyu, has sent an interesting collection of Kikuyu proverbs, and Mr Ruffell Barlow, of the same mission, a useful grammatical note on 'The Use of the Copula with the Kikuyu Verb.' The Rev. K. Roehl, of Dar-es-Salaam, raises a question which might be open to argument, in 'Eine fast verloren gegangene Klasse des Urbantu', but this is hardly the place for discussing a matter which cannot be dealt with cursorily. The Bantu languages have, as is only right in a work dedicated to the foremost expert in this subject, received their due share of attention. Besides the papers already mentioned, we have those of Dr Maria von Tiling (now Frau Dr Klingenheben) on some Swahili nursery rhymes, of Dr Hans Jensen on negative particles in Swahili and other languages (a most important feature of Bantu grammar), of the Rev. P. B. Dahle on the Zulu song of Isandhlwana (with musical notation), of Dr C. M. Doke (University of the Witwatersrand) on the significance of Class 1a of Bantu nouns and of the Rev. W. Bourquin on the language of the Baphuthi, a tribe on the border of Basutoland adjoining East Griqualand, who speak, according to this writer, a dialect of Zulu, though much mixed with Sutu elements. Dr Gutmann contributes several songs of the Wachaga, the people whose customs and traditions he has done so much to investigate, and Dr Eiselen—a South African disciple of Professor Meinhof—a highly technical discussion of some points in Thonga phonetics; while the Rev. G. Beyer, now of Stettin, formerly a missionary in North Transvaal, has collected some valuable information on the herbal medicines used by the Basuto ('Arzneipflanzen der Sotho-Neger'). Passing beyond the Bantu area, we find Professor Conti Rossini writing on the languages spoken to the north of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie, some of them by Pygmy tribes (Doko, Dume, etc.), others by peoples of Sudanic or Hamitic speech.

Students of African music, to which just now so much attention is being directed, will be interested by Dr Heinitz's analysis of an Abyssinian song with harp accompaniment, as recorded on the phonograph at the Hamburg Seminary for African and Oceanic Languages. This song, the theme of which is David's call to the kingdom (he is represented as being chosen not by Samuel but by the angel Gabriel), was sung by Wolda Maryam Desta, the Native assistant for Amharic at the above institution.

It is impossible to do justice, in the space at my disposal, to the extraordinary variety of matter contained in this volume. I have been forced to confine myself to indicating, with the utmost brevity, the subjects of the most important articles, and that chiefly in the African section. Outside this section I must content myself with a bare reference to some excellent papers dealing with general phonetics and with some American languages, but I cannot forbear mention of Mr Sidney Ray's 'The Papuan Languages,' and a most fascinating account of the Javanese Wishing-tree, by Walther Aichele.

A. WERNER

LONDON

A NEW FRAZER

MAN, GOD AND IMMORTALITY. By Sir JAMES G. FRAZER, O.M., F.R.S., F.B.A. London: Macmillan. 15s. 1927.

TO all students of human society, laymen and anthropologists alike, the publication of a new book by Sir James Frazer is an event of importance, and the present book is no exception to the rule. Differing in scope from the author's previous works, this volume consists of a series of general conclusions on various phases of human thought and action compiled from his previous writings; and, incidentally, it illustrates in the most striking manner the extraordinary range of his studies. The one hundred and seventy-seven selections, which are really short essays, range in theme from the methods of anthropology to the magic and science of primitive peoples, from the marriage regulations of the Australian aborigines to the divinity of kings, and from witchcraft to the ceaseless quest of the infinite by theologians and philosophers.

The book is divided into four sections, each devoted to one main topic. The first is the study of man, with essays on the scope and

methods of anthropology, the diffusion and clash of cultures, folklore and the lessons to be learnt from the life of primitive peoples. Then follow a treatment of social institutions, totemism, exogamy, kinship systems, marriage and other phases of the relation of man to society, a field of thought which Sir James has, himself, done so much to elucidate. The third and fourth parts deal with the spiritual aspects of man's life, with magic, with animistic and other religious concepts and with the well-nigh universal belief in the existence of life after death. It is indeed a rich feast that is laid, in faultless prose, before the reader.

The weaving together into a coherent whole of a large number of dissociated general observations, made in various connexions over a long period of years, is a difficult task and one which few authors would dare to attempt. In his introduction, Sir James raises the question whether or not it is wise thus to publish conclusions without the facts on which they are based ; but, fortunately, his works are within the reach of all. A more serious difficulty is the accumulation of information which affects some of the conclusions made many years ago. Those who realize the meticulous care and unflagging energy with which the author normally utilizes all possible sources will fear that failure to take cognizance of this new data may present him in the unwonted light of carelessness. For example, were Sir James now writing on the origin of the peculiar marriage regulations of the Australians, he would undoubtedly refer to the writings of A. R. Brown ; and, concerning the conceptional theory of totemism, would cite the more detailed pronouncement of the late W. H. R. Rivers with regard to Melanesia instead of the abridged observations which alone were extant when *Totemism and Exogamy* was written. Similarly, Sir James has restated his views on an age of magic without reference to the criticisms of R. H. Lowie.

Most compilations fail to achieve continuity and leave the reader somewhat breathless ; such might reasonably be expected in a series such as this, but, instead, the author has arranged the material in such a masterly manner that the gaps are unnoticed. Sir James gives much credit for the selection to Mr Pierre Sayn, but the engrossed reader will not pause to pay the latter his due or to note the mechanical skill of those who have built the road over which he travels so smoothly to the goal of pleasure and profit.

T. F. McIlwraith

Toronto

CONCERNING THE JEWS

THE LEGACY OF ISRAEL. Planned by I. ABRAHAMS. Edited by E. R. BEVAN and C. SINGER. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 1927.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE JEW. Being a Report of Conferences on the subject held at Budapest and Warsaw. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. and 2s. 6d. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 75 cents and $1. 1927.

OUR JEWISH NEIGHBORS. By JOHN STUART CONNING, D.D. New York: Revell. $1.25. 1927.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM COMPARE NOTES. By H. F. RALL and S. S. COHON. New York: Macmillan. $2. 1927.

IT has been evident to some for a long time, and is now becoming increasingly evident to a larger number both of Jews and Christians, that the state of affairs existing between them is highly unsatisfactory and calls loudly for amendment. That two religious communities, related as Jew and Christian are, should solve their problem of living together on a basis of mutual ignorance and disregard, is something which offends the scientific spirit and the nature of Christian faith alike. Sincere attempts, therefore, to break down the deplorable middle wall of partition, so that Jew and Christian may see each other more clearly and understand each other better, are always welcome, whether made by Jews moved by the scientific spirit to do justice to the facts of history, or by Christians impelled by faith to present persuasively their interpretation of those facts. That is why we were so glad to have Klausner's *Jesus* in an English translation, in spite of the author's conclusions. This book, originally written in Hebrew and published in Jerusalem, whose writer was a learned rabbi and a leading Zionist, was an honest attempt to understand Jesus. And now we have these four books to help on the good cause of mutual understanding even more directly.

The Christian Approach to the Jew is an excellent production, full of the most varied information for all who are interested and even for the many otherwise intelligent people who, as yet, are not.

Several special papers are bound up with the report, and one of them, 'Present-Day Movements in North American Jewry,' is reproduced in *Our Jewish Neighbors*. Dr Conning, who is Superintendent of the Department of Jewish Evangelization in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., calls this little book 'An Essay in Understanding,' and that is, indeed, what it is. Written primarily

for American readers it is American Jewry which is uppermost in the author's thoughts, but behind all he writes is a competent knowledge of the whole Jewish question, and the issues raised and dealt with are far from being peculiarly American. Taken together with the conference report, this book forms an ideal introduction to the whole subject of Jewish-Christian relations.

In both of these books, considerable stress is laid upon the fact that the walls of the old synagogue are crumbling. Modern conditions are working as a solvent upon the Jewish communities generally, but especially in America. This is not something for unfeeling rejoicing. The most notable effect of this is the lapse of many Jews into unbelief, and unbelieving Jews are no blessing. Still, for good or for evil, orthodox Judaism of the old-fashioned sort is doomed. Historical criticism has undermined its whole position. It is too oriental and archaic for the new generation of Jews who do not live in ghettos and keep to themselves, but go everywhere and mix with everybody. In the reform synagogue, Judaism tries to accommodate itself to the new conditions; for example, it admits women to an equal share in worship with men, thus satisfying Jewish feminists who refuse to accept the definitely inferior rôle which the Law allotted to women. But the reform synagogue is miles away from orthodoxy.

The situation, however, favours an approach to the Jews by the Christian Church in that the traditional prejudice against Jesus diligently inculcated in the minds of generations of Jews has been greatly weakened. The old policy of the synagogue which was to ignore Him and never to discuss Him, though still persisted in, is steadily becoming more difficult to carry out. In these days, almost the surest way to rouse interest in anything is to taboo it, and all over the world Jews are considering Jesus as they have never done before. Last year, for example, in the middle west of the United States, an exchange of lectures took place between a Christian theological college and a rabbinical seminary. A rabbi lectured to Christian students on Judaism, while a Christian theologian expounded Christianity to Jewish students. Both lectures are now bound together and published as *Christianity and Judaism compare Notes*. The very appearance of such a volume is a portent, the significance of which the manner and matter of both lectures only confirm.

The Legacy of Israel, of the series which also includes *The Legacy*

of Greece and *The Legacy of Rome*, reviews the varied debt which the world owes to the Jewish people, as well as that can be done in a book of some 550 pages, rich in carefully explained illustrations and complete with index and glossary. The Master of Balliol writes the introduction, and the various essays are all from the pens of representative Christian and Jewish scholars. There is not a dull contribution in the volume, though the interest of each will vary with the bent of the reader's mind. ' The Debt of Christianity to Judaism ' (F. C. Burkitt), ' The Influence of Judaism on Islam ' (A. Guillaume), ' The Jewish Factor in Mediæval Thought ' (C. and D. Singer)—the longest paper, showing the invaluable service rendered by the Jews in introducing Arabic learning into Europe, with its consequences for scholasticism and mediæval learning generally—' Hebrew Studies in the Middle Ages ' (C. Singer) and ' In the Reformation Period and After ' (Canon Box)—are some of the subjects dealt with.

Of special interest and value for the correction of a common misunderstanding of the spirit of Israel, is Dr Selbie's ' The Influence of the Old Testament on Puritanism.' Despite its Judaic flavour, there is little fundamentally Jewish in English Puritanism. The Old Testament to the Puritans was an authority as external as it was absolute, but to the Jews it was part of a living national tradition, from some of whose more antiquated ideas they had naturally come to be delivered. It was their past and they had some skill in making it serve them. The Puritans were not really at home in the Old Testament as the Jews were. The difference of spirit between the Jewish and the Puritan sabbath is the difference between a man in his own house and a stranger within the gate. On the positive side, ' The Hebrew Genius in the Old Testament ' (Sir G. A. Smith) and ' Jewish Thought in the Modern World ' (Leon Roth) help us to understand what the spirit of Israel really is.

Not the least significant contribution to the book is its Epilogue (C. Montefiore). It must be read to be appreciated, but this much may be said, that were the writer's position ever to become that of Jewry as a whole, the greater task of the Jewish mission as a special activity would be accomplished. The clouds of ignorance which at present hang between the Jewish and the Christian Churches would then be lifted. Each would see the other in a clear light, and with both in a humble and receptive mood surely it is not too much to say that the Spirit might be trusted to lead them together

into the full light of God's truth. 'The Christian mission to the Jew,' says Dr Conning, 'is not the destruction of his religion. . . . It consists essentially in the presentation of a Person, who, the more He is studied with fairness and truth-loving sincerity, the more will He commend Himself and resolve the difficulties of His unique relationship to God.'

A. KING

BUDAPEST

SOUTH AFRICAN SEPARATIST CHURCHES

THE NATIVE SEPARATIST CHURCH MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. By ALLEN LEA. Cape Town: Juta. 4s. 6d. 1927.

THIS booklet gives an historical sketch of the movement among the South African Bantu and attempts to explain its rationale. It is based on the report of the Union Government's Native Churches Enquiry Commission of 1925.

Separatist churches are those which are entirely under Native control. A few, like the well-known African Methodist Episcopal Church, are branches or off-shoots of American Negro Churches. A greater number are bodies which for some reason or other have seceded from European-controlled Churches. The great majority, however, of the one hundred and thirty such churches existing to-day are bodies which have broken away from other South African separatist churches.

Mr Lea quotes the Government Commission as giving the following as the reasons alleged for the diversive tendency among Native churches — the desire for independence in church matters, the 'colour bar' among white missionaries, the disciplining of members by the parent Church, the force of European example, personal ambition, the wish for a tribal church conforming as far as possible to Native custom and the desire to control church property and to handle church funds.

While it is no doubt true that in some cases the formation of separatist churches is a genuine attempt at self-expression on the part of the Natives, it must be admitted that the vast majority have come into existence for trivial or unworthy reasons, and although the Government has held out a helping hand to what it regards as a regrettable but inevitable tendency in Native development, by setting up easy standards as regards number of churches and

adherents, educational qualifications of ministers and so on for civil recognition, not more than half a dozen of the separatist churches have been able to qualify.

A movement is on foot in South Africa to help these Churches to have their ministers educated and trained, but it remains to be seen if advantage will be taken of the offer. It is feared by many that the situation must get worse as time goes on. The only hope would seem to be that some of the larger and stronger separatist churches may swallow up the smaller and then stabilize themselves. Meantime it is necessary for the Christian Church to be patient and longsuffering with what seems to be a wayward child.

Mr Lea has done the missionary world a service by making accessible and by supplementing the information contained in the government report.

RONDEBOSCH, CAPE TOWN — C. T. LORAM

SIR PATRICK MANSON

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIR PATRICK MANSON. By PHILIP H. MANSON-BAHR, D.S.O., M.D., F.R.C.P., and A. ALCOCK, C.I.E., LL.D. Illustrated. London: Cassell. 16s. 1927.

AT the tropical section of the International Congress of Medicine held in London, in 1913, Professor Blanchard hailed Sir Patrick Manson as 'the father of tropical medicine,' and it is likely that posterity will confirm this happily chosen title for one who proved himself a born leader in this realm of science. The record of his life reflects something of the charm of his own winning personality. Even the casual reader can hardly fail to be impressed by the story, simply told, of one who rose to eminence by self-sacrificing labour, coupled with unflinching fidelity to the truth. He battled successfully against obstacles which would have overwhelmed a smaller nature. Through the greater part of his life his activities were hampered by painful disease, that progressively crippled him. On the threshold of his career some of his great discoveries were made with the simplest equipment and without the advantage of reference libraries or learned colleagues, or even the leisure to pursue his researches until the close of a tiring day. He was gifted above his fellows not only with indomitable perseverance but with the rare combination of intuition and induction. He

has been happily described by the authors of his biography as 'a missionary of western medicine.'

And to the student of missions his life will reveal many of the qualifications of the true missionary. His noble inaugural address at the first Hongkong Medical College, on October 1st, 1887, breathes in every line a spirit of sincerity, self-forgetfulness and devotion to truth, as well as an appreciation of the oriental mind. It is justly referred to by the authors of this biography as a lay sermon that should be read and studied by 'young men enlisting for service in our Empire overseas, among fellow-subjects of different complexion, whom we are too much inclined to regard as mentally "inferior," merely because they are less well-informed than ourselves.' During the course of his oration before this university, which he had brought into being, Manson said:

> If we think a man is worth converting, it is evident we cannot think him a fool, and when we make the attempt, in the first place it is a great mistake, as well as a lie, to tell him he is a fool, and in the second place it is a great mistake to show ourselves conceited prigs. We ourselves would give scant hearing to anyone who scoffed at the things we reverence.
>
> Because he is ignorant, call not thy brother a fool. . . . High personal character, a reputation for wisdom, humility, honesty and kindness will often do more to recommend our wares than any quality in the wares themselves. . . .
>
> Medicine has opportunities to spread and advertise itself denied to those others, and when she enters she will bring them with her. Religion does not despise her aid. . . .
>
> It is easier to conquer a kingdom than to convert a parish. . . . There is nothing science desires so much in her votaries as an empty mind, a *tabula rasa* on which to marshal facts.

How true is his estimation, made in the same speech, of the oriental character:

> These cautious, conservative, clever people have to be convinced before they are converted. Time is necessary for this. . . . In these days wise men will again come from the East. The people who gave us the invention of printing will give yet other useful and peaceful arts; the first to use gunpowder will not be backward in the art of war; the discoverers of inoculation will add again to the prevention and cure of disease.

From the time Sir Patrick went to the Far East he was in close touch with missionary activities. On his way out to China he visited

the mission hospital at Tamatave, Madagascar, and there saw his first case of beriberi. In Formosa he daily visited a mission hospital. At Amoy for some years, among his unofficial activities, he had charge of a missionary society's hospital, and whilst there he translated a work on surgery for the benefit of the Chinese practitioners, and himself contributed in 1871 the report of the mission hospital. On his return from the East, in 1894, Manson gave his first public lectures on tropical diseases in London, and it was to missionaries in the then newly founded Livingstone College that the course was given. Throughout his life he was in touch with missionaries. Through the agency of Dr Grattan Guinness in 1890 some Natives of the Congo were sent to Dr Manson, and at the same period arrangements were made with various missionary societies whereby he was supplied with blood-films from Natives of Africa and elsewhere—a happy instance of the co-operation that is possible between missions and science to the mutual advantage of both.

J. Howard Cook

London

PEOPLES OF THE PACIFIC

Peoples and Problems of the Pacific. By J. Macmillan Brown. 2 vols. Illustrated. Maps. London: Fisher Unwin. 50s. 1927.

MR J. MACMILLAN BROWN has collected the articles contributed by him to various journals during fifteen years of wandering among the Pacific islands. The first volume and part of the second consist of brightly written descriptions of the islands and people, interspersed with speculations on their origin and forecasts of the racial, social and political future of the islanders. The writer claims a scientific character for his work, 'free from the involutions of scientific thought and the obscurities of scientific terminology.' But, as few references are made to established authorities on land or people, the reader will find it difficult to distinguish proved facts, authenticated tradition and mere hearsay, unconfirmed guesses or assertions made to the author by all sorts of people.

About one-fourth of the first volume relates to Melanesia, another fourth to Micronesia and the remainder, with a small part of the second volume, to Polynesia.

Mr Brown believes that a negrito or negroid pygmy population passed into the Solomons along a route provided by volcanic up-

heavals, and that this population was modified by blonde people who came from Polynesia in the east with kava. Betel-chewing and head-hunting came from the west, and the Santa Cruz loom from the north. Melanesian culture—varied and sporadic—is contrasted with Polynesian uniformity. Polynesia influenced Malaita and Fiji by direct expeditions, but affected the New Hebrides in varying degrees by drifted canoes. The men's arts in New Caledonia are Polynesian ; the women's arts are aboriginal. Fiji is called the meeting-place of caucasoid and negroid peoples.

Mr Brown describes in Micronesia the mysterious remains of Metalanim, a Ponapean Venice, and the discovery of a new script in the Carolines.

In his Polynesian chapters the author describes prehistoric New Zealand, with an organized government and armies of labour. He ascribes to prehistoric culture the evolution of Maori carving, and finds it similar to Chinese and Alaskan art, with suggestions of the masks of New Guinea and Borneo. He discusses the lost island of Tuanaki in the Cook Group and writes an interesting chapter on beach criticism of the Government in Samoa.

French Oceania is described as well administered, but the population as decadent, dying from tuberculosis, infectious disease and idleness. There are interesting chapters on the romance of Pitcairn and the mysterious Titans of Easter Island.

The second volume is chiefly devoted to an elaboration of the author's views on the problems of the Pacific. He believes that the evidences of volcanic action in the islands and the prevalence of vulcanism in the island legends point to the former existence of a vast continental area in the Pacific, now submerged. This land, he supposes, was inhabited by a highly civilized people or peoples, Polynesians, with organized methods of government. Irregular and intermittent subsidence in this region explains the passing of the autocratic rulers, by whose orders a dense population constructed the stone monuments in Ponape, Malden and Easter Island, and who used the Oleai script. To the subsidence of the Pacific continent Mr Brown also attributes the oceanic seamanship of the Polynesians, the necessity for seeking new lands driving them westward before the trade winds to Melanesia, eastern New Guinea and, less often, to the Malay Archipelago.

The problem of race variety is solved by supposing negroid peoples from south-east Asia in New Guinea, Australia and Melanesia

modified by waves of dark caucasoids, fewer and feebler in Melanesia than in Australia. Traces of blondism, admiration for it and artificial production of it are thought to be due to Polynesian influence from the east. The Polynesians came from the shores of the Baltic, through Central Asia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan and Micronesia.

The solution of all Pacific problems by the supposed predominance of an ancient Polynesian empire of which only remnants now exist reaches a climax in Mr Brown's last chapters. Under the heading, 'English and the Pacific,' he develops an extraordinary theory of linguistic origins. He asserts that the Polynesian language (apparently Maori) is the primeval form of the Indo-European languages. He tries to show that it is in an earlier stage of development than Tocharish of Central Asia, Ainu or Sanskrit. Polynesian words are said to be 'monosyllabic roots or analysable as such; often mere accumulations of roots with the same sense and the same vowel.'

The last chapters, in which the Aryan-Maori theory of an earlier New Zealand writer is replaced by the Maori-Aryan, spoil an entertaining and readable book. An excellent index forms a syllabus of the author's subject-matter, and provides points for discussion.

THORPE BAY, ESSEX — SIDNEY H. RAY

MAHATMA GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH. By M. K. GANDHI. Volume I. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press. Rs. 5.8. 1927.

AN ambassador has been cynically described as one who lies abroad for the good of his country. An autobiographer might more justly be described as one who does the same at home for less unselfish ends. That is not the kind of autobiographer that Mahatma Gandhi is. It might be said of him that veracity is his foible. But it is not a foible that enfeebles. One of his descriptions of the British, with whose qualities he has had so much occasion all his life long to acquaint himself, is that they are 'the people of the hard fibre.' This description is not inapplicable to himself, and all the world has discovered by this time that this wisp of a man possesses in himself qualities of extraordinary toughness and tenacity. But truth, as he says (p. 846), 'is hard as adamant and tender as a blossom'; and devotion to truth as he sees it, that is to say,

veracity, is an element that has entered deep into Mr Gandhi's nature, unifying it and strengthening it. This is not a quality that in our generalizations we usually attribute to Indians, and yet when we think of individuals among their own heroic figures of the past and of the *sati*, the faithful wife, or when we remember a picture like that which Miss Carmichael gives us in *Mimosa* of a South Indian woman's amazing powers of endurance, we realize how shallow has been our survey. Let us judge India by a man like Mahatma Gandhi and a woman like Pandita Ramabai and we shall be nearer the truth. When this frail figure in his loin-cloth, bare from the waist up, walked into the Rotary Club in Calcutta, those business men ' of the hard fibre ' knew that here among them was a man.

This volume of Mr Gandhi's *Story of my Experiments with Truth* is a document of the first importance in the study of the relation of India with the West and of the relation of the Christian with the non-Christian. The latter relationship is one which, if to the Christian has been entrusted a specially sacred ministry of truth, we must review at all times—and certainly at the present time—with a deep anxiety lest by us offences come and so the kingdom of truth tarry. This man, punctiliously conscientious, loyal of nature, a lover of children, with a profound belief in prayer, one to whom ' all other pleasures and possessions pale into nothingness before service which is rendered in a spirit of joy ' (p. 407), has been intimate with many Christians of the finest quality. Of them he says, ' I have remained for ever indebted to them for the religious quest that they awakened in me. I shall always cherish the memory of their contact ' (p. 323). But he also says, ' The throne has remained vacant and my search still continues ' (p. 211). In the presence of such a fact the Christian Church—and its accredited messengers—must be deeply troubled.

Surely the only way to bring men to God is to go with them if they are willing, as Gandhi was and is, to God's feet and all together to acknowledge our sin and all together seek His face. East and West we have sinned and come short of the glory of God. (' If anyone doubts the infinite mercy of God, let him have a look at these sacred places. How much hypocrisy and irreligion does the Prince of Yogis suffer to be perpetrated in His holy name ! ' p. 563.) What Mr Gandhi says of the lambs for sacrifice at Kali's temple we may well say—we missionaries—of the lambs (sheep without a

shepherd) on a thousand hillsides, East and West, throughout the world. 'I must go through more self-purification and sacrifice before I can hope to save these lambs from this unholy sacrifice. To-day I think I must die pining for this self-purification and sacrifice' (p. 548). So the whole Church of Christ may say—after Mahatma Gandhi.

N. MACNICOL

POONA

INDIA AND BRITAIN

THE BRITISH CONNECTION WITH INDIA. By K. T. PAUL. Foreword by the EARL OF RONALDSHAY. London : Student Christian Movement. 5s. 1927.

THIS is a timely book, and deserves to be, as it probably will be, widely read. The problems inherent in the British connexion with India—that short and epoch-making episode in the long history of that land—are in the minds of most people who take public affairs at all seriously. They are not being forced on the mind in the dramatic way in which the life of new China has entered its claim for attention, but the (comparative) calm in which developments proceed ought not to blind us to the character and importance of those developments. Few people are so well qualified as Mr Paul to attempt the task of interpreter between these two peoples, which in the course of history and the working of Providence have become so wonderfully related. He has the necessary knowledge of what is in the mind of both parties to the great transaction, and, what is more important, he has that rare and invaluable gift of sympathetic imagination which enables him, on the one hand, to understand the stored-up traditions of the English (often issuing in practice in what appears to be mere prejudice) and, on the other, to interpret the subtler and profounder elements in the culture and aspirations of his own folk. Truly a work not only of interpretation but of reconciliation.

The book is not quite accurately named. The subject-matter of its title is included, but with so much more that the title is slightly misleading. Actually, the author gives us a picture of the development of modern India in all the complexity of its life, seen through the glass of his own memories of boyhood, youth and manhood. Here lies the real importance of the book. We do not know any

other book where the English reader can get so suggestive and stimulating a picture of what the development of modern India has meant in the life of an Indian, particularly of an Indian who has had unusual opportunities of friendship both with Englishmen and with leading men of his own people, drawn from all parts of India. So often the problems of modern India are discussed just as 'problems'—of statesmanship, of educational organization, finance and the like. Here we are given a view of these same issues as they presented themselves to the mind of a growing youth and of a man who sees the country he loves and understands increasingly with the years moved in the depths of her being by influences which come from another nation.

The plan of the book is therefore roughly chronological. A first chapter relates the British connexion to the course of Indian history and reminds us of the complexity of that connexion, not less varied than the life of India. We are then taken through the growth of the national movement: religious, social, linguistic, artistic, economic and political. All this part of the book is full of suggestion, and, while there is little that is new, the whole is instinct with the charm of personal recollection. Then comes the war, dealt with, in its effect on India, with much suggestiveness if occasionally with excessive idealism, and then the Montagu-Gandhi period, so familiar to us all and so full of the sense of an inherent perversity in things. Two more chapters, 'To-day' and 'To-morrow,' give the author's views of the situation at the moment, and of what the morrow demands. Having tried to say what India, as he understands her, wants, Mr Paul ends by asking what Britain wants and whether the need of India is to be met (as he believes it ideally can be met) within the British Commonwealth.

We meet with many *obiter dicta* full of interest and sometimes of surprise. The tribute to the British guardianship of the north-west frontier is striking. Less striking, but piquantly expressed, is the author's repeated warning that the efficient service of army and civilians can never make up for want of sympathy, a want he pointedly deplores. The habit of putting one's friends and relations into jobs is confessed, and also shown to exist among others in India besides the Hindus and the Moslems. The profound regard in India for Mr Edwin Montagu—a regard not realized enough in this country—is clearly expressed; so is the unique work and character of Mr Gokhale. There is an interesting suggestion, which ought to have

been more fully worked out, that the communal problem, fundamentally one of minorities, might be susceptible of the kind of treatment which other minorities get from the League of Nations—a reminder that, as Sir Frederick Whyte has recently suggested à propos of China, the League may have much to do yet in Asia. Most important of all is the insistence that India claims an international standing, and knows enough of the world appreciation of such figures as Gandhi, Tagore and Bose to resent being classified internationally as a dependency of the British. Is there any other thing more elementary, more necessary to learn and yet so often ignored, as the simple fact that India with all the handicaps and limitations that may be found in her is full of initiative, and determined to help herself ?

Not much is said about Christianity in India (perhaps too little, even on the author's plan, seeing how profound is the influence of Christian ideas in modern India) but what little there is never lacks pith and point.

The united efforts of writer and publisher should have prevented the geographical enormity on p. 150, wherein we are told that in ancient times the south-west monsoon took the ships to Africa and the north-east monsoon brought them back home to India. It may have been so in ancient days but the reverse is true to-day!

St Albans W. Paton

THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

Das Gotteserlebnis Jesu im Lichte der Vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte. By Johannes Leipoldt. Leipzig: Pfeiffer. M. 3.60 und M. 5. 1927.

THE question of the unique character of the Christian message again occupies to-day a leading place in thought directed to Christian missions. This little essay of a Leipzig professor is on that account worthy of special notice. Starting from the position that during the New Testament era in the Greek religion a consciousness of the immanence and grace of God predominates, while in the East His transcendent majesty is stressed, Leipoldt explores the God-experience of Palestinian Judaism and then that of Jesus, and finds that Jesus emphasizes alike the majesty and the gracious immanence of God, and that the perception of gracious immanence is perhaps the stronger.

Leipoldt seeks to explain his theory both psychologically and from the standpoint of religious history, and proves its accuracy by a short study of the epistles of Paul. He finds unsatisfying the theory promulgated by Karl Holl and adopted by Gerhard Kittel, according to which the simple unprecedented fact about the Christian religion is that God cares for sinners *qua* sinners, and he supplements the theory by the partial solution, based on the history of religion, of a God who is at the same time majestically transcendent and graciously immanent. Christianity alone among religions has possessed this dual conception from its origin and it alone holds the balance between the two conceptions fairly even. It is in this that its uniqueness lies.

It is open to doubt whether Leipoldt's conception is substantially more satisfactory than that of Holl and Kittel, but the fact that the question of the originality and unquestioned superiority of the Christian message is adopted by theology must be noted with pleasure.

HAMBURG M. SCHLUNK

DR GREENE OF JAPAN

A NEW ENGLANDER IN JAPAN: DANIEL CROSBY GREENE. By EVARTS B. GREENE. Illustrated. Map. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. $5. 1927.

DR GREENE was one of the remarkable group of pioneer missionaries in Japan which included Hepburn and Verbeck. The first missionary sent there by the American Board, he worked in Tokyo, Kobe, Kyoto and Yokohama for forty-four years, and died at Hayama in 1913. His term of service corresponds almost exactly with the Meiji Era (1868 to 1911), when Japan was being entirely reorganized and numberless problems were calling for solution. It is fortunate that the biography which has just appeared is written by a son who is also a professor of history, well qualified to appreciate and record the larger movements, as well as the details of his father's varied activities.

A New England Puritan by descent and upbringing, Dr Greene's culture and courtesy attracted the Japanese. A scholar of broad views, he made friends among people of many kinds, Anglicans and Unitarians, literary men and statesmen. He studied, discussed and wrote about such subjects as religious liberty (in days when Christianity was still officially proscribed and his own teacher was thrown into prison for no other crime); the relations between

foreign missionary boards and Japanese institutions; Christian literature, especially Bible translation, in which he took a responsible part; Christian co-operation and church unity; immigration problems in California; extra-territorial jurisdiction, treaty revision and international law; education (he was for some years on the staff of the Doshisha College with its famous founder, Neesima).

Dr Greene was not famous as a preacher, nor would he be called an evangelistic missionary. He was by nature reserved as to deeper spiritual experiences, and his religious influence was probably chiefly valuable through the impression made by his fine personality upon those who came into contact with him. As a Japanese who knew him well put it: 'Men felt that he had something.'

The chapter headed 'The Bible in Japanese' is one of the most important. Incidentally, the account given, with an excellent portrait, of the Rev. T. Matsuyama, who was Dr Greene's early teacher and fellow-worker, is of special interest to many who know him. He is the only man now living, Japanese or foreign, who was a member of the Bible translation and revision committees from 1874 till 1887, and again from 1911 till 1917.

After Dr Greene's death, at a memorial service held in Boston, Baron Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador, sent a message referring to Dr Greene as one 'who loved Japan and was dearly loved by the Japanese, who was an intelligent and sympathetic interpreter of Japanese thought and ideals to the world; and who worked conscientiously and with marked success in the cause of truth and international good understanding.'

Tokyo — Amy C. Bosanquet

GERMAN WOMEN AND MISSIONS

Deutsche Evangelische Frauenmissionsarbeit: Ein Blick in ihr Werden und Wirken. Gertrud Wasserzug-Traeder, Dr Phil. München: Chr. Kaiser. M. 4 und M. 5.20. 1927.

GERMAN women have taken a much more modest share in missionary work than their sisters in England and America, but the quiet, self-effacing devotion of the missionary wives and deaconesses of whom this book tells can hardly be surpassed in all the annals of women's work for missions. Frau Wasserzug-Traeder gives a comprehensive account of the growth of the missionary

movement among German women. From the beginning it was hampered by difficulties arising from the German tradition of the place and work of women which, supported by Scripture texts, weighed particularly with religious people. The first woman missionary was sent by the Basel Mission to India in 1842 as a teacher, but it was the work of the deaconesses, caring for the sick as in the homeland, that chiefly appealed to the German idea of what was suitable, and overcame the prejudice against the use of unmarried women in the mission field. For many years the numbers of women sent out were small, and nearly all were trained at institutions such as the Kaiserswerth Deaconess House, or Bible schools such as Freienwalde, founded for training workers in Germany, but many of the societies later developed training institutions of their own.

Though in general there has not been in Germany a development of independent women's missionary societies as in England and America, it is interesting to note that, with the fresh impulse to missionary work on the resumption of work after the interruption of the war, the share of women in the direction of the missions at home has been considerably increased.

The last section of the book is given to tracing the changes in the life of women, which are most apparent in China or Turkey, but which are rapidly spreading through all parts of the mission field. Though to German Christians it is no part of the missionary task to spread western culture, missionaries must nevertheless be ready to meet these women at that point where they most need help, and, where a missionary once had to strive to understand and identify herself with simple lives and narrow outlook, she is now called upon to enter into the whirlpool of change and to sympathize with the restless aspirations of those to whom the doors of opportunity are suddenly flung wide.

The present need is, therefore, for women who themselves have passed through these crises and found Christ in them—women of wide horizons and a reasoned faith. This book is an urgent call to such women to come and carry on in these new spheres the tradition of self-sacrificing devotion to our Lord which characterized both the pioneer women missionaries and the hundreds of missionary wives of whom little is ever heard. All who are interested in the work of women in the mission field will follow with interest and with prayer the extension of the share taken by German women.

CHIPSTEAD B. D. GIBSON

AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

ALONG THE MISSION TRAIL. Vol. IV, IN CHINA. Vol. V, IN JAPAN. By BRUNO HAGSPIEL, S.V.D. Techny, Illinois: Mission Press. Illustrated. Each $2. 1927.

MARYKNOLL MISSION LETTERS: CHINA. Vol. II. Extracts from the Letters and Diaries of the Pioneer Missioners of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. Illustrated. New York: Macmillan. $3. 1927.

ALL three of these volumes have to do with American Roman Catholic foreign missions. In the first two Father Hagspiel, Rector of St Mary's Mission House of the Society of the Divine Word at Techny, just outside Chicago, completes the narrative of a trip to the mission fields made in 1922. The earlier three volumes were concerned with the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea. Like their predecessors, these two volumes are based upon the author's journals. Like them, too, they include bits of history, biography and general description, especially of religions and religious customs. Both are written in a sprightly style and are intended to stimulate an interest in missions among a popular constituency rather than to give erudite appraisals for the learned. Both, too, are chiefly concerned with the missions of the Society of the Divine Word. The China volume, accordingly, has mostly to do with North China, and especially Shantung, and the Japan volume largely with Niigata and Nagoya. Both, however, contain descriptions of other missions and of Roman Catholic work in general. Both are somewhat critical of Protestants.

The volume of Maryknoll mission letters covers roughly the years 1922–1924, with a little of the close of 1921. The letters are from Kwangtung, chiefly from Yeungkong and vicinity, where is the oldest field of this rapidly growing American Roman Catholic mission. Like the narratives by Father Hagspiel, they are written in a lively manner and are obviously for the purpose of informing and interesting a widespread home constituency. They contain vivid pictures of the banditry and civil strife in the midst of which the missionaries must pursue their labours, of Chinese life and customs, of the problems of a pioneer mission and of Roman Catholic beliefs and methods. They are less critical of Protestants than is Father Hagspiel and gladly acknowledge that Protestant missionary physicians have done the Maryknollers many a good turn.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT K. S. LATOURETTE

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THEIR OWN INTERPRETERS

JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF; CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER; AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA; VOICES FROM THE NEAR EAST; THINKING WITH AFRICA; AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA SEES IT. Edited by MILTON STAUFFER. New York: Missionary Education Movement. Single copies, 75 cents and $1.25; the set, $4 and $6. London: Student Christian Movement. Each 8s. 1927.

THIS series was prepared for the present student generation in North America, to provide an educational background for the tenth quadrennial convention of the Student Volunteer Movement held last winter in Detroit. Features common to all six books are a multiple and indigenous authorship, a similarity in subjects treated (e.g. cultural heritage, the Church, the challenge to youth) and biographical notes on the authors. A gay and inviting appearance is given to the set by the vivid colours of the bindings. (I have a strong feeling, however, in favour of red for India.)

The writers, who number about fifty, are almost without exception Christian, some being converts; two only are women. The aim of presenting 'an honest revelation of what Christian nationals are thinking and saying among themselves' has been on the whole attained. Only five out of the ten contributors to *Thinking with Africa* are of African race. This was perhaps inevitable, and the non-Africans are well qualified to speak for Africa, the paper on 'Religion in Native Life,' especially, being extraordinarily illuminating. The one member of the Indian group who writes with a strain of bitterness appears to have been out of India for several years. This volume would have gained by the inclusion of a writer with a Moslem heritage; the background is too uniformly Hindu.

One Japanese writer claims that among his fellow-countrymen the Christians are the most alive to international and inter-racial problems, and the other papers seem to bear out this contention which, if correct, is of deep significance for the future. More than one writer deplores the internal denominational divisions which weaken the life and influence of the Church.

The interpreters of China are perhaps too optimistic. 'The Christian spirit will eventually triumph,' are true and brave words, but what of 'China is now freed from the thraldom of militarism'? This book is in many ways the most interesting of the set; to see situations from the Chinese point of view would be perhaps the

greatest contribution any nation could make at present towards helping to solve what is not only a Chinese but a world puzzle.

The Near East as a territorial division is less homogeneous than the countries of the Far East. Religious and social life, for example, are far different in Turkey from what they are in Arabia. Individual 'voices' must, therefore, mediate to the West knowledge of the new life which is beginning to surge in the Near East. The same lack of homogeneity exists to a certain extent also in Latin America. The Protestant population, with which this book deals, lives in an awareness that it is *persona non grata* in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church; this is evident on page after page. While this is probably inevitable, it does not make for serenity of mind, either corporate or individual. The impression left by the book is one of restless life, young and determined for freedom, so determined that there is no doubt of the outcome.

The Student Volunteer Movement is to be congratulated both on the conception of this series and on the way in which it has been carried out. There is in each book the ring of sincerity which should ensure a good reception and careful study.

WALLINGTON, SURREY M. M. UNDERHILL

SHORTER NOTICE

Light and Darkness in East Africa: A Missionary Survey of Uganda, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, Eritrea and the Three Somalilands. (London: World Dominion Press. 3s. 6d. 1927.) This is a good survey. The two chapters by Dr Kilgour on the Bible in Uganda and Abyssinia are lucid and accurate. 'The Problem of the Abyssinian Church' is one that has occupied the thoughts of the reviewer for over twenty years, and he still feels that the Church of Uganda may yet prove to be God's 'chosen vessel' for the solution of the question propounded in the last paragraph of this chapter. Statistics are as a rule dry bones, but imagination can make them live. For example, on p. 205 they are a challenge to action. British and French Somaliland both present open fields for any missionary society, but under the heading 'Missionary Societies at Work' is the ominous word 'Nil.' The maps are clear and add to the usefulness of the book, which, with a bibliography for guidance in further reading would give the student a good introduction to a course of reading in Central African missions. E. S. D.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I., LL.D., the former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, was the leader of the British group at the session of 1927 of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and spent some time after the session studying conditions in China.

The Rev. Webster E. Browning, Ph.D., Litt.D., is Educational Secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, one of the Committees of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Dr John A. Mackay, Ph.D., has been since 1926 Secretary for Religious Work of the South American Federation of the Y.M.C.A., he was for some years previously Director of the Anglo-Peruvian College at Lima, under the Free Church of Scotland.

Miss Alice B. Van Doren has been a missionary in South India of the Arcot Assembly since 1903. In 1927 she joined the secretariat of the National Christian Council, being lent by her mission for work especially in connexion with rural education.

The writers of the article on missionary administrative adjustments in China—the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis, D.D. (America), Mr F. H. Hawkins, LL.B. (Great Britain), Rev. S. Knak, D.Theol. (Germany), Rev. P. A. Gunnar Brundin (Sweden)—are leaders in the national missionary organizations of their respective countries, Dr Warnshuis being also a secretary of the International Missionary Council.

The Rev. W. Aidan Cotton, of the Community of the Resurrection, has worked in South Africa for sixteen years, formerly on the Rand as head of a college for training Native clergy, and latterly in charge of a large district in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr L. Richmond Wheeler is a Government Inspector of Schools in Malaya and takes a keen interest in the work of the Church in that area.

The Rev. L. M. Thompson, of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia, is Secretary of Education for his mission and a member of the Government Board of Education in Fiji. He represented Fiji at the Imperial Educational Conference of 1927.

Mr E. A. Annett has been for eighteen years a missionary for religious education in India under the Sunday School Union and the World's Sunday School Association.

Writers of book reviews are: Miss Constance Smith, O.B.E., former Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories (British); the Rev. Professor J. Percy Bruce, Lit.D., of the Department of Chinese in the London School of Oriental Studies; the Rev. C. K. Edmunds, Ph.D., American Director of Lingnan University, Canton; the Rev. E. W. Smith, Literary Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; Professor Alice Werner of the London School of Oriental Studies; Professor T. F. McIlwraith of Toronto; the Rev. Alexander King of the United Free Church of Scotland's Jewish Mission in Bukarest; C. T. Loram, LL.B., Ph.D., a Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Union of South Africa; J. Howard Cook, M.S., F.R.C.S., Secretary of the Medical Committee of the Church Missionary Society, formerly of the Uganda Mission; Sidney H. Ray, a student of and writer on Oceanic Languages; the Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt., Secretary of the National Christian Council of India; Missionsdirektor Martin Schlunk, D.Theol., Secretary of the Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund; Miss Amy C. Bosanquet of the Church Missionary Society's Japan Mission; Miss B. D. Gibson, Assistant Secretary of the International Missionary Council; and Professor Latourette of Yale.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 416.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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INDIA AND THE WEST: A Study in Co-operation. F. S. Marvin. ix+180 pp. London: Longmans, Green. 7s. 6d. 1927. *170.*
Written from the point of view that India is an independent member of the League of Nations.

†MODERN MOVEMENTS AMONG WOMEN IN INDIA. Alice B. Van Doren. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 291–305. *171.*

†FORTY YEARS OF SOCIAL REFORM. K. Natarajan. Being the Presidential Address delivered to the 40th Indian National Social Conference held at Madras, Dec. 27–28, 1927. *Indian Social Reformer*, 1927 (Dec. 31), 275–82. *172.*

†IS INDIA DYING? A Reply to *Mother India*. Alden H. Clark. *Atlantic Monthly*, 1928 (Feb.), 271–9. *172a.*

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH. M. K. Gandhi. Vol. I. 602 pp. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press. Rs. 5.8. 1927. *173.*
See review, p. 396.

'OUR ASIATIC CHRIST.' O. M. Buck. xii+181. New York: Harper. $1.25. 1927. *174.*
A review is in preparation.

CHRIST AT THE ROUND TABLE. E. Stanley Jones. 320 pp. New York: Abingdon Press. $1.50. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. 1928. *175.*
A review is in preparation.

RAJARSHI RAM MOHAN ROY. Manilal Parekh. 186 pp. Rajkot: Oriental Christ House. Poona: Tract Society. Rs. 2 and Rs. 3. 1927. *176.*

CEYLON, PAST AND PRESENT. C. M. Enriquez. Illus. Maps. xvi+256 pp. London: Hurst & Blackett. 21s. 1927. *177.*
Geological history is included; the description of the island to-day contains accounts of native custom.

See also *210* (Self-explanation); *231–2* (Indian Church Measure); *233* (Sundar Singh); *248* (Jains); *249* (Brahmanism); *250, 253* (Buddhism); *265* (Industrialism).

Central Asia

See *252* (Lamaism).

Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

THE NEW PERSIA. Vincent Sheean. 344 pp. New York: Century. $2.50. 1927. *178.*
Pessimistic in tone; the author holds that, despite recent advance, the future of the country looms dark.

THE OPIUM QUESTION: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERSIA. A. R. Neligan. 84 pp. London: Bale, Danielsson. 5s. 1927. *179.*
A former physician to the British Legation at Teheran, the author writes, with twenty years' experience, on the whole question of opium in Persia.

LE RÉVEIL D'UNE RACE: La Turquie de Mustapha Kémal. 230 pp. Paris: Nouvelle Société d'Editions. Fr. 12. 1927. *180.*

†THE TURKISH CENSUS AND WHAT IT MEANS. J. W. Collins. *Contemporary Review*, 1928 (Feb.), 194–200. *181.*

See also *137* (Carmelites); *167* (Malaya); *186–7* (North Africa); *210* (Near East Conditions); *265* (Industrialism).

Africa

(*General*)

†SOUTH AND EAST AFRICAN YEAR BOOK AND GUIDE, 1928. Edited by A. Samler Brown

and G. Gordon Brown. 34th Edition. Atlas. Diagrams. lv+923 pp. London: Sampson Low. 2s. 6d. 1928. *182.*

PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES (International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Memorandum 1). 16 pp. London: 22 Craven Street, W.C.2. 6d. 1927. *183.*

†TEXT-BOOKS FOR AFRICAN SCHOOLS: A Preliminary Memorandum. *Africa,* 1928 (Jan.), 13–22. *184.*

†AFRICAN NEGRO MUSIC. E. M. von Hornbostel. *Africa,* 1928 (Jan.), 30–62. *185.*

See also *141* (D. Livingstone); *210* (Self-explanation); *240* (Religious Art); *265* (Industrialism).

North Africa

(*from Morocco to Somaliland*)

LA VIE FÉMININE AU MZAB. A.-M. Goichon. Illus. xv+348 pp. Paris: Geuthner. Fr. 80. 1927. *186.*
Musalman sociology in the Algerian Sahara.

L'ISLAMISATION DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD: Les Siècles obscurs du Maghreb. E. F. Gautier. 432 pp. Paris: Payot. Fr. 30. 1927. *187.*

SAVAGE ABYSSINIA. James E. Baum. 357 pp. New York: Sears. $5. 1927. *188.*
An account of the scientific expedition sent in 1926–7 by the Field Museum of Chicago.

West Africa

(*from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan*)

LA LITTÉRATURE POPULAIRE À LA CÔTE DES ESCLAVES: Contes, proverbes, devinettes. 108 pp. René Trautmann. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. Fr. 50. 1927. *189.*

DIE WESTLICHEN SUDANSPRACHEN UND IHRE BEZIEHUNGEN ZUM BANTU. D. Westermann. 313 S. Berlin: de Gruyter. M. 10. 1927. *190.*

DRUMS IN THE DARKNESS. John T. Tucker, D.D. 202 pp. New York: Doran. $1.75 1927. *191.*
A simple account of missionary work in Angola, its history, problems and possibilities.

FRIENDS OF AFRICA. Jean K. Mackenzie, Mrs Donald Fraser, M.B., Mrs Frederick B. Bridgman and J. H. Oldham. Edited by Jean K. Mackenzie. vi+250 pp. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Central Committee on United Study of Foreign Missions. 50 cents and 75 cents. 1928. *192.*
Modern conditions in Africa, and the part Christians may play in meeting them, written for women who have not access to source material.

See also *241* (Bambara).

East and Central Africa

(*from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers*)

LIGHT AND DARKNESS IN EAST AFRICA: A Missionary Survey of Uganda, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, Eritrea and the Three Somalilands. Maps. Appendices. 206 pp. London: World Dominion Press. 3s. 6d. 1927. *193.*
See review, p. 406.

See also *182* (Year Book).

South Africa

(*south of the Cunene and Zambezi rivers*)

THE LIFE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN TRIBE. H. A. Junod. Second edition revised and enlarged. 2 vols. Illus. London: Macmillan. Geneva: Author, 29 Chemin de Grange-Canal. 50s. 1927. *194.*
See review, p. 381.

DIE GLIEDERUNG DER SÜDAFRIKANISCHEN BANTUSPRACHEN. N. J. von Warmelo. 106 S. Berlin: Reimer. M. 5. 1927. *195.*
Reprinted from ZM, 1928 (1 and 2).

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA. (Jerusalem Meeting, IV, 2.) J. Dexter Taylor, D.D. 34 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 25 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 1s. 1928. *196.*

†THE RACE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA. W. Aidan Cotton. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 327–41. *197.*

†DIE EINGEBORENENGESETZE GENERAL HERTZOGS VOM MISSIONARISCHEN STANDPUNKT AUS ERÖRTERT. Ernst Karberg. NAMZ, 1927 (Okt.), 303–10; (Nov.), 335–41. *198.*

†THE FINANCING OF NATIVE EDUCATION. *South African Outlook,* 1927 (Dec.), 228–32. *199.*

AU PAYS DU SOLEIL ET SOUS LA CROIX DU SUD. J. E. Chable. 284 pp. Paris: Attinger. Fr. 25. 1927. *200.*
A traveller's observations and impressions.

SUR LES RIVES DU ZAMBÈZE: Notes ethnographiques. Louis Jalla. (Récits missionnaires illustrés, No. 25.) 160 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. Fr. 7.50. 1928. *201.*

See also *140* (History); *182* (Year Book).

America and the West Indies

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. Paul Radin. 385 pp. New York: Liveright. $5. 1927. *202.*
The history of Indian civilization over the entire western hemisphere.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL PEOPLES ON THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA. (Jerusalem Meeting, IV, 3.) Galen M. Fisher. 48 pp. New

York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 25 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 1s. 1927. *203.*

THE MEXICAN QUESTION: Mexico and American-Mexican Relations under Calles and Obregon. W. E. Walling. 205 pp. New York: Robins Press. $2. 1927. *204.*
A dispassionate investigation, written in the belief that the solution of a menacing situation depends on the development of a well-informed, aroused and sympathetic public opinion.

THE LOWLAND INDIANS OF AMAZONIA. K. G. Grubb. Maps. Statistics. 159 pp. London: World Dominion Press. 5s. 1927. *205.*

†THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA. Webster E. Browning, Ph.D., Litt.D. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 266–77. *206.*

†AN INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIAN WORK AMONGST SOUTH AMERICAN STUDENTS. John A. Mackay, Ph.D. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 278–90. *207.*

See also *210* (Latin America explained).

Australasia and Oceania

†WHERE THE DAY BEGINS: PROBLEMS OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN FIJI. L. M. Thompson. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 354–65. *208.*

IN THE ISLES OF KING SOLOMON. O. H. A. I. Hopkins. 269 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1928. *209.*

See also *139* (Amboina Mission); *242* (Marquesas Religion).

The Jews

See *256* (Judaism).

Fields General

JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF; CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER; AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA; VOICES FROM THE NEAR EAST; THINKING WITH AFRICA; AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA SEES IT. Edited by Milton Stauffer. New York: Missionary Education Movement. Each 75 cents and $1.25; the set $4 and $6. London: Student Christian Movement. Each 3s. 1927. *210.*
See review, p. 405.

ALONG THE MISSION TRAIL. Bruno Hagspiel, S.V.D. Vol. IV, IN CHINA. 392 pp. Vol. V, IN JAPAN. 373 pp. Illus. Techny, Illinois: Mission Press. Each $2. 1927. *211.*
See review, p. 404.

SVERIGES YTTRE MISSION. Erik Folke. Del I. 240 pp. Del II. 212 pp. Stockholm: Svenska Journalens förlag. Kr. 1.50. 1927. *212.*

MISSIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD. W. W. Pinson, D.D. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press. $1.50. 1927. *213.*

ARE MISSIONS A FAILURE? Charles A. Seldon. 270 pp. New York: Revell. $2.50. 1927. *214.*
Written by a journalist after a seven months' *ad hoc* tour of mission stations in Asia.

See also *146–7* (Year Books); *272* (Mandates).

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF CHRISTIAN WORK IN RURAL AREAS. (Jerusalem Meeting, VI, I.) Kenyon L. Butterfield, LL.D., W. J. McKee and T. Jesse Jones, Ph.D., LL.D. 69 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 50 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. 1928. *215.*

L'ACTION MISSIONNAIRE DU PROTESTANTISME FRANÇAIS. Daniel Couve. (Cahiers Missionnaires. No. 9.) 38 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Évangéliques. Fr. 1.50. 1927. *216.*

†L'ŒUVRE DE CONQUÊTE MISSIONNAIRE ET L'APOLOGÉTIQUE MODERNE DU CHRISTIANISME PEUVENT-ELLES SE PASSER D'UNE CONCEPTION COHÉRENTE DES MISSIONS? Georges Bois. *Le Christianisme Sociale,* 1927 (Oct.), 905–22. *217.*

†IS THERE ANY ADEQUATE MOTIVE FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS TO-DAY? Herbert Welch. *Christian Advocate* (New York), 1927 (Dec. 1), 1471–2. *218.*

VIII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

†GODSDIENSTIG EN ZEDELIJK LEVEN OP TIMOR. J. K. Doxie. MZW, 1927 (3), 236–49. *219.*

Christian Education

China

†MISSIONARIES IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. George Kin Leung. *Educational Review,* 1927 (Oct.), 379–90. Reprinted from *The China Courier,* 1927 (July). *220.*

See also *160, 162* (Administration).

India

See *171* (Women's Education).

Africa

See *183* (Orthography); *184* (Text-Books); *199* (Finance).

General

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Luther A. Weigle and J. H. Oldham. (Jerusalem Meeting, II.) 71 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 50 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. 1927. *221.*

†DAS PROBLEM DER RELIGIÖSEN ERZIEHUNG IN DER MISSION. Martin Schlunk. NAMZ, 1927 (Dez.), 353–65. *222.*

†THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN SCHOOLS FOR NON-CHRISTIANS. Edward A. Annett. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 366–74. *223.*

Medical Missions

†THE CONTRIBUTION OF MISSIONS TO SCIENCE. J. Howard Cook. *Church Missionary Review*, 1927 (Dec.), 302–20. *224.*

Christian Literature

See *183* (African Orthography).

Work among Women

See *171* (Indian Women).

General Discussion of Methods

THE MISSIONARY AND HIS WORK. L. M. A. Haughwout. xii+292 pp. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Morehouse. $2.50. 1927. *225.*
By a Latin American missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church; gives a good statement from a conservative ritualist point of view.

MISSIONARY METHODS FOR CHURCH AND HOME: Principles and Programs tested in Practical Experience. Katherine S. Cronk. 190 pp. New York: Revell. $1.50. 1927. *226.*
Contains material which has appeared in the 'Best Methods' department of the *Missionary Review of the World.*

†DE ZENDINGSMETHODE EN DE GEWIJZIGDE OMSTANDIGHEDEN OP WEST-JAVA. W. J. L. Dake. MZW, 1927 (4), 289–304. *227.*

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

DAS WERDEN DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE IN CHINA. (Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschichte. Bd. IV.) Julius Richter. Frontispiece. xvi+584 S. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. M. 25. 1928. *228.*
A review is in preparation.

†THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA. I. T. Z. Koo. II. P. J. Maclagan. *Review of the Churches* (London), 1928 (Jan.), 61–75. *229.*

†DIE SELBSTÄNDIGKEITSBEWEGUNG DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHEN IN CHINA. W. Oehler. EMM, 1927 (Dez.), 355–65. *230.*

†THE INDIAN CHURCH MEASURE. W. K. Firminger, D.D. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1928 (Jan.), 219–37. *231.*

†THE INDIAN CHURCH MEASURE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN CHURCH. Bishop of Madras. CO, 1928 (Jan.), 14–21. *232.*

†DER BANKROTT EINES 'APOSTELS': Ein Schlusswort zum 'Sadhu'-Streit. O. Pfister. ZMR, 1928 (1), 1–15; (2), 33–48; and following numbers. *233.*

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE RELATIONS OF THE YOUNGER AND THE OLDER CHURCHES. (Jerusalem Meeting, III, 1.) A. L. Warnshuis, D.D. 19 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 25 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 1s. 1928. *234.*

See also *160–1* (China); *235* (Lausanne).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

LAUSANNE, 1927. Edward S. Woods. Introduction by the Archbishop of Canterbury. 192 pp. London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. and 4s. 1927. *235.*

LAUSANNE: The Will to Understand. E. D. Soper, D.D. New York: Doubleday, Doran. $1.50. 1928. *235a.*
Both preceding books are popular accounts of the Conference on Faith and Order.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION. (Jerusalem Meeting, VII.) John R. Mott, LL.D. 49 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 50 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. 1928. *236.*

See also *161* (China).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

†HUWELIJKSGEBRUIKEN VAN TIMOR-KOEPANG. F. H. van de Wetering. MZW, 1927 (4), 341–70. *237.*

†KARO-BATAKSCHE OFFERPLAATSEN. J. H. Neumann. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*, 1927 (4), 514–51. *238.*

†OVER HET GELOOF DER GALELA'S, I en II. M. J. van Baarda. MZW, 1927 (3), 250–79; (4), 305–31. *239.*

L'ART NÈGRE: L'ART ANIMISTE DES NOIRS D'AFRIQUE. Georges Hardy. 168 pp. 24 hors-textes. Paris: Laurens. Fr. 20. 1927. *240.*

ETUDES SOUDANAISES: LA RELIGION BAMBARA. L. Tauxier. xx+472 pp. Paris: Geuthner. Fr. 80. 1927. *241.*

LA RELIGION OU LE PAGANISME DES MARQUISIENS. Père Delmas. 210 pp. Paris: Beauchesne. Fr. 20. 1927. *242.*

See also *194* (South African Tribe).

Religions of China

GESCHICHTE DER ALTEN CHINESISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE. Alfred Forke. 594 S. Hamburg: Friederichsen. M. 36. 1927. *243.*

CHINESISCHE PHILOSOPHIE. (Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen. Bd. v.) Heinrich Hackmann. 406 S. München: Reinhardt. M. 9 und M. 11. 1927. *244.*

THE CHUNG YUNG: or the Centre, the Common. Translated by L. A. Lyall and King Chien-kün. xxvii+24 pp. London: Longmans. 6s. 1927. *245.*
See review, p. 377.

RELIGIONENS MÄNNISKOR OCH DOKUMENT. VII. LAOTSE OCH TAO TE CHING. Erik Folke. 136 pp. Stockholm: Bonniers förlag. Kr. 2.25. 1927. *246.*

CHRISTIANITY AND CONFUCIANISM. J. Leighton Stuart, D.D. RELIGIOUS VALUES IN CONFUCIANISM: A Source Book of Facts and Opinions. Edited by D. Willard Lyon, D.D. (Jerusalem Meeting, I, 3 and 8.) New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. Each 25 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. Each 1s. 1928. *247.*

Religions of India

DIE RELIGION DER JAINAS. (Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte. Lieferung 12.) W. Kirfel. 77 Bilder auf 30 Tafeln, und Text. Leipzig: Deichert. M. 9 und M. 14. 1927. *248.*

†A LA RECHERCHE DU DIEU INCONNU: La Pensée Brahmanique. O. de Pril, S.J. *Revue missionnaire des Jesuites Belges*, 1928 (Jan.), 6–13. *249.*

See also *173* (Gandhi's Autobiography); *174–5* (Christianity in India); *176* (Ram Mohan Roy).

Buddhism

CHRISTIANITY AND NORTHERN BUDDHISM. A. K. Reischauer, D.D. CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM. K. J. Saunders, Litt.D. (Jerusalem Meeting, I, 4 and 5.) New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. Each 25 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. Each 1s. 1927. *250.*

BUDDHA: Hans Läre dens Overlevening og dens Liv i Nutiden. Paul Tuxen. Vol. I. Illus. 64 pp. Kobenhavn: Gad. Kr. 2. 1927. *251.*

THE RELIGION OF TIBET: A Study of Lamaism. J. R. Ellam. (Wisdom of the East Series.) 127 pp. London: Murray. 3s. 6d. 1927. *252.*

Beginning with the origin and development of Buddhism in India, the author, himself a Buddhist, passes to its introduction into Tibet, the changes it underwent and a description of the present forms and practice.

†MODERN TENDENCIES OF BURMESE BUDDHISM. V. Kin Maung. NCCR, 1927 (Dec.), 734–40. *253.*

Islam

†DER ISLAM ALS RELIGION (Wissenschaft und Bildung. No. 239.) Julius Richter. iv+158 S. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. M. 1.80. 1927. *254.*

†HVORDAN FAAR IN MUHAMMEDANERN E TALE? A. Nielsen. *Nordisk Missionstidskrift*, 1927, 249–63. *255.*

See also *167* (Malaya); *180–1* (Turkey); *186–7* (North Africa).

Judaism

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM COMPARE NOTES. H. F. Rall and Samuel S. Cohon. viii+132 pp. New York & London: Macmillan. $2. 1927. *256.*

See review, p. 388.

General

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND THEIR RESULTS: An Essay in Psychology and Comparative Religion. Elfrida Tillyard. viii+216 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. 1927. *257.*

A review is in preparation.

SPEAKING WITH TONGUES: Historically and Psychologically considered. George Barton Cutten, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. xii+193 pp. Yale, New Haven: University Press. $2.50. London: Oxford University Press. 11s. 6d. 1927. *258.*

DER GEGENWÄRTIGE GEISTESKAMPF UM OSTASIEN. Theodor Devaranne. viii+96 S. Gotha: Klotz. M. 3. 1928. *259.*

DIE RELIGIONEN DER MENSCHHEIT: Einführung in Wesen und Geschichte der ausserchristlichen Gottesvorstellungen. Anton Anwander. 567 S. Freiburg: Herder. M. 16 und M. 18. 1927. *260.*

DIE WELTRELIGION UND DAS CHRISTENTUM: Vom gegenwärtigen Stand ihrer Auseinandersetzung. P. Althaus, H. W. Schomerus, K. Steck und W. Freytag. 98 S. München: Kaiser. M. 4.50. 1928. *261.*

†DIE BOTSCHAFT JESU; DIE BOTSCHAFT DES APOSTELS PAULUS; UNSERE BOTSCHAFT IN DER MISSION; DIE BOTSCHAFT DES JOHANNESEVANGELIUMS. Julius Richter. NAMZ, 1927 (Okt.), 292–302; 1928 (Jan.), 3–23. *262.*

†DIE BOTSCHAFT DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS AN DIE HEIDENWELT. Karl Heim. NAMZ, 1928 (Feb.), 33–50. *262a.*

†DER ABSOLUTHEITSANSPRUCH DES CHRISTENTUMS UND DIE MISSION. K. Hartenstein. EMM, 1928 (Jan.), 4–11; (Feb.) 34–48. *263.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

CHRISTIANITY AND SECULAR CIVILIZATION (Jerusalem Meeting, I, 6.) Rufus M. Jones, LL.D., D.D. 34 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 25 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 1s. 1927. *264.*

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA (Jerusalem Meeting, V). William Paton. 58 pp. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue. 50 cents. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. 1927. *265.*

THE SLAVERY CONVENTION OF GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 25, 1926. A. L. Warnshuis, J. P. Chamberlain and Quincy Wright. 69 pp. Worcester, Massachusetts: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 5 cents. 1928. *266.*

A concise monograph prepared as the January number of *International Conciliation.* Contains also the text of the General Act for the Repression of African Slave Trade, July 2, 1890.

RACE CONTACT. E. E. Muntz. 421 pp. New York: Century. $3.75. 1927. *267.*

A Study of the social, economic and political consequences of association between races of varying cultural development.

†HONOLULU AND JERUSALEM: The Problem of Race Relations. Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I. IRM, 1928 (Apr.), 257–65. *268.*

†HONOLULU. *Round Table,* 1927 (Dec.), 90–104. *269.*

An appraisal of the Honolulu session (1927) of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

THE WHITE MAN'S DILEMMA: Climax of the Age of Imperialism. Nathaniel Peffer. x+312 pp. New York: Day. $2.50. 1927. *270.*

A mordant analysis of imperialism, its growth, all-pervasiveness, deadly influence on interracial contacts and inescapable issue in a world cataclysm. The moral issue is ignored, the question being treated from the economic influence on daily life of a policy increasingly impossible either to maintain or to discard.

†DIE MISSION UND DIE WELTKRISE. Gottfried Simon. NAMZ, 1927 (Nov.), 321–34. *271.*

†THE ORIGIN OF THE MANDATES SYSTEM. D. H. Miller. *Foreign Affairs* (New York), 1928 (Jan.), 277–89. *272.*

See also *162–3* (Education in China); *196–8* (Race in South Africa); *199* (African Education); *203* (Race in N. America); *204* (American-Mexican Relations).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO = *Church Overseas*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JCQ = *Japan Christian Quarterly*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

A CREATIVE INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

By JOHN R. MOTT, LL.D.

THE World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in June 1910, and the work of its Continuation Committee, furnish one of the most notable and highly productive chapters in the record of international missionary co-operation. That significant gathering, to a remarkable degree, faced the greatness and wholeness of the task as well as its oneness. By the work of its eight Commissions, through a period of nearly two years preceding the Conference, it helped greatly to usher in an era of more scientific, because more international, study of missionary questions. The chief distinction of the Conference, however, was the fact that it interpreted itself not as an end but as a beginning. Its one creative act was the appointment of a Continuation Committee to carry forward investigations begun by the Commissions and to preserve and extend the atmosphere and spirit of the Conference, and, therefore, to further in every way the international co-operative movement. During the years following the Edinburgh Conference this representative committee of forty or more mis-

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sionary leaders of different lands, through the helpful ministry of its central office, through its scientific quarterly, *The International Review of Missions*, through various special committees, as well as through conferences and visits by its officers and other representatives, advanced by great strides the cause of international missionary co-operation. When it became impossible, because of war conditions, for the Continuation Committee to perform all its functions, an Emergency Committee was constituted which, under the inevitable limitations with which it was obliged to contend, accomplished valuable constructive service for the world-wide missionary movement. This and the Continuation Committee have been succeeded by the International Missionary Council, which has continued to hold in prominence the conquering ideal and objective associated with Edinburgh.

Those who at Edinburgh launched this great co-operative enterprise hoped that ultimately the international organization would rest securely on national co-operative bodies made up of official representatives of the various missionary agencies and Churches concerned. In 1910 there were only two of these national bodies in existence. By the time the Continuation Committee was dissolved, a sufficient number of national bodies had been organized to make possible the carrying out of the original plan. Thus strong national co-operation is the foundation on which international co-operation has been firmly established. The International Missionary Council has become a clearing-house for the Church and auxiliary agencies and maintains an intelligence service for various national bodies and other movements on matters of international interest and concern. It has been the means of establishing and building up national Christian councils both in the countries which send missionaries and in those which receive missionaries, until at present there are between twenty and thirty of these bodies ; and it also serves as a means of communication among them all. Under its influence they have been set to acting and reacting upon

one another with ever-increasing helpfulness. This process has done much to stimulate and guide international or collective thinking.

The International Review of Missions, as the official organ of the International Missionary Council, has become a chief instrument for stimulating and co-ordinating missionary thought in all countries. It has helped enormously in evolving a true science of Christian missions and in developing among missionary leaders the widest possible outlook. The four series of regional, national and international conferences of missionary and church workers conducted by the Chairman of the Council—on his world tour of 1912–13, on his visit to the lands of Northern Africa and Western Asia in 1924, on his journey among the lands around the Pacific Basin in 1925–26, and in connexion with the gatherings of Christian workers among Jews in 1927—served to bring about closer co-operation and unity among the Christian forces, and to make possible the initiation of many union or co-operative projects. Similarly, the visitation conducted by members of the secretarial staff, and conferences on special problems organized under their direction, such as the recent African Conference at Le Zoute, have done much to advance the cause of international co-operation and to make available the distinctive contribution of different nationalities and races.

The International Missionary Council has also had much to do with furthering the plan of sending out deputations of experts for the study of the problems of different fields and the formulation of constructive programs; for example, the educational deputations sent in recent years to India, China and Africa. In the pathway of all this activity on the part of the officers of the Council, countless co-operative undertakings have been initiated, not a few of which have already demonstrated their value. Much time and well-directed effort have been devoted to promoting right relations between missions and governments, and in particular to dealing with some of the most critical and

emergent problems pertaining to government policy in its bearing on the Christian enterprise.

One of the mandates given by the Edinburgh Conference to its Continuation Committee and by that body committed to its successor, the International Missionary Council, was that of deciding when another world gathering should be held and making all necessary arrangements. The subject came up a number of times for consideration by the Council and its *ad interim* committee. In order to ascertain whether the situation demanded a world meeting, and whether the sentiment favouring it was widespread, an extensive enquiry was instituted by the Committee of the Council. Probably no world assembly has ever been preceded by such an extensive process of consultation. The Chairman of the Council himself discussed the matter with carefully chosen companies of Christian leaders along the course of his journeys in Northern Africa and Western Asia, and in the countries around the Pacific Basin, as well as in North America and throughout Europe. His colleagues, through visits and correspondence, sounded opinion in other fields, such as India and Latin America.

The reports on this virtually world-wide enquiry convinced the Committee, at its meeting held in Rättvik in the summer of 1926, that the demand for a world meeting was universal and insistent. Among the reasons were the following : The stupendous and almost unbelievable changes in all parts of the world since the Edinburgh Conference, including the upheaval of the world war, made it absolutely necessary that there be a re-orientation of the mission of the Christian religion to its world task. Moreover, the marvellous developments within the world-wide Christian movement, especially under the influence of the growing national spirit and leadership of the rising indigenous Churches, rendered it particularly desirable that there be afforded an adequate opportunity for the leaders of the older and younger Churches to come together and share their visions, insight, experience, burdens, hopes and purposes. There had

emerged during these fateful years many new and baffling problems, the solution of which could best, if not only, be found by viewing them in a world context. During the nearly two decades since the Edinburgh Conference, much fruitful and highly instructive experience had been gained in the work of international co-operation. The time had come to review the progress thus achieved, to evaluate the agencies and methods underlying the most successful co-operation, and to consider the future demands of the Christian forces which can best be met by the various nations and races working in co-operation. Above all and through all, there was a recognized need for the responsible leaders of the Christian forces throughout the world to come together and re-think, restate and, where necessary, revise message, program and policy, and convey the results to their constituencies in every land.

It was decided that the kind of world gathering needed was not a vast conference like the one at Edinburgh, with its 1200 regular delegates and its 3000 or 4000 visitors, for the purposes of education and inspiration, but a much more restricted and intimate meeting. This led to the decision to hold an enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council itself, increasing its membership from eighty to somewhat over two hundred. Among the advantages of restricting the size of the gathering were that it enabled all those present more readily to become acquainted with one another; it made it possible to hear from each person many times; it greatly facilitated group thinking; and it served to ensure a balanced view of the subjects under consideration. The Council was enlarged in three directions. The most significant step was that of bringing in approximately the same number of representatives of the younger Churches of Asia, Africa and Latin America as represented the older Churches of Europe, North America and Australasia. Moreover, there were invited a number of experts or authorities on the various problems which were to come before the meeting. Further, to ensure the weaving into

the deliberations of the Council the point of view of the new generation, each of the leading Student Christian Movements of the world was asked to send a representative. Notwithstanding this rigid limitation in size, fifty-one different countries were represented. Not in modern times has there been brought together such a widely representative and influential company of Christian leaders.

It was decided to hold the meeting in Jerusalem owing to its favourable geographical location near the junction of Asia, Africa and Europe, and adjacent to the great lane of travel between East and West; likewise owing to the deeply moving associations of the Holy City as the birthplace of Christianity as well as a sacred centre of Judaism and Mohammedanism. The choice of the place was also influenced by the unanimous and insistent wish of the leaders of the Churches in Asia and Africa. All who were present are profoundly grateful that Jerusalem was chosen.

The fifteen days of the meeting were spent almost entirely in open forum discussions—part of the time in plenary meetings and the rest in small groups. The consideration of each subject passed through a five-fold process. In the first place, the papers on the different subjects were printed and widely circulated throughout the Christian world, and hundreds of groups were organized in the various countries for the purpose of discussing them and placing the results of their discussions at the disposal of those who were to go to Jerusalem as delegates. Then at Jerusalem there was a general discussion of each subject in plenary session. Following that, the company was divided into groups for intensive consideration of different aspects of the subject. Later, a drafting committee in connexion with each group formulated findings and constructive proposals or recommendations which were in due time carefully considered by the group. Finally, the results came in formal reports before the whole meeting in plenary session, and, after thorough discussion, and where necessary amendment, were adopted and became the findings or action of the

entire meeting. This method made possible the blending of the varied points of view and experiences of workers of all fields. Thus, by calling forth the maximum participation of every member of the fellowship, the representatives of the different nationalities, cultures and communions all became formative factors in determining plans and pronouncements.

One of the outstanding contributions of the Jerusalem Meeting was the fact that an unusually representative body of men and women, who command to a unique degree the confidence of Christians the world over, found it possible to arrive at a common understanding and to reach unanimous conclusions with reference to a policy for the world-wide Christian mission. They were able so to rethink and restate the message and the program as to make possible a clear direction for the Christian missionary enterprise in the momentous period that lies just ahead. The tremendous significance of this great result is apparent when we contrast with it the confusion of thought, the divided counsels, the conflicting voices, and the working at cross-purposes, with the resultant uncertainty, lack of sense of mission and of sacrificial devotion, and comparatively meagre results which have so largely obtained in recent years.

Others would doubtless insist that the most wonderful result of the Jerusalem Meeting was the actual achieving of a spiritual unity or solidarity among the present-day leaders of the world Christian mission. Workers of the most diverse minds, outlook and character were welded together. Doctrinal and dogmatic differences were not obscured, ignored or left unstated, but were transcended in a larger unity. The fellowship in thought and prayer achieved by the leaders of the older and younger Churches was a most sig ificant and reassuring fact. The desirability of such a union has been discussed and emphasized for years, but not until this meeting did it become a triumphant reality.

The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council is perhaps the best evidence in the history of the Christian religion of the possibility, the reality and the necessity of international co-operation. In such a comprehensive fellowship we came to have a vivid realization of the world-wide sweep of the undertaking to make Jesus Christ known, trusted, loved and obeyed in all human relationships. And this made it easier to realize the true place and possibilities of united thinking, fellowship and action on the part of His followers. There we came to see clearly that our divine mission is so vast in its dimensions, so difficult and baffling in its demands, that only by sharing counsel, blending experience, and uniting in planning and action, and in liberating and massing latent forces and influence, could the world situation of to-day and to-morrow be met.

The better-thought-out policies of co-operation proposed and approved at Jerusalem by the Christians of different nationalities and races will inevitably result in strengthening the intellectual leadership of the world-wide mission. Here our need is admittedly great. In virtually every part of the world to-day, events of the first magnitude and significance are taking place, but is it not true that there have been far too few leaders of the Churches possessing the requisite ability and furnishing to cope with these great and pressing issues? We recognized the need on every hand of more thinkers and of fewer mechanical workers, and that more of the leading minds in the Churches must be discovered and their constructive abilities related to the Christ-appointed tasks. There are at the best all too few creative minds. No one country or race can furnish a sufficient number of men and women qualified intellectually to supply the desired leadership in the various departments of Christian effort. There must, therefore, be much more international collaboration. The smallest nations as well as the largest, the youngest Churches as well as the oldest, the various cultures East and West, must place at the dis-

posal of the whole Christian enterprise their most penetrating minds and creative spirits. Sound policies of international co-operation will result in releasing more largely these much-needed intellectual forces. Co-operation among those of different nationalities and races invariably results in stimulating one another to good and better intellectual works.

If the International Missionary Council is to carry out the mandates given at Jerusalem, it must inevitably enlarge its staff. In doing so, it should, other things being equal, bring in workers of different national and racial cultures. Moreover, it should call into its service for specific undertakings more of the leading minds among experts on the different great subjects related to its program. The benefit of this practice was clearly seen at Jerusalem in connexion with the invaluable contributions made by such authorities as Mr H. A. Grimshaw, of the International Labour Office; President Butterfield, the leader of the American Country Life Association; Professor Tawney, of the London School of Economics; Professor Hocking, of Harvard; Dr Eberhard, of Germany; and Professor Weigle, of Yale. International co-operation, it should be reiterated, increases the intellectual resources of each co-operating agency, through combining the intellectual abilities and contributions of all. It is an expensive business for each Church or for the Christian forces of each nation to have to acquire independently what through co-operation can be shared with all Churches and nations.

Co-operation on the part of Christians of different nations at Jerusalem should result in developing larger and truer statesmanship. Every genuinely co-operative, unselfish enterprise leads into a land of larger dimensions. Great is the need right now of multiplying the number of men and women who will exhibit in the coming years the true marks of Christian statesmanship—vision, comprehension, foresight, reverential regard for the past, unselfishness and, above all, power to co-operate with those of other lands and races.

How true it is, also, that at Jerusalem we discovered through the pathway of a wonderful experience that the Christian message may be greatly enriched through the intimate collaboration of the true believers of different cultural and national backgrounds. Dr Robert E. Speer and Bishop Temple, the co-chairmen of the group at Jerusalem which dealt with the subject of the Christian Message, bore impressive testimony to the wonderful unity finally achieved by their group, not through processes of compromise, evasion or negation, but simply through each bringing out with frankness and fullness in the most positive and constructive manner that which was real in his own experience; and they pointed out that then all that had to be done was to put the various expressions together in a coherent order. In fact, genuine co-operation seems to be absolutely essential to ensure the giving of full-orbed expression to the message of the Church of Christ. Christ has not revealed Himself solely or fully through any one nation, race or communion, still less through any one individual or group. No part of mankind has a monopoly of His unsearchable riches. The help of all who in any part of the world bear His name and who have experience of Him, is necessary adequately to reveal His excellences and to communicate His power; for, as in Christ who is the head there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, so the Church—which is His body—cannot be perfected until 'they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it,' that is to say, until the spiritual characteristics of every race and Christian name have been not submerged but brought to their perfection in a perfect whole. The reason why we as Orientals or Occidentals value that which is most distinctive of us is not simply because it is ours, but because we believe it is God-implanted and, therefore, the truth. Should we not, then, wish to come into such relations to all other Christians, of whatever name or sign, that we may share our priceless possession with them, and, likewise, that

we may enter into some of the richness of their heritage? Every race, every land—small as well as great—not only has the right, but should also have the opportunity, thus to express itself and thus to make its contribution, as well as itself thus to be enriched. How shall this be accomplished save through the most intimate co-operation? Without moving into the zone of a dangerous syncretism, the wise guidance and emphasis of those who directed the study and discussion of the subject of the Message at Jerusalem made Christ stand out all the more distinctly in His absolute uniqueness, supremacy and adequacy, and served to reveal Him more vividly than ever as in reality the Desire of all nations.

At Jerusalem we also learned as never before how much the rising indigenous Churches of Asia, Africa and Latin America may profit from maintaining close co-operative relations with the Churches of Europe, North America and Australasia, and how the converse is equally true. Surely every Christian communion will gain from preserving intelligent contacts with historical Christianity. It would be difficult to name a century in the life of the Christian religion which has not its rich contribution to make to every living Church of to-day. Is not the same true of credal Christianity? Which among the great creeds of Christendom does not embody truths and reflect experiences that will serve to strengthen every Christian communion? Moreover, what cannot each of the older as well as each of the younger Churches gain from sustaining most intimate relation to the vital and applied Christianity of the younger Churches wherever found? The great thing achieved at Jerusalem with reference to relations between the older and younger Churches was not so much the drawing up of findings and resolutions, necessary, timely and constructive as these were, but rather the bringing about among this remarkable company of recognized leaders of the older and younger Churches a more profound understanding, a deeper confidence, a realizing sense of interdependence and a genuine spiritual solidarity. The Jerusalem Meeting thus

did much to help usher in the day characterized by the new and true conception of Christian missions as a sharing enterprise, so that we come to look increasingly upon all Churches as sending Churches, and, in an equally true sense, upon all Churches as receiving Churches.

Such co-operative international relations as we experienced on the Mount of Olives are essential to enable the Christian Church to give her true testimony. What should be the witness of the Christian Church in the life of the world to-day? The absolute and unique ability of Jesus Christ and His Divine Society to meet the deepest needs not only of the individual human heart, but likewise the needs presented by the present critical and alarming international and inter-racial situation, as well as in industrial relations. But how can the principles and spirit of Jesus Christ be applied successfully to such relations without genuine co-operation among the Christian forces? Our different Christian communions preach, 'Love your enemies,' and yet to-day how much we see on every hand of racial prejudice and sense of superiority, of un-Christian nationalism, of ruthless competition, economic imperialism and industrial exploitation of weaker peoples. Moreover, if we have other kinds of international co-operation in the so-called secular realm, and inter-racial fellowship even in the general practice of Mohammedanism as was pointed out in the discussions at Jerusalem, without being able to achieve avowedly Christian co-operation among those of different nations, what other conclusion can the unbelieving world form than that the Christian Church has lost her way and vacated her spiritual leadership? The Church of Christ to-day should be manifested increasingly as a body consisting of all those of all nations united by the gift of a common faith, loyalty and experience; but genuine co-operation only can best demonstrate this fact. True international co-operation will also result in enriching our lives, enriching our spiritual experience and wondrously enriching our spiritual fellowship. Thus, through the knowledge of

one another, we of different lands and climes, in the pathway of sacrificial service in the great co-operative and unifying activities of the Kingdom, as well as through the knowledge of the Son of God, shall indeed be perfected. What an incalculable reinforcement of power will come to each one of us as we enter more deeply into such fellowship, one that Christ created and has for ever made possible. In a measure, the Jerusalem Meeting yielded such a fellowship. Zinzendorf prayed that he might be baptized into a sense of all conditions, that so he might enter into fellowship with all. May not the leaders of the Christian forces who so recently gathered on the Mount of Olives, and their many colleagues in the lands to which they have returned, reverently make the same intercession, and continue to lend themselves to those attitudes and spiritual exercises and to that co-operative program which will result in an abundant answer to their united prayers?

It was made overwhelmingly and impressively clear at Jerusalem that the apologetic power or influence of the Christian religion may be enormously increased through a genuine international co-operation. Whenever and wherever we find the Christian faith failing to sweep the field in triumph, Christians will do well to examine themselves as to whether one of the chief causes may not lie right here. Divisions among Christians—denominational, national, racial—have ever been a stumbling-block; but with the recent rapid shrinkage of the world these divisions have become more serious and intolerable than ever. To preach the Gospel, including the brotherhood of man, and then to stand aloof from one another, or to fail to fraternize or to co-operate, creates the impression that Christianity, like other faiths, has lofty ideals, but that the practice of its followers shows that it is impracticable. This stumbling-block must be removed. To this God unquestionably calls His children. His voice was heard at Lausanne through representatives of the indigenous Churches of the East. Again and again it sounded in our ears on Olivet. If those

of different Christian names and kindreds can come with ever-deepening conviction to recognize that they are in reality a fellowship built around the Lord Jesus Christ, they will have gone a great way toward proving to unbelievers who are influenced by facts that the religion of Jesus Christ is the great solvent of the racial and national alienations of the world, and, therefore, is the mightiest force operating among men.

During the discussions at Jerusalem on the Home Base, it was made clear that well-considered policies and programs and rewarding experiences in the realm of international co-operation will give the Christian missionary cause a fresh power of appeal to men and women of large affairs, of large capacities and of large influence. It was pointed out that we have lost something which in the pre-war days we possessed in different countries of the world in the interdenominational and international Laymen's Missionary Movement, and that it or its equivalent should be restored. What was it that enabled this Movement to make such a powerful appeal to the imagination and the will of leading laymen of different countries? In the first place, it was the largeness of the task presented. It required the combined programs of all the Churches concerned to make possible such a presentation. In the second place, these men of large vision and large affairs were appealed to by the wholeness of the task as contrasted with the fragmentary impression derived from viewing it simply in fractions. Above all, they were impressed by the presentation of the oneness of the task. In other words, it was presented as a colossal, co-operative undertaking which could not be accomplished apart from united planning and effort of all the Christian forces. This is the language which the modern mind, especially of men and women of large views, understands; and it has never failed in any land to call forth from them a great response.

One of the principal reasons why the financial energies of our constituencies are not more largely liberated for the

world-wide Christian movement is that those who should give are not convinced that our policies and plans represent the wisest, most economical and most productive use of funds. They are not at all staggered by the magnitude of the sums required for the world-wide expansion of the Christian religion; many of them are familiar with the requirements of large business and other secular enterprises. On the contrary, they cannot but wonder at the smallness of many of our plans and demands. They do not object to large expenditure, but they do object to any waste due to unnecessary duplication of expenditure and of effort caused by the failure of different groups of Christians to co-operate. In this connexion a plea should be entered for the generous support of the enlarged program of the International Missionary Council. A careful review of the published findings of the Jerusalem Meeting reveals that there have been committed to the Council not a few great undertakings. These are in the service of the various boards and Churches, and are in the interest of the efficiency and fruitfulness of the world mission. It is believed that discerning individuals of consecrated means, as well as wise administrators on the boards, will recognize the wisdom of providing the necessary resources to make possible the realizing of these larger visions and plans. To ensure arresting the attention, still more, enlisting the collaboration of the busiest, most absorbed, most influential laymen, there must be presented to them something really worth while. They do not want to deal with fractions. No sectional appeal will call forth from them a truly great response. The horizon presented to them should not be simply a national or a racial one. The vastness and the true unity of the sublime undertaking of the expanding world-wide kingdom of Christ will draw them like a magnet.

Again, at Jerusalem it was made plain that the great powers of the new generation will best be enlisted through challenging programs and plans of co-operation and unity, whereas a failure at this point may lose this generation to

the Christian cause. We do well to remind ourselves that it has by no means been won. At present our plans too often fail to appeal powerfully to the young men and young women of from twenty to thirty years of age. They need a challenge vast enough to appeal to their imagination, difficult and exacting enough to call out their latent energies, absorbing enough to save them from themselves. Moreover, to win their whole-hearted allegiance we must be able to show them that ours is a united task. More than we at times realize, they will not stand for divisive plans. Never has the indispensability and the power of united planning and action been burned into a generation as in the case of multitudes of the youth whom we have in view. Their increasing acceptance of the burden of responsibility for initiative and leadership and sacrificial devotion are indispensable to the realization of our Christ-appointed objectives. They will enormously augment the spirit of adventure in the Christian Church, and this is supremely desirable at the present moment. It was a most fortunate arrangement which resulted in bringing to Jerusalem representatives of the leading Student Christian Movements of the world. It is understood that this selected group of workers are to devote from one to three years to visiting the universities and student conferences in their respective countries in order to share with the present generation of undergraduates the inspiring vision and stern challenges which came to us on the Mount of Olives, and the constructive program wrought out there in its creative fellowship. It is significant, also, that the next meeting of the World's Student Christian Federation is to be held during the coming winter in India, for the bringing together there in larger numbers the students of both East and West will make still more vivid and commanding the message of the Jerusalem Meeting and its heroic requirements.

There was also demonstrated that effective, fruitful, triumphant co-operation, both international and interracial, is ever accompanied by fresh accessions of spiritual

power. The reason is a simple one, but one that we are prone to forget, namely, that the co-operation so much desired can never be realized apart from the help which comes from superhuman wisdom, superhuman love and superhuman power. Therefore, wherever it is achieved it is found to be in line with the tides of divine grace and power. No other great, desirable process and result is beset with such difficulties as is that of the world-wide Christian mission. Never did this undertaking seem so difficult as it did during those days and nights on Olivet where we lived and worked under the spell of the reminders of the price paid by our Lord Jesus Christ for the world's redemption. There are the difficulties of isolation—geographical, linguistic, mental; difficulties resulting from narrowness and prejudice—denominational, national, racial; difficulties due to pride and selfishness—personal, ecclesiastical, national or racial; difficulties due to conservatism—inertia, fear and lack of vision. Moreover, there are unquestioned dangers which attend the development of co-operation between the nations and races as well as between the Churches. Wherever new and great energies are liberated real dangers are to be found. Chief among these dangers are those due to ignorance, to neglect of sound guiding principles, to lack of clear thinking, to want of forethought or failure to count the cost, to lack of sufficiently close collaboration, or to lack of continuous vigilance on the part of all concerned. These difficulties and dangers, however, are in a real sense our salvation. They are too great for us; but not for us working with God. They inevitably drive us to God, and serve to deepen our acquaintance with Him, and thus lead to the discovery of His ways, His resources and, therefore, His abundant adequacy.

In fact, our God-realization determines the limits of our power to project this great saving movement into the soul of the nations. Some Churches, nationalities and races are more in danger than others of relying on their strong human organization, their money power, their brilliant

intellectual leadership rather than on the limitless power of God. Co-operation has invariably failed to realize its highest values when it has not rested on the solid ground of a deep spiritual unity. Jesus Christ was familiar with the problem of disunion, lack of concerted effort and want of love and spiritual solidarity among His professed followers. His solution was strikingly unique. He summoned them to love one another, to serve one another, and thus actually to unite with one another. By His own example and teaching He made it for ever clear that this wonder-work of vital union among those who bear His name is the work of God. That through all time there might be no doubt among Christians, and that we might not miss the way with reference to the deepest secret of achieving not only triumphant co-operation but also genuine spiritual unity, He Himself set the example by praying that His followers through all time might be one. Christ always seemed to be thinking of the possibilities of prayer; we are prone to dwell upon its limitations. Only as we enter into the mind and heart of Christ, by simple reliance on a Presence and Power infinitely greater than our own, shall we realize genuine co-operation and unity. To this end, we are all summoned to join in the concert of eight-fold intercession adopted in the closing session of the Jerusalem Meeting. Whether or not the coming years will demonstrate that the meeting has actually marked the beginning of a new era in the world mission and expansion of the Christian religion, will be determined by the faithfulness not only of those who during the recent Passiontide on Olivet entered into a sacred fellowship and tryst, but also of an ever-increasing number of Christ's followers to whom they will bear witness, in travelling with Christ His way of prayer.

JOHN R. MOTT

THE JERUSALEM MEETING—AND AFTER

By WILLIAM PATON

BEYOND question, the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem settled the lines along which missionary co-operation, on an international scale, will proceed during the next decade or two, and it did this not only by the express decisions taken but also by the nature of the life, the spirit and the outlook which that body of people who met together on the Mount of Olives found themselves to possess in common. It is here that we must begin in estimating the tasks that lie before us, for the programme of a movement is of little use until we are sure that a movement exists. Of one thing, at least, no man or woman who left the Mount of Olives on April 9th could be in doubt, namely, that in a world filled to the brim with occasions of division and mistrust there exists by the mercy of God a holy fellowship, drawn from all peoples and speaking many tongues, but united in a common certainty about its Lord and about His will and power. There exists a common attitude towards some of the gravest dangers that threaten the well-being of mankind; a common recognition of what human life is meant to be; a common readiness to learn from and to share with one another; a common faith that in the Lord Jesus Christ men everywhere can find the Way, the Truth and the Life.

The purpose of this article is to try to discern some of the tasks of the future as they are illumined by the present. We may safely presume that most of the readers of this Review have possessed themselves of the volume in which the different recommendations of the meeting are to be

found,[1] and of the popular account of the gathering provided by Mr Basil Mathews.[2] Over that ground we shall not travel here. The meeting was a never-to-be-forgotten event to those who took part in it; one may even hope that as an event it may be remembered in years to come; but that can only be if, in a sense, it is forgotten now, and if attention is directed steadily and courageously to the battles ahead.

Of the meeting itself one thing may, however, be said, for it is a fact of much significance for the future. It was, like Inkerman in the Crimean War, 'a soldiers' battle.' The many men and women who took part would, we doubt not, all agree that, as things turned out, we owed much more to the work done in scores of groups, large and small, by literally all the members of the meeting, than to the comparatively few set addresses, admirable as they were. The method entailed the taking of a grave risk, nothing less than the risk of complete confusion and bewilderment. It meant that every source of difference, every latent soreness, every divergence of view found expression. At the end of the first week not a few began to wonder if they were not taking part in the world's record fiasco! Then came a half-day's break—for even in international missionary leaders godliness has a material substratum—then Palm Sunday with its pilgrimage, so full of poignant memory, from Bethany to Olivet, and addresses turning our thoughts away from our problems to the wonderful works of God in evangelism. As the next week opened out, there came about a really amazing fusion of the minds and hearts of the gathering. Agreement came about at the level, in every case, of the highest positive conviction, never on the basis of a weary acceptance of an indeterminate platitude. What had

[1] *The World Mission of Christianity*: Messages and Recommendations of the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council, held at Jerusalem, March 28–April 8, 1928. London and New York: International Missionary Council. 1s. 25 cents.

[2] *Roads to the City of God*: *A World Outlook from Jerusalem*. London: Edinburgh House Press. 1s. Arrangements are being made for an American edition.

happened was that the honest frankness of the earlier discussions bore fruit in that God could use it. The very soreness and sense of division was, as one looks back on it, in the nature of a corporate confession of our need. Few of us can ever have been in a meeting where so little was predetermined and so much came out of the living contact of soul with soul and of all with God. From which we may learn two things : the first, that, in the realm of technique and organization, if an international meeting is to be worth while in any real sense it must have adequate time ; the other, that corporate search for truth, corporate study, corporate prayer can be no less a reality on the scale of an international meeting than among people more obviously united by community of experience.

Now to our tasks. Incomparably the greatest and the most difficult lies in the realm of the Christian Message. From every point of view there is nothing so sorely needed as a deepening of the grasp of Christians everywhere on the ultimate reasons for the Christian world mission. It is needed in the mission field, where in the face of nationalist feeling the Christian claim for Christ may so easily be made to appear as a mere piece of white imperialism masquerading in spiritual dress. It is not less needed in Europe and America, where many of the most powerful intellectual currents make against the idea of a unique and universal faith. Probably there was no single item in the programme of the Jerusalem Meeting to which more of the members looked forward with anxiety, knowing how many were the opportunities for difference even among themselves. The Message which the Council has published may come to be an historic document—only the future can tell ; but at least it came out of a strenuous effort on the part of men grappling with widely diverse situations to say in plain language what they recognized as their mission.

Now this statement of the Christian Message is essentially a call to action. It is not merely a reiteration of acknowledged truth. Narrowly examined, it challenges much of

our accepted order of thought and life. It will be totally misunderstood if it be read by fearful spirits who then say to themselves, 'Thank heaven, the International Missionary Council has not gone off the lines after all'—'and so to bed,' as Mr Pepys would say. In the first place, the statement expressly and continuously relates the fundamental Gospel, which it joyfully repeats, to the necessary expression of that Gospel in life, both individual and corporate. It was a noticeable thing that the representatives of the younger Churches of the East and Africa were impatient of the mere reformulation of evangelic truth, unless that were accompanied by a recognition of facts and necessities the evasion of which they found rendered much preaching purely futile. We have to follow out this lead in the formulation of the missionary apologetic in the 'home' countries.

Next, much more systematic attention must somehow be given to the apologetic task in relation to the non-Christian systems of thought and life. It is so desperately easy for those of us who live in environments where on the whole the Christian premisses are accepted to forget how offensive (in the classical sense) and how foolish those assertions seem to many of the serious men and women of our generation in all lands. It was perhaps notable that the tendency of the Jerusalem Meeting was slightly to minimize the importance of the non-Christian faiths, as already doomed to fall at the attack of the secular movement. It rightly insisted, as the greatest students of the comparative science of religion have insisted, that men are in the last resort not Buddhists nor Moslems nor Hindus but men, and that the ultimate appeal of the Gospel is to them on that human ground. But while all this is true, there remains in all the great fields of the East a day-to-day task of evangelism and apologetic which demands more than all the ability that is now being brought to bear upon it. One of the revelations at Jerusalem was the value that inheres in the meeting of those intimately bound up in that daily task of evangelism

together with a number of theologians of the highest order. It was a reminder of the latent and so largely unused forces of Christendom. We should like to see a regular effort made in America and England and Germany and elsewhere to bring together from time to time groups of missionaries and oriental or African Christians who may be in those lands, together with chosen theologians or philosophers, for the purpose of doing more in detail and more thoroughly what was done at Jerusalem—bringing to the scholars a knowledge of the gigantic apologetic and evangelistic tasks with which they may themselves be but imperfectly acquainted, and giving to the workers from abroad the opportunity of seeking help from those who have opportunities of research and accurate continuous study denied to themselves. Further, as more than once came out in the Jerusalem Meeting, too much can hardly be said of the importance of theological training in the countries of the East and of Africa. The need is terribly urgent; probably it can only be met by co-operation, and this is a field in which co-operation between different communions is not easy. But nothing less is at stake than the winning of the mind of the eastern world for Christ.

Not Hinduism, however, nor Islam, nor Buddhism was the system of life and thought most continuously present in the minds of those who took part in this great discussion at Jerusalem, but what it was agreed tacitly to call 'secular civilization,' that is, the complex of ideas characteristic of the modern world, owing much to science and much to humanism, containing much that is admirable in its positive aspects, but both non-religious in itself and to many of the best of our generation taking the place of religion. This is to contemplate it at its best; at its worst it is the corrosive poison which is in every great centre of the world's life destroying both the good and the beautiful. Nothing remains more clearly in the mind, out of all the discussions that went on in those crowded days, than the emergence of secularism as the great antagonist of Christianity. The

Chinese were burdened by it; the Indians knew that alongside the ancient powers of Hinduism there had grown up this new enemy of all religion; men from Latin America exhibited startling facts about the intimate knowledge of the most recent European thought, and the widespread and dogmatic secularism in their land; there was borne in upon the meeting the sense that in a new fashion the task 'at home' and 'abroad' were one, and that it would not be an untrue simplification to say that the world conflict is between Christianity and secularism, with the issue complicated by the survival in certain areas of ancient but dying faiths.

It is not suggested that the members were forgetful of the fact that these propositions apply only to the more or less educated, and that of the great rural masses in Asia, as of most of the women, they are not true. What remained as a permanent conviction was the fact that this world of secularist thought has come to stay, at least in the sense that it is abundantly clear that the ethnic religions cannot withstand it; it destroys them inevitably as they come into contact with it. Those contacts are multiplying a thousandfold every day, and the processes that have invaded with the cinema and the motor-car the remotest parts of the earth will in no long time destroy any belief which relies for safety mainly on its remoteness from the market-place of thought. The members of the Jerusalem Meeting may have been deluded, but it was a significant fact that when they divided into groups to discuss the Christian Message in relation to the non-Christian systems, about half went to the group of secularism and more would like to have gone. It was a recognition that, if we are thinking of the future, there lies the enemy.

But to recognize this is only to state a task, not to explain a problem. It is clear to the present writer that the Church (using that word in the widest sense that any reader likes to put into it) is called in this generation to use all its powers to commend with persuasive force, backed up

by sincerity and consistency of practical application, the Christian Gospel to the mind of our time, and not least to those to whom scientific categories are the only categories that matter, and economic issues the only issues that count The battle that is being waged here is waged on a front that goes right round the world. We have to ask ourselves how far the great centres of world education, to which students go from all parts of the earth because of the excellence of what they receive, are friendly or indifferent or hostile—not in their manner and demeanour, for that is of little account, but in their characteristic thought—to the Christian life and faith, and to address ourselves to the task that is suggested by the answer.

Along with the consideration of the Christian Message must go the closely related subject of religious education. We hope to present in a later issue of this Review the brilliant argument by which Canon Raven took the meeting into the heart of the teaching method of our Lord as the ground of all our thinking about religious education. The gathering was rich in men and women with practical experience of education in many lands, including some of recognized authority in Europe and America. They had before them a wealth of material, including statements from the leading mission fields. They knew to the full how difficult it is becoming in some fields to get any room in the official system of education for Christian teaching. Probably no single practical problem brought together so many delegates with a sense of being confronted by an essentially common difficulty as this of limitation by governments on Christian teaching.

There are laid on the Council, which means on the missionary movement as a whole working through it, certain important tasks in the matter of religious education. First, much must be done to make available for the Christian educator in Africa and in the East, to a far greater extent than is now the case, the resources of modern educational science, in order that he may approach the work of religious education with the best available weapons. Plans were

made which should go some way towards this end, but the task is enormous, and nothing can be done unless as a first step the mission boards and Churches, and all the bodies responsible for the control of schools and the organization of Christian work, set about a rigorous examination of their work and determine to apply to it the standards which a just conception of religious education demands.

It is hoped, further, that a careful study will be made of ' the relation of the principle of religious freedom to the rights of minorities under state systems of education.' The Near East, China, India and Africa all present varying aspects of this common problem, and the help of expert examination and advice is needed.

No better example of the opportunity for international co-operation can be afforded than religious education, and the room for development in this process is without limit. In every area experiments are being made and knowledge gained which, if made available, would be of high value in other areas. What is needed is an effective clearing-house and medium of exchange of experience and ideas, and this we must set out to provide.

Of the three main subjects which occupied the time of the Jerusalem Meeting, the third, the relation of the older to the younger Churches, is the hardest to write about, just as to many the report of that group may seem the least interesting. This is partly because the gathering was in itself the ' older ' and ' younger ' Churches, meeting and sharing their thought on every conceivable aspect of their work, so that the separate discussions on such subjects as ' Church ' and ' mission ' convey only a part of the truth. It was stated at the beginning of this paper that the whole meeting presented with tremendous reality the fact of the world-wide Church, a common fellowship addressing itself to a common task. It is essential that this fact shall be understood by the Church in the West, more than perhaps it is understood by many of its members to-day. Much depends every way upon the cordial co-operation of the

younger Churches and the older, and that co-operation can only be maintained and developed if there is thoroughly realistic thinking on both sides. On the one hand, the West has to face the fact that while individuals will make most earnest and urgent appeals for the continuance and increase of missionary assistance, it will become more and more difficult to find large representative bodies of Christians in the younger Churches who will commit themselves to a general statement of need. Increasingly they want to choose, to discriminate, to say exactly what they want and to have a hand in the choosing of their men. If this is a fact—and make what discount we will for personal idiosyncrasy, lack of touch with the mass need, and so on, in the case of individuals, still in the judgment of the present writer it remains a fact—it is all-important that it shall be integrated with the evangelistic passion and purpose of the older Churches. Here, if anywhere in the world, is a case for continuous touch and the effort to understand one another. On the other hand, it is necessary for the younger Churches to keep in mind the point of view of the older if their help is needed; not because conditions are arbitrarily laid down but because there must be a community of purpose if there is to be a sharing in the work.

The space available for this article will not allow us to do more than outline the tasks that await the International Missionary Council in respect of those subjects, the inclusion of which perhaps most notably distinguished the Jerusalem Meeting from the Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. They are defined with great clearness in the published report. It was the strength of the meeting that while it frankly faced such problems as the growth of industrialism in the East, the necessity of a closer study of the needs of rural areas, and for co-operation with other bodies in research on racial issues, it joined with these a powerful appeal for evangelism and exposition of its true basis and ground. In each case there is proof given of the intimate connexion of each of these lines of work with the missionary movement in the

older sense. To refuse them would be to refuse to follow the natural development of our work, and so to become futile and impoverished. They are the expression in relation to the needs of the modern world of the fundamental Gospel of redemption, both of men and of nations.

A closing reference may be made to a development which is in one sense purely constitutional and in another is the expression of an important truth. The new constitution of the Council, sent to all the national organizations for their approval, makes membership not that of individuals but that of national organizations. Perhaps this has always been implicit; it is now explicit and is carried out logically in the new constitution. Its importance lies in the fact that it defines clearly how the International Missionary Council ought to work. Its work must be done in and through the national organizations; they, in turn, in and through the bodies which compose them. Ultimately all religious work is done by personalities, and it is an illusion to think that international activity has any meaning except as it somehow helps, strengthens and enriches the work of personalities—in leading souls to Christ, in opening the minds of children, in building the Church, in fighting ill-will and hatred, in freeing the oppressed or in succouring the needy. But what it ought to do and what it can do is to set individuals to work so that their investigations become of world-wide value. Experience gained in one land can be made known in another and all be enriched thereby. Difficulties that seem insoluble in a limited setting become easier of solution when it is seen how parallel situations have been faced. May not the Church of Christ herself, rent and wounded as she is, be enabled to recover some measure of her unity, to understand more truly her own majestic strength, to think more worthily into the mind of her Master, above all, to pray with overcoming power, as her knowledge of herself deepens both her sense of need and her knowledge of the loving ways of God?

WILLIAM PATON

THE JERUSALEM MEETING AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

By OLIVER CHASE QUICK

WHENEVER Christians of different denominations meet together, it is easy enough to obtain general agreement upon such affirmations as that Christ Himself is the very centre and heart of the gospel message. And no doubt it would show but an unthankful spirit to minimize the value of such a consensus. Yet there is danger in it—danger lest we should disguise fundamental differences of belief by mere pious phraseology. An agreement to cry 'Lord, Lord,' in enthusiastic chorus will certainly not take us much further towards the kingdom of God than that over-preoccupation with externals which is the commonest source of denominational divisions. Sentimental piety and Pharisaic rigorism are at all times the two opposite, but equally besetting, sins of religious people; and it is sometimes forgotten that our Lord condemned the one hardly less emphatically than the other. The fervid ejaculations, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee,' 'Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God,' certainly did not meet with an altogether sympathetic response. And the result of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council must in large measure be judged by its success in rising above this level of unanimity. The Council itself believed that the report of its committee on the Christian Message had enabled it to do so. If the belief is justified, this report and its reception by the Council give ground for the deepest thankfulness and hope.

Let us briefly sketch the problem of the Message, as it presented itself to the meeting at Jerusalem.

For years past there has been increasingly apparent a

certain cleavage between an older and a newer school of evangelism. The older school has been inclined to make everything depend upon the uniqueness of the Christian Gospel. It has constantly preached that by Christ's death, and by that alone, is human sin really and fully forgiven; and its call to the non-Christian has been simply that he should pass from death into life, by accepting through faith Christ's atonement, and by renouncing once for all the whole system of religious belief and practice in which he had hitherto vainly striven to make himself right with God.

The newer school, on the other hand, has learned much from the comparative study of religions. It has noted and weighed carefully the different elements of moral and spiritual value which are to be found in non-Christian systems, and it has then sought to represent Christianity as the fulfilment and completion of those same truths which other religions already possess in part.

Thus the principle of the universality of the Gospel is in danger of coming into conflict with the principle of its uniqueness. The newer school of missionary thought stands for universality. But its exponents have often spoken as though Christianity did but take men rather further along the same road which they were already travelling under the guidance of what is best in other religions. To older-fashioned critics this teaching seemed to approach a too facile syncretism, which many speakers at the Jerusalem Meeting regarded as the outstanding peril of missionary work to-day. The older school has stood for the principle of uniqueness. But to the modern student the uniqueness which it has proclaimed often seems to receive insufficient confirmation from a deeper understanding of the true facts.

Moreover, the difference is not theoretical only. For, in commending Christianity as he understands it, the missionary of the newer school cannot insist in the old way that one who desires to bear the name of Christian must break completely and finally with the whole system of religious observance in which he has hitherto lived. Such a missionary

may be inclined to summon to his aid the parable of the leaven, and to suggest that Christianity may best spread itself by permeating other systems rather than by demanding the immediate and overt conversion of individuals. After all, he may argue, it is no service to the Gospel to provoke hostility among spiritually-minded men of other religions who might be won as friends by a gentler and more sympathetic method. But what then, the conservative missionary may retort, has become of the note of urgency in our message, which the New Testament so clearly sounds ? Are we really appealing to men to save themselves from a crooked generation ? If not, are we missionaries at all, in the apostolic sense ?

A difficult situation is still further complicated by the natural and legitimate eagerness of oriental Christians that western interpretations of the Gospel shall not be imposed on the eastern world in such a way as to hinder its own distinctive expression of Christianity. Many of the most thoughtful among these orientals have been inclined on the whole to side with the newer school in evangelism, because it appears to do fuller justice to eastern ways of thought and life. At the same time the modern habit of comparing somewhat academically the ' values ' of Christianity with those of other religions has often stirred in their minds somewhat fundamental doubts. Take Hinduism and Buddhism at their best—and wherein does the transcendent superiority and incomparable uniqueness of Christianity really lie ? Too often the ' modernist ' Christians of the West seem to have no clear and satisfying answer to this vital question.

From this indication of difficulties it will be seen that in trying to reach an agreed statement concerning the content of the Christian Message the International Missionary Council set itself no light task. Yet at least the committee to which the task was specially entrusted under singularly clear-sighted and sympathetic chairmanship faced its problem squarely, and in the end seemed to the Council to have been prospered beyond expectation in dealing with it. Its report is published

among the proceedings of the meeting. At present it may be of interest to examine, somewhat more fully than the report itself was able to do, the lines of thought along which the committee worked in reaching its conclusions. It must of course be understood that what is here offered is an individual interpretation of the committee's work which would not necessarily command the assent of its other members.

From the outset the committee, greatly helped by the preliminary papers which recognized authorities had prepared for the consideration of the Council, endeavoured to take the most comprehensive view possible of spiritual conditions in the modern world. The problem before it, as it clearly perceived, was not one merely of reconciling the divergent aspects of truth held by modernists and traditionalists among Christians, nor yet of comparing and contrasting Christianity with other religions which proclaim a way of salvation for all men. The task was rather to relate the old gospel message to the whole need of the world to-day. And attention was at once called to the fact that to-day the most serious rival to Christianity is not any non-Christian religion but rather the secularism which attacks all religions alike.

This secularism is a philosophy of life which derives its interpretation of the universe solely from natural science, and consequently finds no place for any objective authority in spiritual laws and values. In its view, good and evil themselves have no divine sanction or ultimate basis in the order of the universe as a whole, but are merely subjective valuations which the transient and changing desires of the human spirit impose upon a more or less apathetic reality. Everywhere the principle of authority is being undermined by the subtle influence of this subjectivism. The only rule acknowledged is that of a relativity which is itself the negation of rule; and the prevailing sense of unrest and insecurity is shaking the foundations, not of ecclesiastical systems alone, but of every kind of established institution

for the control of human activities. This plain fact must naturally tend to mitigate the mutual antagonism of religions which, after all, are concerned to defend a considerable amount of common ground.

It may therefore not unreasonably be argued that the time has now come when Christian missionaries can afford to leave the destructive criticism of other religions, if not to secularism itself, yet to the steadily advancing forces of scientific and secular education. The missionary's task is rather, so far as possible, to make common cause with all who are still concerned to maintain a spiritual interpretation of the universe. The more especially Christian interpretation will prove its truth by showing itself alone able to withstand the shock of the secularist attack.

On the other hand, much evidence is available that the more thoughtful among the rising generation the world over are profoundly dissatisfied with secularism, or scientific relativism, as a faith to live by, and are pathetically looking for some more solid material out of which to build an ark for their souls. And some delegates to the meeting, who spoke from varied experience, were positive in their assertion that never in history had there been such widespread and spontaneous admiration for the moral character and life of Jesus. Where Christianity is rejected, it is rejected largely on the ground that as an organized religion it has failed to make its followers live up to the standard of its Founder.

Here then is a strong practical reason for refusing compromise with the relativism which suggests that Christianity presents only one aspect of a many-sided truth, or that our Lord's life is possibly the highest revelation of God hitherto vouchsafed to man but is not legitimately to be spoken of as a final or complete revelation. For this relativism is not only false to the old Gospel; it can only ignore, or even aggravate, the very need for the supply of which the world is already beginning to look again towards Christ. Again, the appearance of humility in thus abating the claims of

Christianity is really altogether deceptive. It sounds humble perhaps to approach the Hindu, the Buddhist or the Moslem merely with the suggestion that Christianity may carry somewhat further the pursuit of truth and holiness on which his own religion is already engaged. But in reality, the moment the Christian suggests that he possesses in any way a fuller truth or goodness than the non-Christian, that moment he is asserting a claim to superiority. The Christian's humility can only be truly based on the ground that the Christian Gospel is not his own but God's. In other words, it is precisely in so far as the Christian Gospel is absolute, not relative to the preacher, that the preacher is able to proclaim it without in any way magnifying himself. In St Paul's language, he has nothing which he did not receive; and therefore he may not glory as though he had not received it.

Looking, therefore, at the situation as a whole, the committee saw with increased clearness that progress was possible only through the rejection of the dilemma between separatism on the one hand and syncretism on the other. The uniqueness of the Gospel must not be so interpreted as to make missionary methods unadaptable and unresponsive to changing conditions and fresh movements in the modern world; nor must its universality be so understood as to make the contribution of Christianity only one indispensable ingredient in some indefinite religion of the future. Indeed, the whole dilemma just indicated, like so many other fallacies in thought about spiritual things, seems to proceed from a latent materialism, which conceives of religions either as mutually exclusive bodies in space, or else as components in some kind of fluid mixture. True, it is both impossible and undesirable to escape material metaphor altogether in the expression of spiritual truth. But the best analogy to the relation of Christianity to other religions is to be found, not in the nature of solids or fluids but rather in the action of light. A strong light shed over any given area shows reflexions of itself at every point where

the surface is capable of reflecting, while at the same time it enriches its own purity by the variety of tints which it makes visible. In the same way other religions, seen in the light of the Christian Gospel, are revealed for the first time in their own best and truest colours, and, by being thus revealed, enhance and enrich the glory of the Gospel itself.

Thus the Christian missionary who finds even in a primitive or possibly corrupt religion points of contact with his own faith is not a relativist or a syncretist, tacking together a muddled theology of patchwork; rather he is a disciple who knows so clearly Him whom he has believed, that he can recognize the tokens of His presence in any Nazareth which so-called orthodoxy has despised. In truth, no Nazareth can any more remain a Nazareth to one who has once taken for his Master the Nazarene. How much rather then must the Buddhist's sympathy with the pain of the world, the Hindu's sense of the unchanging stability of the eternal, the Moslem's realization of international comradeship, the Confucian's appreciation of social morality, and, last but not least, the sacrifices of scientific workers in the quest of truth and of human welfare, give to the Christian a fresh revelation of the Light that lighteth every man, and of the Word made flesh. Yet who shall say that the historic life of Him whose cross and resurrection, whose humility and triumph, thus illuminate and are illuminated by all the greatest labours, joys and sufferings of the spirit of man, is not a unique and final embodiment of Godhead in the world of space and time?

The committee on the Message, therefore, just because it so earnestly desired to recognize to the full God's truth in other religious and non-religious philosophies, and to avoid identifying Christianity with a western or any other partial and particular expression of it, laid down as the foundation of its report an uncompromising affirmation of the uniqueness of the Christian Gospel. The Christian Gospel is absolute as proceeding from the unique, incom-

parable act or acts of God in the historic life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. No fair estimate of the uniqueness of Christianity is to be reached simply by comparing the spiritual and moral value of this or that Christian doctrine with those of other religions, when the doctrines under discussion are considered simply as doctrines, that is, as teachings concerning the general relations of God and man. Still less is the religious comparison adequate, if a teaching of Christ is simply set against a teaching of Sakyamuni or Muhammad or Confucius upon the same subject. Christianity rests on the faith, not simply that Jesus Christ taught this or that truth about God's nature and man's duty, but that in and through the historic person Jesus Christ, His words and deeds, His ministry, sufferings and exaltation, God was acting and has acted once for all in order to redeem mankind and to reconcile the world to Himself. This is the fundamental belief of Christianity which the great doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement, and the very form of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, were intended to declare and to safeguard. Therefore it is true to say that the Christian Gospel is Jesus Himself, in a sense in which it would not be equally true to say that the gospel of Islam is Muhammad, or the gospel of Buddhism is Sakyamuni. Therefore again the stream of Christianity can only flow onwards with a broader and deeper current by returning constantly to its Source; its temple can only thrust its spires nearer heaven by being levelled again and again to its Foundation upon earth. We cannot travel beyond or behind or away from the historic Jesus in any search after truth, or in any recognition of God's free-ranging grace. For Jesus is Himself the Light that lighteth every man, coming into the world. And even if, in order to enquire into facts impartially, we refuse to assume the truth of our faith in Him, it is still His cross which inspires the intellectual self-denial involved in that refusal.

And again, the whole Council realized with great clearness a further consequence of this uniqueness in universality

which belongs to Christ. It is a fatal error to consider the Church's missionary task too much in terms of space, as though it involved only the asserting of Christ's claim over all peoples or all lands. It involves the asserting of that claim over all life. All authority is committed to Him in heaven and in earth. No aspect or department of human life, political, economic, scientific or æsthetic, any more than the secret thoughts of the individual's heart, can be exempt from, or allowed 'to contract out' of, the Gospel's claim. Once this truth is realized, it becomes merely ludicrous to suggest that Christians of the West can afford to take a tone of didactic superiority towards the younger Churches of the East. They can only try to share their Christian experience with their oriental brethren, as they strive to extend its sway over their own lives and their own western society and institutions. The mission field has no geographical limits and is not to be spatially conceived. For the same reason, Christian missionaries may not anywhere disregard conditions of political and industrial oppression, or of racial antagonism, any more than they may disregard greed and self-conceit in the individual soul. They dare not pass by on the other side, when subject peoples or classes are exploited, any more than when an individual is in distress. To render Christ's authority more effective in any and every sphere is the Christian's mission to the world. Hence the report accepted by the Council upon the Christian Message would have been altogether misleading if it had not been accompanied by others on industrial and racial problems. The modern world has heard enough of its own secularized translation of Corban, which runs, 'These are economic or political questions, and therefore in these matters the Christian must do nothing for his neighbour.' It is perhaps a sign of progress that economics should have supplanted religion in furnishing the accepted excuse for selfishness. But there is still danger lest a too narrow conception of the spirituality of the Gospel should prove a strong ally to bad economic theory.

Theologically speaking, the whole problem about the content of the Message is solved in the affirmation that Jesus is both Lord and Christ. He is Lord, the unique, mysterious incarnation of the Godhead, triumphing over evil once for all in His cross, resurrection and ascension. But He is also Christ, the fulfiller not of Hebrew prophecy alone, but also of every human aspiration after that kingdom of God which is the one true fellowship of men. The Christ is the human Saviour whom men have sought and partially found in the persons of Sakyamuni, Muhammad, Confucius and many another sage and saint, prophet and reformer, who has followed and pointed the way towards the one true God. But the Christ is fully found only in One who is more even than the Christ, because His cross is proved in experience to be the very wisdom and power of God Himself.

Problems of missionary method remain in plenty, both difficult and urgent. We need not only to be girded with truth and to hold firmly the shield of faith, but also to be shod with the readiness of the gospel of peace, if we would display that quickness of movement and sympathetic adaptability to the new situation which is so essential a part of tactics in the Christian warfare. Evidence accumulates that there is much smoking flax in the non-Christian world to-day, which the clumsy foot may all too easily quench. But if we will go forth in the single-hearted desire to share with others what God has given to all men in Christ, we need not fear lest either the uniqueness or the universality of our Gospel be found a delusion. Such at least was the conviction which the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council desired to record.

OLIVER CHASE QUICK

BUDDHISM AS A CHINESE CHRISTIAN SEES IT

By FRANCIS C.-M. WEI, D.C.L.

MUCH has been written on Buddhism by missionary students of the religion in China and other Far Eastern countries. The tendency is to minimize the difference between the religious beliefs of the Buddhist and those of the Christian. This kind of appreciative attitude, especially shown by missionaries, to the older religions of a mission field is not to be deprecated. But in some places it tends to conceal truth, rather than to reveal it. It ought to be borne in mind by students in the field of religions as well as in other departments of investigation that the Canon of Difference is as essential to the scientific method as the Canon of Agreement. The present writer has no desire to minimize the religious values of the non-Christian systems, but in this article his intention is to point out the differences which exist between some of the Buddhist teachings and those Christian doctrines with which they ought to be contrasted.

The gospel of Buddha Gautama starts with the fact of suffering, and it is this fact which touches most tenderly the hearts of the Chinese. For the Buddhist nothing happens without its cause. Causality is universal as much in the realm of the spirit as in the world of natural phenomena. Indeed, the idea of karma is the key-stone of the Buddhist system. Its logical necessity is the transmigration of the soul; for without this much in this world would not be causally intelligible.

These two doctrines—karma and metempsychosis—found a prepared soil in China when Buddhism was first intro-

duced into the country. The reign of law in the universe and retribution according to strict justice had been for centuries the teaching of the Chinese classics. The Buddhist teaching came only to confirm and supplement what had been bred in the very bone of the Chinese.

In spirit, however, the difference between the indigenous Chinese teaching on the one hand, and the imported Buddhist thought on the other, is of significant importance. The purport of the former, as is evident from the general spirit of the Chinese classics, is to encourage the moral struggle of man, while the conclusion intended to be drawn from the latter is to emphasize the evil of life and to wean man, so to speak, from this transient world. For the Chinese the supreme fact is morality, and its ultimate triumph is guaranteed by the moral nature of the universe. For the Buddhist the inexorable karma is the ever-operating cause of metempsychosis, which spells only suffering and continued suffering. The Chinese idea is to maintain the moral task, whereas the Buddhist doctrine is to disillusion man in it. What is necessary to crown the Chinese classical teaching with a fuller and richer meaning is the preaching of the Christian Gospel of the Supreme God, Creator and Sustainer of the universe and the loving Father of all men. But the Buddhist teaching is atheistic, and in no way compatible with theism of any kind. To teach the Buddhist the doctrines of the creatorship of God and the Father's forgiveness it is necessary first to demolish the theory of karma.

Buddhism, through its doctrine of karma, impresses upon the Chinese, indeed, the necessity of introspection which the indigenous Chinese religion has much neglected. But this is not to be likened to the Christian doctrine of sin. The doctrine of sin and the teaching of karma arise from different points of view and lead the believer to entirely different states of mind. The Christian starts with the vision of God—His love, His perfection and His glory. In the presence of such a personality man realizes his own

shortcomings, and hence there arises the consciousness of sin :

> Woe is me ! for I am undone ;
> Because I am a man of unclean lips,
> And I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips :
> For mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts.

But the doctrine of karma starts with the presence of suffering in human life and its purport is merely to escape suffering. The concentration of attention on suffering and its ugliness makes life meaningless and the mind morbid. Its effect is not uplifting but depressing.

The prominence given to the existence of suffering underlies also the Buddhist teaching of mercy, one of the most beautiful teachings of the Buddhist religion. This teaching is inculcated upon every follower of Buddha. It is often compared with the Christian teaching of love. But, again, the difference between the two must not be overlooked.

Mercy means sympathy with the sufferer. It is an emotional attitude aroused by the presence of suffering. Positively, it demands, of course, relief for the suffering creature, mitigation and arrest of suffering, wherever possible. Negatively, it means refraining from inflicting suffering in any circumstances. The merciful man is gentle even when abused and passive when attacked. It goes a long way towards the Christian ideal of love, but does not quite attain to it.

Mercy starts from the existence of suffering and ends in its cessation. It is ever stretching out a helping hand, and suffering alongside its object if need be. Yet it is not like the love of one whose whole motive is love, seeking always to share with others what is best and finest in himself. In other words, mercy is created by external circumstances, but love expands from within. Both are tender emotions and beautiful attitudes of life, much needed by this world of apathy and selfishness, but while the loving person is naturally merciful, the man moved by mercy alone may fall short of the standard of love.

The central doctrine of Buddhism is undoubtedly that of Nirvana. Buddhist teachers do not seem to be able to agree upon what it is. Negatively, it is the cessation of becoming which results from the cessation of desire. Desire is the cause of becoming, whether good or evil. Karma operates without regard to the nature of the deed. Wherever there is desire, there is to be continued existence. There can be no desire apart from the self, the I. As long as there is this I, there is grasping, and grasping accentuates the I. It will not do even to desire to be free.

> 'Am I delivered, free from attachment? Am I not delivered, free from attachment?' In such an one, this his doubt is precisely his attachment. . . . Were this last attachment removed, then he would know that he was free. Where being freed is not also the knowledge of this being freed, there precisely there is no unattached deliverance, there precisely there remains a bond that binds to the world and leads to new actuality.[1]

In other words, freedom according to the Buddhist is the recognition of the non-existence of the individual, which is 'the insight into deliverance through knowledge' (p. 181).

But upon what Nirvana itself is, Gautama the Buddha himself refused to speculate. He seemed to be more concerned with deliverance from this life of suffering than with the state of existence or non-existence after the deliverance. He was more anxious to cross the sea of misery to the other shore than to know the exact nature of the promised land. Dr Paul Dahlke, however, regards the cessation of becoming as Nirvana itself. 'Nibbana [Nirvana] means extinguishing and is extinguishing. . . . Extinguishing is a process such as one may observe in every expiring fire' (p. 214). 'This is the joyful message, the gospel which the Buddha has to proclaim to men' (p. 224). Dr Kenneth J. Saunders, on the other hand, believes that 'Nirvana is, in fact, a mystical experience . . . an experience of a Beyond which

[1] Paul Dahlke, *Buddhism and Its Place in the Mental Life of Mankind*, pp. 182–3. London: Macmillan. 10s. 6d. 1927.

is also within.'[1] The Pali texts describe Nirvana 'as reality, beside which all else is mirage, as an island in the sea of *Samsāra* (wandering), as being in the midst of becoming, as the permanent in the midst of the transient, as bliss in the midst of sorrow.' Quoting Friedrich Heiler, Saunders writes: '"Nirvana is, although it might sound a paradox in spite of all conceptual negativity, nothing but 'eternal salvation,' after which the heart of the religious yearns on the whole earth."' 'We may preach Nirvana through Christ,' says Saunders, 'for Nirvana means an ethical as well as a mystical experience.'

One revolts from such attempts to minimize differences. To preach Nirvana through Christ? Impossible! The two are incompatible.

Much of the suffering and misery in the world is undoubtedly due to the greed, self-aggrandizement and self-indulgence which are the results of the individual assuming too large a place in human life, so much so as to encroach upon the social side of man. This leads Buddhism to look at the individual with abhorrence. As a consequence, it recoils from individuality and seeks to destroy it. It builds up on this somewhat negative doctrine its whole system of philosophy of life, and no ascetic system is so consistent as Buddhism.

If there is any truth in this analysis, Nirvana is that state of existence in which the individual simply drops out, allowing causality to run its natural course. Enlightenment, 'insight into deliverance through knowledge,' does not in itself put an end to the operation of karma, but insight into the transient character of individual existence and knowledge of the non-permanency of the self does bring about the cessation of all desire that proceeds only from the individual. *Dhyana* is the way to cultivate this insight, to attain to that enlightenment which reveals individuality, the I, as the primary illusion in life, as the sole cause of misery and suffering.

[1] *Christianity and Buddhism*, paper preliminary to the Jerusalem meeting, p. 11.

Undue assertion of the self constitutes also a problem for Christianity. But the Christian solution is to find oneself by losing it. The self is to be found only when it loses itself in society, and then it will be found in greater richness. It will then find itself realized as the true self. For Christianity, the kingdom of God is the conservation of all values, the greatest of which is the human personality. There in the kingdom life continues and does not become extinguished as a flame dying out. Christianity seeks to cure the individual of its disease of individualism by bringing out into full bloom its social side, by helping it to realize itself through its manifold social relationships. Individuality in this way is conserved through expansion and natural development, and is not annihilated by isolation and negation.

It is often said that Buddhism is pessimistic. This has been emphatically denied by the Buddhist and rightly so. As far as the attainment of the ultimate goal is concerned, Buddhism is as optimistic as any other system in regard to the attainment of its goal. It is a Buddhist teaching that in every sentient being there is potential Buddhahood. The supreme enlightenment should not be beyond the reach of any being. With regard to the conservation of values in this life, Buddhism and Christianity start from contradictory premisses and no conclusion therefore can be reached by the one which may convince the other. What is considered conservation of value by the Christian is thought grasping by the Buddhist. The one seeks exactly what the other wants carefully to avoid.

But there is another point which is of greater significance for us. This world and the next are absolutely incongruous from the Buddhist point of view. The very idea of value as far as this life is concerned is ruled out of court. Whatever morality exists belongs only to a system of interim ethics. Good in this life has meaning only as a means to the attainment of Nirvana, which is beyond good and evil. This new existence is absolutely beyond our comprehension

because it is to be entirely different from anything that we can possibly experience in this life. This has been compared with the experience of the Christian mystics. Dr Saunders describes it by quoting Professor Otto :

> It is the 'Beyond' of the mystic—the 'Numinous'—the kernel of religion—which he calls 'nothingness.' . . . But what is true of the strange 'nothingness' of our mystics holds good equally of the 'sūnyam' and the 'sūnyatā,' the 'void' and 'emptiness' of the Buddhist mystics.[1]

But to draw such parallels where any parallel is impossible is merely to confuse the issue. Whatever mystical experience the Christian may have, if it is Christian experience at all, it cannot contradict the best in this life which is also from God. Christ came to fulfil, not to destroy. But Buddha invites us to enter into a state of existence by 'leaving behind the lie that says "I am."'

This last is the gospel of Buddha to which all the Buddhist schools have been faithful, for, apart from it, Buddhism would cease to be. It is a common mistake to think that the Pure Land, or the Amitabha, school has abandoned this position by substituting 'the Paradise of the West' for Nirvana. A careful reading of the Pure Land *sutras*, particularly the larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, will show that the Pure Land, that is, the Buddha country of Amitabha, is never intended to be anything of the sort. The end to be sought by the faithful in this school as in others is still the attainment of Bodhi. The Pure Land itself is nothing more than a place of preparation for the final end. It has all the facilities and favourable surroundings for this purpose. In particular, it has the coveted advantage that in it moral set-back is impossible, so that progress towards Buddhahood is assured to every one born in it. It holds out the assurance that Bodhi is reached in the shortest possible time, instead of in such an infinite length of years as indicated by the figure 2 raised to the 207th power. Amitabha and the Bodhisattvas surrounding him receive the faithful one into this land of sure progress only, and do not admit

[1] *Christianity and Buddhism*, p. 10, quoted from *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 30.

him into the abode of eternal bliss, as some are apt to think. Even in the Pure Land some day 'the lie that says "I am"' has to be left behind.

True, in the religious consciousness of many Buddhists in China the Pure Land completely overshadows the final end of Buddhist life, viz. Nirvana. It is, however, a common phenomenon among the careless and uninstructed in every religion, and it is a serious mistake for some writers to consider it a sign of development of the Buddhist religion. These same Buddhists know but little about the *sutras* in which the Pure Land teachings are to be found. For them the historic Buddha and his teachings have little or no meaning. Even Amitabha is no more than a mere name to them.

The historical foundation of the Pure Land faith is another important point which Buddhist students choose to leave alone. According to the large *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, Buddha Amitabha, before he attained to Buddhahood, was Bhikshu Dharmākāra, who lived as a bhikshu during the time of Tathāgata Lokesvararāga, the last of a list of eighty-one Tathāgatas, 'long ago in the past in an innumerable and more than innumerable, enormous, immeasurable and incomprehensible kalpa [period of time] before now.' It is on the strength and efficacy of one of the forty-six solemn vows made by Bhikshu Dharmākāra in the presence of Tathāgata Lokesvararāga, viz. the nineteenth vow, that

> if those beings who . . . should direct their thought to be born in that Buddha country of mine . . . if these should not be born in that Buddha country, even those who have only ten times repeated the thought (of that Buddha country), barring always those beings who have committed the (five) Anantarya sins, and who have caused an obstruction and abuse of the good Law, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.[1]

The fact that Bhikshu Dharmākāra has now attained to the highest perfect knowledge and already become Buddha Amitabha, proves the efficacy of this and others of his vows made before Tathāgata Lokesvararāga long, long ago.

[1] S.B.E. xlix. ii. p. 15.

This is the logic of the reasoning on which rests the salvation by faith of the Pure Land school. Such is the foundation of the practice of repeating the formula, ' I turn to Amitabha ' (Chinese : *Nan-mo-O-mi-to-fu*). Such is the origin of the calling to that name

through which hope and salvation gleam upon the human race, that name through which every individual may find himself, and finally be absorbed into Fu [Buddha], indeed become ' Fu ' himself in the land of endless bliss, ' the Paradise of the West.' [1]

This is, indeed, a thin thread on which the weight of so much religious piety and hope hangs. Is there any phenomenon in the history of religion more pathetic ? If it points to anything at all, it points to the fact that the faith of man must be nourished, and unless it finds its proper nourishment, it will feed on any substitute for food. Attempts have been made by missionary students in China to magnify the glory of the Pure Land school. When viewed from the right angle, it is nothing but faith misdirected. There is a flock without a shepherd, and it has to be gathered into the fold.

FRANCIS C.-M. WEI

[1] Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, p. 145. Shanghai : Commercial Press. $3 Mex. 1927.

THE SITUATION IN CHINA

SOME GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

By F. H. HAWKINS, LL.B.

AFTER a visit to China of seven months I venture to put on record some general impressions of the situation, but it is extremely difficult to do so. China is so vast and the conditions in different parts vary so much. The situation changes with such rapidity that one has always to be on guard against the danger of generalizing. Lord William Cecil, now the Bishop of Exeter, visited China in 1909 in the interests of the proposed Central China University. He wrote a book entitled *Changing China*, in which he told of a man who, shortly after his return from a visit to China, was asked by a friend what he thought of the present position there. His reply was, 'You must not rely on me, for I left China three months ago.' If such a statement could be made with any basis of truth in 1909, with how much greater truth can it be made to-day.

The Political and Military Situation. I have come to the conclusion that the time of political unsettlement in China is likely to continue much longer than I had thought before starting on my recent tour. It would, of course, be foolish to attempt to prophesy what the future will bring forth, but as far as I am able to form an opinion we must look forward to at least another ten years of serious unsettlement. It is difficult to see in the present situation any indications of the beginnings of a more stable condition of things, or of a unified national government. The *débâcle* of the Southern Nationalist Government with the Kuomintang behind it has been a source of great disappointment to many. The prospects of the Nationalists seemed so fair twelve

months ago. Internal dissensions and jealousies seem, for the present at any rate, to preclude the possibility of this party rapidly winning the whole country. I found in the north that there was a great deal of sympathy under the surface with the aims and aspirations of the south, but any expression of loyalty to the Kuomintang was ruthlessly suppressed. I am afraid that many sympathizers with the south are going through a period of disillusionment, and are victims of the hope deferred which maketh the heart sick. In the south, the opinion of members of the Hongkong Government who have good means of knowing is that no settled government is at all likely to emerge for at least eight or ten years, and that even then China may be divided into two political units, one north and one south of the Yangtze.

As far as I can judge, missionary opinion is on the whole sympathetic towards the Nationalist movement. Great harm was done to the relations between the Chinese and the British in the months following the Shanghai incident of the 30th May 1925 by the atrocious cartoons in the British newspapers in China which poured ridicule and contempt upon the Chinese. But in spite of all that has happened there can be no doubt but that the anti-foreign and especially the anti-British agitation amongst the Chinese has spent itself and has largely died down.

The Chinese Church. It has been a great satisfaction to find that in districts from which missionaries had been withdrawn during 1927, owing to the political unsettlement, the Chinese Church has on the whole carried on its work with much heroism and success, in spite of persecution and opposition. Wherever I have been I have found evidence that in the absence of the missionary the work has been maintained. In nearly all cases Sunday services have been regularly held, sometimes in most difficult circumstances. Even the medical work, which generally depends so greatly on the presence of the western doctor and nurse, has been carried on by the Chinese with much success. I might

mention the case of a Chinese doctor in an important centre, who has not only carried on the mission hospital at a profit, but has been able to extend the buildings from local contributions, and has maintained a high spiritual level in the medical work. In another district, a young, well-trained Chinese pastor has successfully kept the Christian flag flying, in the face of tremendous difficulties. All these indications of a living Church, which is becoming more indigenous and less dependent on the presence of foreign missionaries and on western financial support, are a cause for great thankfulness, and make one confident that the time is surely coming when there will be in China a Church so strong that it can support, govern and propagate itself, and be God's instrument in bringing each successive generation into the Kingdom.

I noticed, however, in some quarters a tendency for politics to take too prominent a place in church life and teaching. I am not one of those who believe that political issues can be kept entirely out of mind in the thought and activities of the Christian Church, but I have knowledge of instances in which the pulpit has been habitually used for the purpose of political propaganda rather than for the teaching of Christian truth. I am afraid that in some cases the gibe that a pastor has been a Nationalist first and a Christian afterwards is not undeserved.

The Christian Ministry. The factor in the present situation which has depressed me most is the serious dearth of students in the theological colleges, and the short supply of candidates for the Christian ministry. This state of affairs seems to be almost universal and to affect the work of all the missions and Churches. In Yenching University there were four candidates only for the full theological course, with about double that number of professors to teach them. It is true that there was an elementary 'short-cut' course for candidates for the position of preacher, but the theological faculty of the University does not exist to give this type of training. Even sadder is the fact that of the

theological students at Yenching who have recently graduated scarcely one is in the ministry of the Church. Many of the graduates are diverted to better paid secretarial posts in the Y.M.C.A. and other national organizations. In the theological school of the Shantung Christian University at Tsinan there were thirty-four students, the same number as during the previous year. In the Union Theological College in Canton there was a considerable falling off in the number of students.

Outside the theological colleges the problem was even more acute. A bishop of a large diocese told me that after he had ordained a deacon as priest a few weeks later he did not see in the whole of his diocese a single Chinese who seemed suitable for the priesthood. He deplored the fact that the supply of potential Chinese bishops in the Anglican Church in China was almost non-existent, and said that after the consecration of a Chinese assistant bishop which was shortly to take place, he had no idea where the next Chinese bishop was coming from. This depressing prognosis was confirmed by other bishops, and the outlook in the matter of finding candidates for Orders in the Church of England is indeed gloomy.

The causes for this situation are not far to seek. The economic factor is fundamental. Until the Chinese Churches are prepared to pay their ordained ministry more adequately, there is not much hope of a Chinese Church, of whatever denomination, attracting into its ministry men of education and self-respect, to receive such miserable stipends that they find it impossible to maintain themselves and their families in a reasonable degree of comfort. I made enquiries wherever I went, and found that ordained men were paid much less than well-qualified school teachers, and very much less than Chinese doctors trained along western lines. Especially was this the case in North China. On the other hand, highly trained theological students were often attracted from the ministry of the Church to better paid posts in auxiliary organizations. I could give instances of well-

trained men of high character and devotion who have given their lives to the ministry of the Church, and who are not receiving a third or even a quarter of the salary paid to young medicals almost fresh from college.

I am afraid, however, that there is a deeper reason for the inadequate supply of candidates for the ministry. There is in China, as in the West, a tendency for men to go into the Christian ministry as a profession rather than as a calling. There are not many who are prepared to make the sacrifice of salary and status which at present most of the ordained men in China are called upon to make. The solution for this difficulty is a spiritual revival throughout the Chinese Christian Churches. It is well to remember that a stream cannot rise higher than its source.

THE CHINESE CHURCH AND THE MISSIONS. For years past, in connexion with most missions, preparatory steps have been taken for the transferring of authority and responsibility from the mission to the Chinese Church. The process has been greatly accelerated during the last two or three years. In the providence of God this transfer of authority and responsibility prepared the Chinese Church for the crisis which it had to face last year, when so many missionaries were compelled to leave their work in the hands of the Chinese Christian leaders. The western Churches and mission boards were wisely guided in the policy, generally adopted, of encouraging this tendency. There may even have been a danger of too great a readiness to hand over administrative responsibility before the Church was sufficiently strong to carry the new burdens which it was anxious to assume. It cannot be expected that the Chinese Church can undertake in a few years responsibilities which have devolved upon the western Church during the many centuries of its existence. It may be the path of true wisdom to make haste slowly. The changes in missionary policies and methods in China were discussed in a series of articles in the last issue of the Review (pp. 306–26) and so need not be referred to here.

I cannot refrain from pointing out the danger which will arise if such responsibilities are lightly undertaken by the Chinese. I have come across some indications of the kind of difficulties which may occur. In one case a prominent Chinese, who took a foremost part in working out in great detail a scheme of devolution from the missions to the Church in one province, went abroad for his own purposes immediately after the paper scheme was agreed to by the Church and the mission boards in question, and left other and less competent people to implement the decisions which had been arrived at. I am afraid that this case is not unique and that there are other instances where Chinese who have been largely instrumental in getting such schemes through have afterwards washed their hands of responsibility, and left others to bring the schemes into operation. In my judgment, missionary representatives in China will seriously fail in their duty if they are lacking in courage to point out to their Chinese colleagues that rights imply obligations, and that the western Churches will expect the Chinese Christian leaders to be as willing to make personal sacrifices as are the missionaries, who have left their native lands and devoted themselves to the winning of China for Christ at the cost of great personal, family and financial sacrifice. It is only as the Chinese Church grows in spiritual power that it can face with any assurance of success the new responsibilities which the changing times are pressing upon it.

Education. In recent years, and especially since the Shanghai incident of 30th May 1925, the opinion has often been expressed that the days of higher education in China under missionary auspices are numbered. But during the last few months there has been a change of opinion on this subject. I firmly believe that a great future for Christian education in China lies before us. The whole question has been dealt with in an admirable article in the Review for January 1928, by Dr E. W. Wallace, a missionary of the United Church of Canada and Associate General Secretary

of the China Christian Educational Association, and an unrivalled authority on the subject. His article clearly summarizes the present situation and future outlook for Christian education in China.

I found wherever I went that the registration of schools and colleges with the Government was a burning question. There is a good deal of difference of opinion amongst missionaries on this matter, but there is a steady growth of opinion in favour of registering when it seems expedient to do so. Moreover, new government regulations for registration are issued from time to time, and there is no uniformity of practice between North China and South China in this respect. I believe that those missionary societies acted wisely which gave local option to their missions in China to register or to abstain from registering, as was thought best. Two Christian universities have been registered. A considerable number of mission schools have also been registered, but the majority are unregistered. While seeing no insuperable objection to registration, in my judgment the wise course is to put off registration in most cases as long as possible, but to prepare for registering. Without any hesitation I express the opinion that it is better to register a school than to close it.

The Future of Missionary Work in China. The troubles of the last few years have raised in the minds of many Christian people in Great Britain and America the question whether it is necessary or expedient for the western Churches to continue their missionary activities in China, at any rate on a scale equal to that of the recent past. The question has been asked, 'Why should we attempt to force Christianity on an unwilling people?' My profound conviction is that the events in China in recent years constitute a great challenge to the Christian Church in the West to continue and augment its efforts to evangelize the Chinese people. I believe that never was there a greater opportunity before the Church to win China for Christ.

After the Boxer rising of 1900 many people thought that

a blow had been dealt at Christian work in China from which it could hardly recover, and they were pessimistic as to the future of the missionary enterprise. The twenty-seven years which have passed since those days have been years of unparalleled progress in the spread of Christianity in that great land. Far more people have sought entrance into the Christian Church in those years than in the previous ninety-three years of Protestant missionary enterprise in China. The Church has multiplied in numbers and has become truly indigenous ; and in other directions missionary work has made astonishing progress. Never were missionaries more urgently needed to enter into the open doors which China presents in these days ; but they must be missionaries of the right sort, content to take a second place, to serve and not to rule the Churches in China. They must be well equipped intellectually for their work, but it is far more important that they should be men and women of prophetic vision with a passion for service and a Christ-like humility.

F. H. Hawkins

[*Note.*—As we were going to press we received a copy of the *Chinese Recorder* for May, in which appears an article by Mr Hawkins almost identical with the foregoing. Neither Mr Hawkins nor we were aware that his article was to be published elsewhere than in this Review.—Editors.]

AN APPROACH TO HINDUS

By A. J. APPASAMY, D.Phil.

THE starting-point of all our thinking on this subject should be this: the most effective presentation of Christ to Hindus is that which has proved most effective to ourselves. That is, we should not preach Christ to them from the outside, but from the inside, feeling with them their intensest feelings, longing with them their deepest longings, thinking with them through their most baffling problems, practising with them their highest ideals—doing all these in that measure and to that degree which our loyalty to Christ permits. There cannot be two Christian theologies for India, one for Christians and one for Hindus.

At present we live in a spiritual realm of our own, and when we proceed to evangelistic work we walk to the edge of that realm and, standing outside the spiritual realm of Hindus, speak to them. The problems with which a Christian speaker sets out to deal before a Christian audience are different from those with which he would deal before a group of Hindus. The point of view, the mode of approach, the note of emphasis are all different. This is not as it should be. If religion has been an important factor in India, if spiritual treasures have been accumulated, if abundant categories of thought have been developed and if, as true sons of India, we have claimed for ourselves a share in all that is finest and noblest in Indian achievement, then the spiritual experience and thought of India will not merely provoke our criticism but challenge our powers of assimilation. Holding to the best thought and life of India we should seek to explore the infinite possibilities of the life in Christ.

Behind this is the large assumption that there is much

of value in the spiritual heritage of India ; that the Eternal Word has been at work illumining men's hearts and quickening their consciences ; that through saint and prophet, through *rishi* and *bhakta*, God has been slowly preparing a way for Himself through the ages. I think that in these days it is unnecessary to point out the profound truth of this assumption, large as it is. Most Christians in India have come to acknowledge that the philosophies and religions of India have not been inspired by the powers of darkness, but that through them all can be seen, sometimes clearly and sometimes dimly, the hand of God leading men on. Difference of opinion arises only when an attempt is made to seek out elements of permanent value. This search for, and conservation of, elements of value can only be successfully accomplished from the inside. We should first make clear to ourselves the implications of the Christian message seen in the light of India's religious thought. When our personal experience has become vitally linked up with the currents of thought in our country any presentation of that experience will compel attention from Hindus. For it would take careful account of problems, longings, instincts, traditions, ideals which are not alien but with which Hindus themselves are familiar. There would then be no distinction between us, but we should together set out to understand the full import of the life and teaching of Jesus.

Only those Christians who are converts are at all familiar with Hindu life and practice. Those who are Christians from birth have been brought up in a different environment and nourished on different ideals. Hinduism is an immense system of thought. Do I mean, then, that no man can be an effective evangelist until he has studiously grasped this vastly complicated system ? I do not suggest that every Christian in India should master the various systems of Hindu religious thought. That, of course, is an impossible task. But I do say that every Christian in India should, for his own spiritual benefit, seek as far as he is able to understand and to appropriate the spirit of the best that

India has to offer. This means effort, time, struggle. But just as a plant that has been put into new soil cannot afford to grudge the effort to take root but must fade and languish until it does take root, so Christianity in India must derive life for itself from the new environment in which it has to thrive and bear fruit.

To mention one method, it is possible for us all to use in our private devotions the finer books of India. We do not hesitate to supplement our reading of the Bible with one or other of the numerous devotional books which have been written in the West. Some of them are exceptionally fine. I do not object to them, I only say that as Indians we ought to be prepared to take the necessary trouble to study in a receptive mood Hindu books of proved spiritual value. The Christian who knows Sanskrit may form the habit of reading passages in the Upanishads and the Gita; the Bengali may find much spiritual nourishment in the writings of the Chaitanya school; Christians in the Maratha country could use with considerable profit the poems of Tukaram; those in the Tamil country will find in their own vernacular literature much helpful thought. Owing to the fact that English is used all over India, translations of the more important Sanskrit books as well as some in the vernaculars are easily available and we may well profit by them. As a good many people may not have time for selection, I am compiling in English a book of readings from Indian religious literature for use in prayer and meditation. Other books along this line will certainly appear in English and in the vernaculars in course of time, and the Christian who aspires to enter deeply into the spiritual life of his country will find them helpful.

As we steep our minds in the sacred books of India we see the infinite riches stored up in them, the passionate longing for God, the joy of fellowship with Him, the deep sense of sin, the profound contempt for the passing things of the world, the weariness with all that is unreal, the realization of the supremely exalted character of God who

is above speech and even thought, the intimacy of His indwelling presence, the serenity of a life lived in God. These and other longings and experiences will send us deeper down into Christ and help us to live and work for a fuller realization of His abiding presence. When we read these beautiful passages not merely from the outside but from the inside, seeking from them spiritual food, our attitude to Hindu thought will change.

We may establish helpful spiritual contacts with the people around us in other ways also. If we know a Hindu *guru* of spiritual power we should sit at his feet and learn from him. If a deeply religious Hindu friend is in the habit of engaging in meditation at certain times and will allow us to do so we should meditate with him. When he prays we should pray with him ; when he chants his hymns we should join him. Too long have we considered Hindus as people to whom to lecture ; they could teach us much. They are not only to be prayed for. It is easy enough to stand on a different and, as we think, a higher level and to pray that God may give them some of the wonderful gifts which He has given us ; but to feel with them their real needs and to pray with them requires a different kind of interest and sympathy.

Just as we seek to enter their religious sanctum so we ought to invite them to enter our inner shrine. Too long have they stood in the outer courts, listening to our preaching, hearing our denunciation, resenting our criticism and attacking our argument. We arrange lectures for them, and for an hour or so pour forth for their benefit an intellectual exposition of the eternal verities to which we have been led, by the stress and storm of our personal experience, to pin our faith. Would it not be possible to arrange opportunities for common worship ? As matters stand at present a Hindu will not find himself at home in a Christian church service. The hymns, the phraseology and the method of worship are all strange. I hope the time will soon come when church services will be Indian enough to appeal

to our non-Christian friends. The spirit that pervades the service must be deeply and truly Christian, but the expression may well cease to be foreign. Till that comes about we must try to arrange not merely lectures for educated Hindus but also services of worship attractive enough to draw them. Through such an intimate and devout sharing of our spiritual life with them we shall help them far more than through merely arguing with them and lecturing to them. In the atmosphere of reverent worship many difficulties will disappear. It is not easy to create this atmosphere, especially when some with a critical temper are expected to attend; but the attempt is well worth making, and if it should succeed the results would be far-reaching.

In this way must the intellectual and the spiritual mingle in the whole of our life and work. To study Hinduism, to analyse it, to dissect it—this will never lead us far. It may give us plenty of arguments to show why Christianity is superior to Hinduism, but such arguments do not help much in the spread of the Gospel. But it may be asked: Is there not a place for intellectual discussion of the issues between Christians and Hindus? Are there not points to be cleared, doubts to be removed, questions to be answered? And cannot all this be done effectively in the course of argument and debate? Our religion concerns a man's whole being, and indeed the intellect is constantly summoned to deal with the experiences of religion. There is always a necessity for the mind to step in and help to an understanding. But in the realm of spiritual values the heart is more important than the head. The heart first awakens, responds, initiates. Then the head understands, explains, confirms. In our evangelistic work we are so apt to plunge first into the whirlpool of intellectual discussion. That should come at a much later stage. We should begin by example and prayer and talk to reach down to the depths of the heart, and then work up gradually into the daylight of intellectual clearness and certainty.

This is why so much of our polemical literature is ineffective. I wish we could use devotional literature on a larger scale in our evangelistic work. A book such as *The Imitation of Christ* may do far more good than many tracts. With this idea in mind the Christian Literature Society in Madras is now preparing a number of biographies of deeply spiritual men, which will attempt to set forth constructively without raising controversy the deepest and the best that is in the religious experience of the *bhaktas* of the world. St Augustine and St Teresa, Luther and George Fox, Plotinus and Philo, Ramanuja and Kabir will be studied from the point of view of their deepest religious experience. As we study how these souls of different creeds and countries lived, loved and laboured, we shall be moved to wonder at the heights and depths of God's love as it has been working in men's hearts through the ages. The definite history of what Christ meant to a finely attuned soul like that of St Augustine may help a Hindu to realize the riches in Christ far more than any number of propaganda tracts showing the doctrinal superiority of Christianity to Hinduism. Is not the heart the region in which the Spirit of God works? In our work among Hindus we should be ready to recognize this fact and to open to them the spiritual treasures hid in our own hearts and in the accumulated heritage of the Christian Church to which we have become rich heirs.

I hope my position is clear. Christianity in India will not become an eclectic religion. We are not going to say that we shall take this and that element from Hinduism and Buddhism and Jainism and call the resultant, whatever it may be, Christianity. The uniqueness of the message of Jesus needs to be maintained at all cost. Like some immense cathedral Christianity will rise in India with that majesty and dignity which are specially its own. Whatever we take over from Hinduism will be to Christianity what the buttresses are to a cathedral. These buttresses do not constitute the building by any means. The vast spaces of the cathedral, the stained-glass windows through

which the light streams in wonderful loveliness, the lofty roof with its finely wrought ceiling, the ornate pillars with their majestic proportions, the altar and chancel with their solemn glory—these do not depend upon the buttresses for their beauty or grace. And yet the buttresses add considerably to the stability and strength of the mighty structure. To confuse the main structure with the buttresses would be as mistaken as to confuse Christianity with the elements which it absorbs from Hinduism. The religion of Christ is unique. That which India contributes in virtue of its age-long and God-guided religious history is a buttress to the great structure.

There are difficulties in this way of assimilating and interpreting Christianity in India. It is our duty to face them frankly and courageously.

To begin with, although there may be elements in Hinduism which are in harmony with the spirit of Christ and which it may do us positive good to use, are they not so much entangled with ideas and practices of a different character that we are unable to recognize them ? We have sometimes seen some beautiful plant so overgrown and surrounded by an intricate mass of climbing creeper as to be almost hidden. The noble elements in Hinduism which stir us profoundly with their beauty and power are embedded in a vast amount of heterogeneous matter. In our quest for all that is of value in the religious life of India we have deliberately to see what we want to see and to ignore what we want to ignore. This may not be a scientific procedure. If we were making a study of the religious life of India in the spirit of scientific investigators we could not follow this method. We should have to emphasize what the Hindu emphasizes, put in the background what he keeps in the background, and bring out the subtle shades of meaning he finds in each doctrine and practice. But this is not the way living religion proceeds. It may be well to remind ourselves what we are constantly doing with regard to the Old Testament, how much we ignore, how

much we purposely forget, how much we adapt, how much we re-interpret. Living religion is continually making use of this process of assimilation for its nourishment.

Again, some scholars point out another difficulty. They clearly recognize that modern Christianity has a certain definite nucleus, taken over from the New Testament, around which has gathered a considerable mass of ideas and practices from Greek philosophy, Roman legalism, Teutonic folklore and so on. Some of these accretions are good, some positively harmful. No religion can wholly escape such a process ; in any country and in any age it may, and should, react in this way to its environment if it is to flourish at all. This process will be repeated in India. Some of the characteristic elements of the Indian religious consciousness will work their way into the fabric of Christian thought. However natural and unavoidable the process may be, the Christian in India who decides to abandon the contribution from Greek philosophy with a view to allowing Indian philosophy to determine his Christian conceptions is a loser. The works of Plato were a much better preparation for Christianity than the Upanishads. This is reflected in a casual sentence of Baron von Hügel about Sadhu Sundar Singh : ' Why, in some real way, the Sadhu, all Christian though he be, is further away than are Plato and even Socrates.' [1]

A clear statement of this difficulty occurs in a recent article by Professor J. S. Hoyland :

> Though there have been great and wonderful teachers in the East, and though they have uttered many noble truths, it is emphatically to be insisted that there has been no oriental Plato. There has been no great figure definitely and obviously laying down principles of thought with regard to the things of the spirit which have been accepted everywhere, have passed into current thinking of a whole culture (the Hindu culture, for instance), and are clearly fitted for immediate adoption as a foundation for the statement of the truth of Christ. There is no one scheme of thought underlying all Hindu culture and obviously to be hailed as a

[1] *Selected Letters*, p. 347.

heaven-sent *preparatio evangelica*, in the way that Platonism formed the *preparatio evangelica* in the ancient world.

Therefore, in the contact of Christianity with (for instance) the Hindu mind to-day, the representative of Christianity has frequently to attempt to do the work—if the expression may be permitted—of Plato as well as of St Paul. He has to lay foundations which were already there in the ancient Greek world, but which are not there in the modern Hindu world. He finds himself called upon to perform innumerable tasks which St Paul never had to perform. He has to endeavour to present a realm of thought regarding the divine which had already been presented to the mind of the thinking Greek. He finds himself confronted with a wholly alien theory of the most fundamental facts in the universe—the theory of *Karma*, which is in itself the spiritual atmosphere breathed by every orthodox Hindu, and an atmosphere in which Christian ethics and Christian thought about God cannot exist for one moment. St Paul, on the other hand, lived in a world soaked in the Platonic conception of the eternal Ideas, and of God as the personification of the Idea of the Beautiful and the Good—conceptions which formed a fertile soil for Christian teaching.[1]

The first and most natural reaction that a good many Indian Christians may have to this suggestion is one of resentment and criticism. With our deep love for the great heritage of India we may find it difficult to believe that it has to yield to Greek philosophy. We readily acknowledge the uniqueness of Jesus and bow humbly and willingly before Him, but when we are told that we must learn from Plato before we can learn effectively what Jesus taught we hesitate and wonder. On this large question we cannot dwell now, but it fully deserves our careful attention, whatever our first reaction may be.

A further difficulty is still more baffling and certainly has great practical significance. We may take over everything in India which elucidates and confirms Christian thinking, and we may be profited by such assimilation. But there are large tracts of Hindu thought and life which have absolutely no relation to Christian thought. What is to be our attitude towards these ?

Let us take the doctrine of *Karma* to which Professor Hoyland refers. It dominates all Hindu thinking. The

[1] *The Young Men of India*, 1927 (Aug.), 443–4.

fear of future births haunts every devout Hindu like a dismal ghost. The weariness of the cycle of births oppresses his mind heavily. However attractive we may make the Christian outlook upon the present as well as upon the future life, the question which keeps recurring to every Hindu and to every Christian who seeks to enter into the deepest thinking of India is : What about *Karma* ?

There are several attitudes, one or other of which we may take in this matter. We may simply say that all this fear is meaningless, that there is no evidence for past or future births. Such a negative statement helps no one much. Another attitude has been taken by at least two Indian Christians whose loyalty to Christ is profound. They have said that this is an open question and should be left so ; judgment should be suspended. A good many of us may not care to take this attitude ; but a third alternative all of us could and should take, namely, to ask ourselves what this doctrine really means, what it purposes to achieve and whether our Christian doctrines should not be thought out again in relation to this idea. As we do so, I think we shall come to some such conclusions as the following : Have we sufficiently stressed the causal effect of good and bad deeds in this life ? By our acceptance of apocalyptic ideas, which ultimately point to Persia as their source, we have tended to relegate the reward for our good or bad deeds to a future heaven or hell. One element in the doctrine of *Karma* is the retributive character of much that happens in this life, though the retribution is related to deeds done in former births. That there is constant retribution going on in this life is a favourite doctrine with St John. We need to emphasize it in India. To recognize that by our choice we are entering here and now either into the realm of light or into the realm of darkness is a necessary truth. In a way our destiny is in our own hands, and in virtue of God's moral order we make our own heaven or hell.

Again, the Hindu is apt to think that we consider our

salvation too easy of attainment. He thinks of himself as growing slowly through the ages from birth to birth, and when he hears us speaking of salvation as granted to us in a single lifetime he misunderstands us. But, as a matter of fact, do we not expect to grow after this life? The idea of growth in the future life has not been sufficiently stressed in our Christian thinking. We cannot accept the doctrine of *Karma*, it is true, but in the light of that doctrine our own Christian convictions may be intensified and deepened.

We should not merely turn down in contempt all the vast tracts of doctrine and practice in India which strike us at first as being wholly alien to the religion of Christ, but we should rethink our fundamental ideas in relation to them. By so doing we may get much light on our own Christian position, and our loyalty to Jesus will become deeper and stronger. Such a process of laying bare to ourselves what our Indian forefathers have been working towards during the centuries, and learning how richly and graciously Christ helps us to meet the strong need of our Indian soul will increase and multiply our already heavy debt to Him.

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EVANGELICAL
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HUMAN GEOGRAPHY AND SOME OF ITS APPLICATIONS

By PERCY M. ROXBY

THE term 'human geography,' now frequently used in geographical literature, is hardly as yet familiar to the general public. Its significance and meaning are probably most easily understood in relation to the evolution of the modern conception of geography as a whole.

Although geography has in recent times acquired a new technique and importance, for two good reasons which will be mentioned later, the subject itself is of course an ancient one. It had an honourable place in the Græco-Roman world and, as conceived by various Greek philosophers of Asia Minor, and notably by Strabo, was essentially a philosophical study concerned with a reasoned description and interpretation of the earth. Few generalizations were, however, possible to the scientific men of those times in view of the limited portion of the earth's surface known to them, and it is not surprising that the most important part of their constructive work was in the sphere of mathematical geography, in relation to climatic zones. The Romans, in accordance with their particular genius, emphasized its more practical side, as seen in the production of itineraries and road-books, and we may note that geography has always had this dual aspect, the philosophical and the utilitarian. In common with almost all branches of human enquiry, geography suffered by the marked decline in the scientific spirit during the Dark Ages and Early Mediæval Period, although the Arab geographers made important contributions to the knowledge of the Middle East, through which alone Europe made contact with the outside world.

The closing of the historic trade-routes across the Middle

East, due to the Turkish invasion from the steppe-land, was one of the prime causes of the discovery of the sea-route to India and presently of the Americas. This era of the great discoveries, coinciding with the effects of the Renaissance, revolutionized men's conceptions of the earth and was a tremendous stimulus to geographical enquiry. At first geographers such as Hakluyt were naturally concerned with tabulating and recording the facts and results of these discoveries, but the time came when thinkers began to reason on the significance of geographical facts in relation to man. An interesting philosophical study of this kind in the eighteenth century will be found in Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois.* Early in the nineteenth century, Carl Ritter, Professor of Geography at Berlin, propounded a view of geography, which, however differently phrased, expresses the essence of our conception of it to-day. He says in the introduction to his *Erdkunde* (1817):

> Nature refuses to be studied except in the great mutual play of all her powers, in the connexion of all her manifestations. Only when thus studied does she irradiate with life and light all the paths which human activity dares to tread. . . . Ought it not to repay our trouble for the sake of the history of man and of nations to take our stand . . . in the place of their united activities, and to consider the earth in its real relations to man; . . . to trace the course of the simplest as well as the most diffused geographical laws in results, some of which are settled and permanent, some changing, some living and organic?

And he foresees a time when the world of nature as well as of morals and mind shall have been so far compassed as to make it possible for the far-seeing among men

> sending their glance backwards and forwards, to determine from the whole of a nation's surroundings what the course of its development is to be, and to indicate in advance of history what ways it must take to retain the welfare which providence has appointed for every nation whose direction is right and whose conformity to law is constant.

The enormous additions to knowledge in the nineteenth century, and the great stress laid on the analytical method, led to the development of many independent specialized

sciences such as geology and meteorology which were in a sense originally the offspring of geography. The domain left to geography itself seemed for a time uncertain, and the emphasis on analysis and specialization were not at first favourable to so pre-eminently synthetic a treatment as geography demands. A great mass of new geographical data was accumulated, but it remained unsystematized and uninterpreted. Yet the classical philosophical tradition was never broken, and great pioneers like Carl Ritter and Alexander von Humboldt began, as Dr Newbigin well puts it in her *Modern Geography* (Home University Library), ' to hew tracts through the unsystematized jungle of geographical facts.' Towards the end of the century, geographers began to be in a position to restate the aims and content of their science in the light of all the new knowledge of the earth which more specialized branches of enquiry had revealed. The two circumstances which in recent times have greatly enhanced the significance and scope of the subject are that our more complete knowledge of the earth and of the distribution of phenomena over its surface has made it possible to formulate generalizations as to their co-ordination and relationship for which the material had hitherto been lacking, and that the rapidly increasing interdependence and intersensitiveness of the different regions and peoples of the planet have made a synthetic view of the world, as of a whole made up of inter-related parts, essential to human progress.

This restatement of the scope and special aims of the subject was easier in the field of physical and biological geography than in that of human geography. Thus there has been developed by men like Suess and W. M. Davis the outlines of a systematic interpretation of land-forms, a reasoned and synthetic view of the earth's surface-features (geomorphology). Similarly there has evolved through the sifting and interpretation of meteorological data a true climatic geography, as distinct from meteorology (see, for example, the admirable and lucid exposition in Kendrew's

Climates of the Continents). Again, the study of plant geography, i.e. of plant associations or types of natural vegetation in relation to specific types of physical environment, has been worked out in considerable detail and is intimately related to climatic geography. From these three main sources—geomorphology, climatic geography, plant and animal or biological geography—we derive the data for building up a systematic geography of natural environments, which is at once the objective of physical geography and the starting-point of human geography. As de Martonne puts it: 'The twofold study of distribution and of the correlation of phenomena assures the place of geography as a separate branch of knowledge.'[1]

Is there or can there be an equally philosophical study of the geography of man, and what is its relationship to the foregoing? An interesting and important stimulus to human geography came from the le Play school of sociologists in France. Le Play maintained that it was impossible to understand the economic and social problems of various human groups without a full study of the interaction between the physical environment and the community (see his *Ouvriers Européens*). His disciples, Demolins and notably de Préville in his brilliant *Les Sociétés Africaines*, have developed his thesis on strictly geographical lines, but it is perhaps to the founders of what is known as the French school of human geography, Vidal de la Blache and Franz Schrader, that we owe the most comprehensive and illuminating conception of the philosophy of the subject and of its real relations to physical and biological geography. On the one hand la Blache insisted on the co-ordination of the facts of human geography with those of physical geography in their regional setting. In an article written at the close

[1] De Martonne's *Principles of Physical Geography* (3 vols.) is perhaps the most complete philosophical discussion of the distribution and inter-relation of natural phenomena on and over (to include the atmospheric envelope) the earth's surface. A new English translation of de Martonne's abridged work by Mr Laborde of Harrow School, under the title *A Shorter Physical Geography* (Christophers), can be strongly recommended.

of a long life devoted to the progress of the subject he summarized his views as follows :

> Nous avons connu longtemps la géographie incertaine de son objet et de ses méthodes oscillant entre la géologie et l'histoire. Ces temps sont passés. Ce que la géographie, en échange du secours qu'elle reçoit des autres sciences, peut apporter au trésor commun, c'est l'aptitude à ne pas morceler ce que la nature rassemble, à comprendre la correspondence et la corrélation des faits, soit dans le milieu terrestre qui les enveloppe tous, soit dans les milieux régionaux où ils se localisent. Il y a là, sans nul doute, un bénéfice intellectuel qui peut s'étendre à toutes les applications de l'esprit. En retraçant les voies par lesquelles la géographie est arrivée à éclairer son but et à affermir ses méthodes, on reconnait qu'elle a été guidée par le désir d'observer de plus en plus directement, de plus en plus attentivement, les réalités naturelles. Cette méthode a porté ses fruits ; l'essentiel est de s'y tenir. (P. Vidal de la Blache in *Annales de Géographie*, Juillet, 1913.)

But, on the other hand, la Blache brought into prominence the creative power of man in moulding and using the geographical environment of which he is an essential part.

> L'être géographique d'une contrée n'est point une chose donnée d'advance par la nature, une offrande du monde inanimé ; elle est un produit de l'activité de l'homme, conférant l'unité à des matériaux qui, par eux mêmes, ne l'ont point. . . . Si une contrée est une personne, c'est par l'effort de ceux qui l'habitèrent.

The same conception permeates the work of Schrader, whose Herbertson Memorial Lecture, entitled *The Foundations of Geography in the Twentieth Century* (published in pamphlet form by the Oxford University Press), is a penetrating study of man's relations to nature in the geographical synthesis. Schrader is particularly concerned with emphasizing the point that since the industrial revolution the relations of man and earth have been so transformed as to make ' the human being in some sort a new creature ' and to overthrow ' the conditions of the old traditional life by a revolution which is still far from yielding its final results.' If the new synthesis is to be in the ultimate interests of humanity, there is much constructive thinking to be done ; there must be a new philosophy of the earth commensurate

with the magnitude of the material change. Mankind has reached a critical stage in his relations to nature, and the situation, while full of possibilities, is extremely dangerous.

> Every progress in mechanical, chemical or physical applications has been first utilized not as a possible gift of nature, imposing before all a duty, the duty of investigating the connexions of the new particular fact with general order, but, at least commonly, as a new source of material satisfactions and benefits. . . . At the same time that man discovered new countries and new mysteries, their relative place in the world of phenomena remained without moral influence. The immediate utilization of the material gain made possible by the new acquisition was pursued, without reference to the general inconvenience that might result from a deliberate exploitation.

He instances the ruthless destruction of forests and of animal species, ' opening the way to dangerous invasions of plant and animal scourges,' and cases also of ' the barbarous suppressions of primitive populations. Love of possession is the great sinner against love of humanity, cult of science, reverence for nature.' The transition must in any case be difficult.

> It is not possible to conceive a rapid transformation of the world without disturbance of equilibrium, and the transformation during the short space of the last three or four centuries has proved overwhelming by its magnitude and rapidity. All nations have been constrained to enter into the human collectivity, without regard to relative powers or natural dispositions.

He concludes by pleading for harmony as the ideal of constructive scientific work. ' Geography, if our hopes are not vain, will add to the whole of the sciences a large contribution to the natural and human harmonization . . . a sort of geosophy.'

This may serve to indicate the background and perspective of human geography, its place in the geographical synthesis, its significance in relation to the problems of the modern world. In essence human geography consists of the study of (*a*) the adjustment of human groups to their physical environment and an analysis of their regional experience, and (*b*) the inter-relation of these groups as conditioned by

their several adjustments. The term ' adjustment ' includes not only the control which the physical environment exerts on their activities but the use which they make or can make of it. It is the study of an interaction and not simply of a control. This adjustment has four principal but closely related aspects, which form the main branches of human geography.

RACIAL GEOGRAPHY covers the study of the distribution, actual and potential, of the physical types of man considered in relation to the different natural environments—the significance of particular somatic traits and combination of traits and the aptitudes and limitations which are connected with them. An excellent summary of this aspect of human geography will be found in Professor H. J. Fleure's *Races of Mankind* (Benn's sixpenny series). Its importance in relation to the future of many regions at present thinly peopled and whose racial future is uncertain needs no emphasis. We have to study not only the possibilities and resources of these regions but the relative aptitudes and adaptability of various racial groups for developing them, and the extent and manner in which co-operation between different groups may in certain cases be secured for this end. Many critical cases, such as Tropical Australia and certain regions of Africa and South America, readily suggest the need for constructive thinking on these lines.

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY discusses those adjustments of man to his environment which are associated with getting a living and providing for the primary needs of food, shelter and clothing. It includes the geography of production (agricultural and industrial) and the geography of exchange (commercial geography). This aspect is exhaustively discussed in many works, general and regional, and is of course fundamental, but we lose the unity and cultural value of geography if we overstress it and make, for example, the distribution of products and manufactures the main objective. It is closely connected with a third aspect of adjustment which is often called social geography.

SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY is the analysis of the distribution and inter-relation of different forms of social organization arising out of particular modes of life in relation to distinctive types of environment. There is probably no aspect of geography which so closely concerns workers in the mission field. The age-long conflict between nomad pastoralists and peasant cultivators along the grassland borders of the hot deserts in Africa and Arabia and round the edges of the steppe belt of Euro-Asia is notorious, and latterly the problems concerned with the inter-regional relations of differently organized groups have been greatly complicated by the impact of industrial Europe on their lives.

There has been a profound disturbance of the normal adjustment (economic and social) of traditional societies to their environment through the exigencies of modern commerce, to serve the needs of the great industrial countries. Here the problem of statesmanship, from whatever motive it is approached, is to harmonize the interests of many groups, cradled in different environments, diverse in race, mode of life and experience, but under the conditions of the world to-day increasingly interdependent. The problem of the readjustment of African societies, one of the most critical and complex of our time, and one for the solution of which Great Britain has incurred heavy responsibilities, is essentially geographical in its character, demanding trained investigators capable of analysing the experience of human groups in terms of the physical circumstances which have helped to mould them and which in turn have been cumulatively altered by them. Such studies should be evolutionary in character, for as Professor H. J. Fleure has well said :

> It is one of the most attractive results of the regional evolutionary study of human experience that we are led to look upon all things as in process of becoming. Nothing is complete and finished, nothing is purely static, all is developing towards a future which the sympathetic regional study of past and present experience can best help us not only to discern, but also in our own small measure to shape.

Such regional studies can help and indeed have already helped to direct the present, alas! belated movement in Great Britain towards orderly regional planning, which is essentially a conscious effort in constructive social geography, the attempt to utilize all elements in the physical environment for social well-being (as distinct from the ruthless exploitation of particular elements, e.g. coal, regardless of social consequences, which marked the earlier stages of the industrial revolution), and to harmonize the interests of neighbouring towns and countryside in a common scheme in which each has its place. As applied to countries like Africa they can provide the data and the understanding for helping to shape intelligently the inter-regional relations of tribal and other groups from the forest, the agricultural and the pastoral savana, and to avert the tragedies which the rapid undermining of the economic and social structure of native communities through some vital change in their geographical outlook too often produces.

In this connexion I think it may be useful to draw attention to a committee recently appointed by the Geographical Section (E) of the British Association to stimulate such surveys. In the preliminary memorandum it is pointed out that

> in view of the rapid social and economic changes that are taking place in British Tropical African Territories, there is a pressing need for systematic study of the native populations . . . but it is most unlikely that adequate work will be put into the relationship of the Native to the land he lives in, unless the geographers of this country insist that much greater stress be laid on this geographical question than has hitherto been the case.

Plans for the provision of more accurate and detailed maps for the plotting of physical, biological and human data are then discussed, and for this the help of the Geographical Section of the General Staff is being invited. It is also hoped to prepare geographical bibliographies of the various territories with index maps to show the areas to which data refer.

It is then pointed out

that the pressing need for research by geographers lies in the field of human geography, and that studies should be energetically pushed forward in this subject in order that the attention of all concerned with the future welfare of the inhabitants may be directed to the all-important fact that African peoples cannot adequately be studied or treated except as in relation to the land they inhabit.

Work done in accumulating and disseminating data upon the human geography of Tropical Africa will serve two purposes. It will give an opportunity to those concerned with and familiar with conditions in one territory to learn the conditions prevailing in other territories and to make practical use of the comparison. It will be of the greatest service to people in Great Britain and elsewhere who are engaged in teaching the geography of Tropical Africa. For it will enable them for the first time to spread an accurate knowledge of the essentials of native life associated with the different types of environment.

Data upon the human geography can probably be most rapidly accumulated by seeking the co-operation of two types of people :

a. Those at home who are familiar with the literature of Africa and who might be asked to make extracts of pertinent matter from literature at their disposal.

b. Persons who as residents in Africa are in a position to obtain new data ; and this class is by far the more important since it is believed that existing literature contains relatively little that is pertinent.

Among the classes of people who may be expected to respond and to yield an ever-increasing stream of information missionaries are naturally conspicuous. The data required fall broadly into two groups : data for the preparation of a uniform map of the distribution of population in British Tropical Africa ; and data relating to the life of the people in relation to the land and the environment generally.

A provisional questionnaire under the second head has already been prepared and is here reproduced.

FOR THE AREA TO BE REPORTED ON BY EACH CONTRIBUTOR

1. A map showing tribal divisions.
2. An account of the habitations of the people thus :
   (*a*) Do they live in towns, villages or in disseminated dwellings, and can any cause be assigned in explanation ?
   (*b*) What type of situation do towns, villages, etc., occupy ? e.g.

valleys, plateaus, slopes, forest, grass, etc. Any reason for the choice ; e.g. water supply, drainage, fly, etc. ?

(*c*) Is there a typical town or village plan ? (Supply sketch of it in relation to site.)

(*d*) Of what are houses constructed ?

(*e*) How long does village remain in one place ?

(*f*) When moved, how far ? Where ? Why ?

(*g*) What is means of livelihood of Natives ? (i) Native agriculture (what crops ?) ; (ii) labour on plantations, porterage (how far away and where and for what reason) ; (iii) pastoral.

(*h*) In relation to (*g*), what area is used by Natives of a village ? How frequently are cultivation or flocks moved ? How far ? And where ?

(*i*) To what extent do Natives cut forest, burn grass and bush, and for what purposes ?

(*j*) What depredations of wild animals take place ? e.g. elephants, zebras, etc., fly, mosquitoes (diseases) ; what areas ?

(*k*) Seasonal activities month by month in relation to climate, rivers, etc.

(*l*) In dry season or arid districts water supply and uses of water.

(*m*) Seasonal migrations.

(*n*) Permanent or semi-permanent migrations.

(*o*) Nature of new occupations of the Natives and the manner in which it affects any or all of the above subjects.

(*p*) *In relation to the above subjects only*—the social organization of the Natives, especially the status of men and of women with special attention to the character of the work of the sexes.

(*q*) Methods of transport.

The secretary of this sub-committee is Mr Alan G. Ogilvie of the Department of Geography, Edinburgh University, who is anxious to hear from African missionaries willing to take part in such an investigation. As a preparation for work of this kind a careful study of de Préville's *Les Sociétés Africaines* and of Lord Lugard's great work, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, can be strongly recommended.

While Africa has been specially instanced, other fields of missionary activity—India, China, Melanesia and Malaya—equally demand careful studies of this kind.

Political geography. The last principal aspect of human geography—important and interesting though it is—

has less direct bearing on the field of missionary activity, and at the end of a long article need not be elaborated. It is, however, important to point out that political and administrative units and their frontiers must be appraised in relation to ethnic and social human groupings as well as to the facts of economic geography. The most stable political units are, as a rule, those which most correspond to geographical realities as tested both by physical and human distributions and which do not artificially divide groups culturally related. From this point of view many of the political units of Africa, carved out in the course of a hasty scramble for power, are essentially arbitrary and are far from representing natural growths. It is, however, a welcome sign of a new order that in the allocation of the mandates for Togoland and the Cameroons the cultural affinities of the peoples, as well as the physical conditions, were specifically recognized. Lord Lugard has called attention to the great importance of this factor in the problem of regional self-government in India.

We may claim for human geography that, rightly studied, it is vital in training for national and international citizenship, that it serves the essential purpose of enabling us 'accurately to imagine the conditions of the great world stage,' and the place of our own region in it, and that while it is a valuable mental discipline, calling for an exact sense of proportion in appraising the value of many factors and in the correlation of phenomena, it more specifically develops the qualities of accurate imagination and sympathetic understanding. As such, it can surely claim an important place in the training of missionaries and of those whom they will teach in many lands. The point of view and type of outlook on the world which it fosters and the programme of constructive work which it advocates materially help the realization of that 'unity in diversity' which is assuredly the ideal for the life of humanity on this small but infinitely complex planet.

PERCY M. ROXBY

BIOLOGY AND AFRICAN EDUCATION

By S. A. HAMMOND

I MUST disclaim any right to speak as an expert biologist. My sole justification for offering these views is that they suggested themselves to me while I was actually engaged upon school work in Africa, and have survived, in my own mind at least, a test which I have usually found damaging to European notions—that of being considered side by side with African children. They arose from my inability to make clear to myself, for my own guidance in conducting school affairs, the aim of our efforts and the lines of development to be pursued accordingly.

So far as I could see, the prospects of literary education were not encouraging. In elementary schools an eventually overloaded curriculum, moving further and further away from African needs, seemed inevitable upon accepted lines of progress. Having finished the arithmetic book we must add the algebra book and the geometry book. Having exhausted, for the time being, the available resources of the native language, we could get no further without English books, needing translation in idea if not in tongue. Having done what we could with native handicrafts (the demand for which in some cases is disappearing in competition with imported goods) we must turn to European trades, which themselves can frequently find no place in village industry. Crafts or trade schools were giving a training which, though good of its kind and fulfilling a necessary function, was as inapplicable as purely bookish studies to the mass of a population whose present and future is mainly on the land; a training whose products, though at present being absorbed, might before long exceed local demand and, being unwilling

to return to farm work, would form a class of unemployed moving towards the European towns.

One may fairly look, I think, in any system of education, however young, for the promise of healthy growth to keep pace with the development of the country and the progress of its inhabitants. Such growth might be expected to show some of the characteristics of living growth, for instance: (*a*) the development of a complex organization, not upon, but out of, an apparently simple beginning; the evolution, that is, of a system from within itself, not an agglomeration of parts added from time to time as they are found to be urgently necessary (and usually too late to allow time sufficient for their slow and natural growth, avoiding costly mistakes); (*b*) an organization adequate to its own needs at all stages, from earliest to latest, and one enabling it to profit by its environment, drawing from it the means of existence and growth; (*c*) perfect balance and co-operation between all its parts and functions towards a common end. A growing unity would be the keynote, a unified purpose the inspiration. Such a purpose, to be useful in education, must be broad enough to apply to all its degrees, yet definite and practical enough to indicate the means that may achieve it. It is not sufficient for practical purposes to say that we aim at 'character-training' or at 'making a better African,' admirable objects though these may be.

It is a commonplace of modern theory that education must suit itself to the needs of the child and not try to force him into an arbitrarily conceived mould. I turned, therefore, to the needs of Africans, so far as I could understand them, in the hope of discovering some common ground which should form the basis of the whole, the roots and trunk of the growing tree; something to integrate our school work, to preserve balance and continuity between the parts and to provide a means of judging the right of this or that activity to enter it.

The needs I saw were these: food; shelter; health; training in the use of natural environment, and knowledge

of nature, animate and inanimate, in relation to man and his work; understanding of social organization and government (for ownership, work, trade, communications, preservation of goods and knowledge, education); intellectual training; character-training, upon a higher standard of morality. The divisions are, of course, not sharp; the needs are interwoven. But each of the seven refers to a different aspect of school work, and I will briefly consider each one separately in its educational bearing.

The need for food points to practical agriculture and gardening, and to animal husbandry, with their concomitant biological studies; the study of plants and animals in relation to their needs; soil study; heredity and breeding for improvement.

The needs for shelter and health, for better housing and improved conditions, call on the one hand for practical building by better methods, for domestic economy and the arts of home, and on the other for an understanding of public sanitation and the biology of health and disease. Experience has plainly shown us the futility of teaching the laws of healthy living and the means to combat disease, unless this is accompanied and illuminated by the study of life processes and the requirements of living beings; and these can best be demonstrated in organisms simpler than man.

The effectiveness of the biological approach to sex hygiene, through the study of reproduction in plants and animals, has been repeatedly pointed out and need not be further stressed.

To make full use of his environment, the African goes beyond the primitive needs of food and shelter, and extracts from it means for a better standard of living, either directly, by handicrafts, or by producing goods in excess of his own requirements and exchanging them for those which can be better produced elsewhere. Taking the latter first, the world looks increasingly to Tropical Africa for the supply of foodstuffs and raw materials, and the demand is

for agriculture again, the husbandry of certain animals (e.g. those that produce leather) and the extraction of minerals. The development both of these and of the African's own handicrafts calls in his education for the study of nature, animate and inanimate, in relation to man and his work. I would lay emphasis as a point of method on this relationship. Nature study for its own sake, the study of things merely because they exist, is not, I think, a profitable line of approach with the African, and I find the ordinary courses, as reflected in various English text-books that I have seen, defective for our purpose on this account. I have never found real interest taken in it, whereas in connexion with man (so far as my personal experience goes, in teaching hygiene) I have met with a degree of intelligent appreciation that surprised me until I understood the reason for it. I have little doubt that the same interest could be evoked in connexion with agriculture, animal husbandry and crafts. Such treatment is not confined to animate nature. Climate and weather, with their geographical and astronomical causes, may be studied in their bearing upon agriculture. Study of the elementary states and properties of matter arises in the study of living things. Mechanical principles, measurement of size, weight, distance, time, with their various implications and the necessary arithmetic to deal with them, arise in the course of any practical activity. (If they do not so arise we may doubt their right of entry into the school.) The study of the earth's crust and substances in it useful to man is approached most surely through his agriculture and his crafts. In all, the study centres upon man; the content is largely biological, the point of view wholly so.

The need for an understanding of social organization is one which primitive peoples are everywhere found to have recognized in their own educative customs. It might almost be said that the more primitive the people, the more strictly versed were its members in all that appertains to family and tribal organization. That which primitives

themselves have felt to be essential we should be unwise to ignore. The strong sense of community shown by Africans untouched by European influence has been widely remarked. European education has hitherto tended to break it down. But where so desirable a social force already exists we should rather do our best to foster and extend it.

Again we find that biology is helpful, if it is not necessary, for a true understanding. That man's subjection to biological laws is not confined only to his body, but extends to his family relationships, his social organization and the progress of his race, is no new discovery ; but the idea has only recently begun to penetrate the popular sociology of our time. The springs of human action have been found in the evolutionary history of the animal kingdom ; the foundations of human society were laid before man himself appeared. Sociological enquiry, instead of beginning with primitive human society, has gone back to pre-human life and the study of its modern representatives ; sociological teaching has constantly to refer to lower organisms in order to demonstrate the laws upon which it is founded. The organic unit is no longer man ; it is the cell. The necessities of human organization are most clearly seen in natural organization, not only in the human body itself, where, broadly speaking, every function has its counterpart in a thriving social system, but in far simpler organisms and communities. Just as the study of sexual phenomena in plants and animals is the natural approach to sexual hygiene, so it is fundamental for the understanding of family and social organization (based as they are largely upon sexual differentiation) and for rational improvement in the status of women. The study of reproduction and heredity, beginning in the cell, leads equally to the improvement of animals and crops and to man's duty to his own young.

Further, social studies appear to provide the most natural approach to the raising of moral standards ; to training in the performance of social duties as opposed to the following of purely selfish impulses. I share the distrust

which many of my colleagues feel for direct moral instruction founded upon precept alone. But I think there is hope for it if public and private virtues are presented as necessities for the well-being of the tribe and family, making possible their continuance; provided always that such reasoning is founded upon actual experience, i.e. that school life approximates to village life. This opens a wide field. It leads to the study of human geography, the early history of occupations, domestic life, social organization and government. From the study of the requirements of society and the simpler functions of government follows inevitably the morality which social life imposes.

Turning for a moment from Africa, it is interesting to see in modern teaching in England and America a movement towards unity in the school curriculum, a breaking down of barriers and a broadening of the bases of study. In history, for instance, there has been since the war quite a crop of general histories, histories of social evolution, written not for advanced students but for school-children. The national histories, too, are leaving the kings and battles in an attempt to revive the real life of the past and show how the present has evolved from the deeds and thoughts of great men. In geography, studies are directed more and more towards the influence of geographical environment upon man's way of life and progress, and the boundaries between history and geography become less and less clearly marked. Science has less to do with pure physics and pure chemistry and more with the investigation of men's bodies and their environment. Educational theory is continually referring back to biological foundations and illuminating itself by comparisons from living organisms other than man. Studies broadly biological are clearly in the ascendant. There is an unmistakable tendency towards humanized science and scientifically studied humanities, with a common centre—the study of the life of man.

Primitive needs in Africa on the one hand, tendencies in European educational thought on the other, point the

same way—to biology as the framework for our education. It remains to consider what line of approach is best suited to the African, which brings me to the need for training in intellect and reason. It will be admitted that differences exist between African ways of thinking and our own; differences not superficial, but having their source far back in the origins from which racial habits and traditions of thought have grown; and that the gap must be bridged if we are to work in co-operation with the African for his own advancement. To build the bridge we look naturally for the place where the gap is narrowest. The points where primitive thought most nearly approaches European thought are in the practical business of everyday life, in the provision of necessities and in daily occupations. The points where primitive skill approaches civilized skill are in his manual arts and crafts. In dealing with concrete things men act upon a common ground, that of direct intuition and experience, and differences of idea take a minor place.

Practical work must therefore not only take a large place in our teaching; it must be the foundation, the visible *raison d'être* of the whole. It is too often, even when given an important place, a device for the better teaching of a science. The farm, the garden, the workshop are but bulky adjuncts to the school desk. In Africa that must be reversed. To the African, the matters of everyday life—his farm, his family and social intercourse—are the first objects of interest. Through these his interest may be gained and held for other matters, through them he can see value in other correlated activities. In practical work he will find it worth while to do things the better way; here the reasoning behind the better way will be most readily grasped and appreciated; here it will be visibly confirmed. The function of the classroom is to give order, connexion and a basis of reason to the practical work done outside it. The need for intellectual training, for the development of reasoning on the same lines as our own, calls first and foremost for learning by doing.

Such an approach calls for a type of school in which the life of the pupils will approximate closely to ordinary village life, under improved conditions; where questions of health, of the use of environment, of social organization, will be solved practically by pupils themselves, by evolution from their own customs and traditions, before they are studied theoretically. The natural culmination will be in the training school for teachers, where married pupils are taken and the school becomes a model village.

The actual content of teaching would be regulated by the grade of school and its locality. If the curriculum grows upon practical work there is little danger of its being overloaded. One point, however, deserves mention, if only to save those who are new to the study from discouragement when they first explore its literature. The kind of biology that can usefully be taught is not the old-fashioned mixture of school botany and zoology that has commonly been called 'elementary biology.' Taking a standard English text-book, one that has gone through five editions (the latest dated 1920), I find it occupied first with protoplasm, then single-celled plants, then multicellular plants, then protozoa, then morphology of plants, structure of stem, leaf, root, structure of animal cells, simple multicellular animals, invertebrates and vertebrates; until, finally, we reach the heights of the dog-fish and the frog. The greatest emphasis all the time is upon structure, the least upon function. That is not, I think, the kind of biological study which will influence children, least of all children of races who are concerned not so much with what a thing is as with what it does. Biology for all is our primary need; not specialized biology for medical students or even for agricultural experts; these may have their place, but not at first. The few books on civic biology that have been written, and the articles that frequently appear in popular periodicals (presumably in response to public interest) are sufficient answer to those who maintain that a general view cannot be presented in terms understandable by children and ordinary

unscientific people. I mention this because I have found, in speaking of biology, a constant source of misunderstanding in the vision conjured up by that word, of laboratories with rows of instruments and bottles, and students dissecting frogs. Expensive plant and apparatus is the last thing we want in elementary education; the more it is multiplied, the more surely will the schools move away from native life. The equipment that we need is in the environment of the school and the outlook of the teacher. It may even be worth while to coin a new word to which can be attached what definition we please, so that progress may not be impeded by preconceived notions as to what is meant.

In Africa, so far as the machinery of education is concerned, we have almost a clean slate. The majority of the schools are still unbuilt, the teachers still untrained, the books still unwritten. Our eyes are opening to the true nature of education: its function as preparation for living; its structure based upon community life, yet holding the mirror up to progress; its method as adjustment to the processes and development, mental and physical, of the growing child. In Africa there are signposts towards all of these. The way of life to be prepared for is clearly indicated. Community life is here reduced to its simplest terms. Its simplicity gives a secure basis for our structure. Its comparatively low degree of specialization makes it readily adaptable to whatever conditions of progress can be provided for it. The lines of progress for the African are self-evident, and, in the practical method of teaching which seems to be indicated, vocational and educational demands are united.

But practical work and scientific technique are educationally incomplete without the humanities. Ready to our hand we have this great science of biology, embracing the whole school life, providing the body of information needed in an organized form, a basis for both male and female education, for child or adult, adaptable to the simplest schools or the most advanced, the trunk and roots growing

in strength as the branches extend. It gives to all the natural activities of the African an intellectual content in addition to their practical content, connecting, integrating them into a mental environment, wherein may develop both a creative mind and a consistent attitude in life—which I take to be true character-training. The best humanity for the African in preparation for life is the study of life.

To us it gives a single view over the whole work of the school and a means to test the right of any activity to enter it. It gives us a working principle and a practical method of carrying it out. All these are of the greatest value. Aims vaguely expressed, such as ' character-training ' and ' making a better African,' with the nature of the improvement and the means to attain it unspecified, give little help to the man working alone upon his schools. We need a settled policy, a definite aim, expressible in terms of school practice; to know our object, and to find possible roads towards it, are the first steps to attainment.

S. A. Hammond

EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA

By SISTER M. C. MAGDALEN

THE education of girls, which has long been neglected, is now being taken up with keenness and enthusiasm. This is a matter for deep thankfulness to all interested in their welfare; but times of enthusiastic awakening are accompanied by special dangers, and we workers need patience and restraint. All growth that is healthy and thorough is slow. If we force any growing thing to give results for which it is not fitted, those results will be unsatisfactory, often grotesque.

Forgetfulness of the need to hasten slowly in the education of young civilizations has produced in many cases a pitiful and objectionable type. We meet individuals with a certain amount of book knowledge floating on the surface of a mind that has lost its primitive simplicity, but who have not yet reached the level of mental fitness to make use of that knowledge. We see men and women who have no love or reverence for the old ways of their people, but who have not that sense of proportion or of the fitness of things which would enable them to work out a new civilization suited to their national character, their country and their climate.

Take the point of dress as an example. No one would wish to keep our people in their original nakedness (though there is something to be said for the minimum of clothing on the score of health and cleanliness), but personally I would far rather face the education of girls still adorned only with beads or loin-cloth than try to remould the mind of the typical 'educated' young woman. As she labours painfully along in high-heeled shoes, in a velvet or satin dress (that never was and never could be washed), with a

marvellous erection in the shape of a hat on her head, absolute discomfort but self-satisfaction stamped all over her, her appearance is the mirror of her mental condition. No one is more dignified than the Native man or woman when dressed in the costume which the older West African civilizations evolved for themselves. It is a pity to see them caricaturing the most ungracefully dressed people in the world. In dress and in all other things only a well-balanced judgment will enable the people to reject the unsuitable and to adapt to their own needs all that is desirable in the newer things they see.

This judgment, this sense of proportion and of the fitness of things, is of slow growth, but it is an essential of real development of mind and character. Through the want of it the Native grasps at trivialities and appearances, ignoring important realities.

Statistics show that less than ·5 per cent of the population of Nigeria are educated. If this is so, probably not ·01 per cent of the women are educated; and yet the family is what the mother is, and the nation is what the family is.

On the one hand, we want to uplift as many of the women of the country as possible by means of education; on the other, it is true that a mass of semi-educated people is the curse of many young countries. To plunge a whole population straight into a high degree of education is impossible, there must be a long transition period. There must inevitably be semi-educated girls for a time, but we can make the education, as far as it goes, both suitable and thorough. There are those who would like to see a full and complete education given to the people or none at all, on the principle that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing; but surely limited knowledge is not dangerous if the possessors of it are humbly conscious of their limitations. The fostering of humility of mind is a great test of the quality of the education given; probably if the quality were sufficiently good and suitable, any quantity great or small would be worth while.

Humility in the pupil is in large measure the reflection of sincerity in the teacher. A great educator of girls has written :

> If a teacher could only excel in one high quality for training girls, probably the best in which she could excel would be a great sincerity. . . . It has more enemies than appear at first sight—inertness of mind, the desire to do things cheaply, dislike of mental effort, the tendency to be satisfied with appearances, the wish to shine, impatience of results all foster intellectual insincerity. . . . Sincerity requires the recognition that to be honestly oneself is more impressive for good than to be a very superior person by imitation. It requires the renouncing of some claims to consideration and esteem, and the acceptance of limitations (a very different thing from acquiescence in them, for it means a life-long effort to be what we aspire to be with a knowledge that we shall never fully attain it). . . . Sincerity requires that we should keep the habitual lowliness of a beginner with the unconquerable hopefulness of a fixed resolution to win what is worth winning.[1]

To come back to the starting-point, the work of helping to build up a system of education for girls lies before us. We cannot take the curriculum of an English school, impose it on a primitive people and call that a system of African education ; neither can we merely add a few subjects such as needlework and cookery to the scheme planned for boys' schools. We have no excuse for slipping into these easy makeshifts for a real system, as we work under a large-minded education department that welcomes all pioneer work, and has no desire to rivet chains which would prevent individual efforts at solving the problem before us. ' Ultimately the system of education adopted by any nation must depend upon the teachers if they show themselves vigorous-minded enough to work out a system, otherwise they are bound to accept any system which may be imposed upon them.[2] Our work is essentially pioneer work, we can only prepare the African teachers who will in the future evolve an African system of education.

To come to the object we have in view in the education

[1] *Education of Catholic Girls*, Janet Erskin Stuart.
[2] *Times Educational Supplement*, 1927 (Sep. 3).

of African girls in Nigeria (that is to say, the present object, because it must change in part with time, and we are now at the very beginning of things so far as women are concerned). We want teachers and hospital nurses, but such careers are for the few. Of our work for the majority it has been truly said :

> You are training the mothers of the coming generation, and men are what their mothers make them ; a man's early training counts for more in the formation of his character than almost anything that can happen to him afterwards. You are training also the wives of the coming generation ; and a wife can generally do more to make or mar her husband than he can do to change her.[1]

If we had good mothers there would be good homes. Now many children have food and shelter of some kind, but no home. A little girl will speak of her father's present wife as her mistress. There are many who hardly know to whom they belong ; many whom no one wants or cares for till the time comes to claim the dowry for them.

In most cases the so-called home offers no protection to the girl as she grows up. If she wants to rise above the degradation of the ordinary pagan woman she is exposed to persecution. Some hold out heroically, but it is an impossibility for them to do so permanently unless they are given a safe shelter and means of support. If we can so far train the less heroic that they will allow their children to follow the higher teaching that they themselves could not follow, our efforts at education will not be lost. What has been said refers particularly to towns ; the districts where civilization and trade have not entered are, I am told, less immoral and offer more hopeful fields for work.

The first great need in a girls' school is to train the girls in self-control, cleanliness, self-respect, earnestness and reliability. The complete absence of self-control is one of the greatest difficulties the would-be educator has to face. Children are not trained to it in any way. They have never seen it in their parents. It could not exist or even

[1] *Fr. J. Cullen, S.J.*, L. McKenna, S.J.

be desired by a people whose ideal of womanhood is the product of the degrading 'fatting-house.' Babies should come to school at three years old or younger. Their bad habits become harder to cure, and their passionate paroxysms of temper more difficult to check each year.

The need for inculcating cleanliness may be deduced from the fact that the appalling death rate among infants and mothers is in a large measure due to dirt, as also are many of the prevalent diseases.

Apart from the girls who are dragged into degradation through the force of circumstances, far more girls go wrong through vanity than through any direct leaning to immorality. The desire to have a silk dress and other finery as grand as or grander than their companions' is the cause of much wrong-doing. The Native girl is steeped in false pride. It makes her wish on every possible occasion to show her superiority to some one she considers a little lower than herself; it makes her despise work and shirk it at every opportunity. Of proper self-respect she has none. She has seen nothing in other women and is conscious of nothing within herself worthy of reverence. One has to be always putting her down with one hand and lifting her up with the other; or rather, helping her to crush down her foolish pride and to raise herself up to the true dignity of Christian womanhood. When our girls have learned to respect themselves they will make men respect them, for this is the God-given power of a good woman.

Earnestness and reliability are the outcome of the gradual growth of self-control, of self-respect, will-power and the power of concentration. For a sense of responsibility to develop there must be actual responsibility, small at first but increasing to matters of importance. The Native girl is capable of becoming reliable to an extraordinary degree. In fact, I find her capable of excelling in every virtue; only time, patience and opportunity are required.

The kind of teaching suitable for Native children must be objective all through. I have failed to discover such a

thing as a native toy. This speaks volumes. There is nothing outside the school to brighten the young child. When it first comes it is just a little mass of stolid indifference, that is, if it does not happen to have a fit of screaming. Many are nursed by their mothers till the age of three, to the detriment of mind and body. They have to learn to play, to be active, to do things for themselves.

Though they respond fully to right treatment they do not respond quickly. They would more readily adapt themselves to the old brain-paralysing methods, sit packed on benches and repeat sing-song lessons after the teacher. Their minds tend to the monotonous ; their lives are monotonous (so is the scenery, so is their music). This deadly inertness of mind must be combated from the beginning. It is on account of this, and also because of the Natives' tendency to grasp at words and hide behind them that all teaching must be objective. I have adopted the Montessori system and have unbounded confidence in it.

The elder girls and the teachers in course of training need to give much time to manual and domestic work, and this for several reasons, of which the first is that these things may be valued for themselves as they should be. We do not want our girls to grow up despising a woman's essential duties, and looking upon them as only fit for the uneducated. ' These realities of life are best learned in the actual doing from those who know how to do them. The dignity of manual labour comes home from seeing it well done ; it is shown to be worth doing and worthy of honour.' [1]

Again, the strain of study tells much upon some Native girls ; manual work rests their minds and helps them to keep their balance. Work on the land is the ideal thing for mind and body.

Again, many girls have weak or defective eyesight. Probably a nation requires to adapt itself gradually to the strain of reading and writing. Over and above the strain which boys and girls share alike, the girls have their hours

[1] *Education of Catholic Girls*, J. E. Stuart.

of needlework, so that less of the former should be asked of them.

A form of training that will foster individual thought and independent action is needed. The stolid inertness of the baby develops into a passive submission to the seemingly inevitable on the part of older girls. They are passed from one custodian to another, from mistress to mistress; they are bargained about, they are paid for and handed over to a husband. In all this it never occurs to them to question their fate. In child-birth and in illness they submit to the horrible treatment prescribed by native custom. All individuality seems paralysed by their tribal life. Put this fact side by side with what has been said as to the way in which the Native who has been too suddenly plunged into a certain kind of education seizes on everything new, suitable or unsuitable. There is no contradiction, it is the same absence of individuality showing itself in different ways. A child must be gradually trained to a right independence and self-reliance. Herding together in classes, overmuch mass formation in schools will not foster initiative.

There is one important point that must not be overlooked. It is useless to give girls a Christian education (and I presume we are not considering any other kind) unless we are prepared to stand by them in their hour of trial. The Native girl is absolutely dependent on her family; she is in many cases only a financial asset to be sold to the highest bidder. According to the present constitution of society a girl has no means of earning an honest independent living. After a certain age her parents will not support her, she must depend on a man or starve. If she is really married to a Christian husband things may go well with her, but few have the chance to contract a real marriage.

There are three stages in the dowry system. First, the man pays a small portion of the dowry, the girl continues to live with her parents but is considered as belonging to him. This stage can seldom be passed in safety by the girl.

Secondly, another instalment of the money is paid and

the girl goes to live with the man and works for him, but without marriage. This is, of course, impossible for a Christian girl and it is, apart from the moral side, a grave wrong to a pagan. If she has no children, or if ill-health comes upon her, she is cast out.

In the third stage the dowry is paid in full and the man is bound to the woman by native law. This stage is most often never reached. For these reasons Roman Catholic missions do not approve of the baptism of girl-converts from paganism until their marriage to a Christian. With us no marriage is celebrated in church until the dowry is paid in full.

The first sign that danger is ahead is that the parents who had been paying the small school fee required for a child refuse to continue doing so, saying she is old enough to support herself. Large numbers of children have come to me begging to be given work so as to be able to earn their own fees. After a time the child comes to confide that she is afraid to go home on account of the temptations and persecution she has to endure. We have over forty boarders, and the best (and most) of them were taken in for protection. Many work so hard to try to become self-supporting that we have to check them. One child worked through the five standards of the primary school and was appointed a pupil teacher in less than three years, doing at the same time a considerable amount of manual work. Another passed through four standards in two years and a half. She failed in her examination for appointment the first time through sheer anxiety, but passed a couple of months later, after I had found out what was the matter with her and assured her that I would not send her away even if she never passed. Poor children, they find it hard at first to trust any one or to believe in such a thing as disinterested love. I have never refused to take in a girl who begged for protection and who had first put up a good fight for herself. God has so far always provided for them till they could support themselves; but I must own

that at times I am afraid when I see how fast the little ones in the day school are growing up, for I know that before long many will come to confide their dangers and temptations.

I do not think the time has yet come for girls to be kept in boarding schools just because their parents send them. Unless the girl herself desires to live a clean and virtuous life she will do untold harm and receive no benefit herself.

There are many real well-wishers of the African girl who believe it would be better for her to be left uneducated. It is easy to point out specimens of 'educated' womanhood and to say that they would have been better left in their primitive condition; but in truth it is not education but the kind of education given that is to blame. In any case the fact remains that girls will be educated.

To the missionary the work of educating has an apostolic motive. Cardinal Mercier said that if he had a district needing both a church and a school he would build the school first.

Grace works on the same lines as nature, and the more perfectly developed the whole being is, the more fitted it is for the knowledge, worship and service of God. A large proportion of Native women are sunk into an animal condition; their life is spent in satisfying mere animal wants and they are almost incapable of a mental effort. Several hundreds of women come to us daily for religious instruction. Some it is a pleasure to teach, but the majority have the minds of infants. The girl teachers help with them and say again and again: 'We should not mind teaching the children all day, but with the women it is no use, their minds are not there.' 'Their minds are not there'; this absolute vacancy makes them oblivious of time and distance. Probably it accounts for the long distances they tramp apparently without fatigue. What hold can Christianity take upon such minds? The child-soul must be trained, all its faculties must be developed that it may be in some degree fitted for the friendship of Christ and for attaining to the knowledge of its God and of itself.

One of the chief duties of the educator is to lead the child to self-knowledge. This means that by much patient study of each individual child we learn to know her predominant passion, lead her gently to see it and to acknowledge it to herself, and win her co-operation in combating it. Overmuch repression and too strict discipline will only hinder us from receiving much useful light on the character and faults of those under us. It is no use to cut off the outward faults if the roots of vice are still fostered in the soul. It is better that the faults should appear outwardly so that we may lead the child to self-knowledge, and then to self-conquest.

What we want to develop is a right and tender conscience. Children must be taught to look upon their faults as faults against the eternal and infinitely good God, rendering them unworthy children of their heavenly Father. They must not consider a fault to be a fault merely against their teacher or the school rules.

The work before us is enormous. The whole tide of influence that bears upon these children is for evil, yet they must learn to ' put on Christ.' This must be the work of Christ Himself. We must lead the children to Him, put them in touch with Him, we can then trust Him to do His own work in His own way for each.

However many the forces against us there is no need for discouragement, for *solutio omnium difficultatum Christus.*

M. C. Magdalen

TENDENCIES IN THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF INDIA

By IRENE MASON HARPER

DISSATISFACTION with the state of religious education in church and mission work in India is often expressed. It is common to approach the problem of religious teaching with statements of the inadequacy of the plans of instruction, the inefficiency of methods, and the woeful lack of earnest attention on the part of teachers, supervisors and church leaders to this supreme and difficult task. This paper will instead be concerned mainly with hopeful tendencies, growing out of the recognition of the failures of the past and the weaknesses of the present situation. 'Repentance is the next step,' concluded a writer in this Review five years ago.[1] Repentance is now taking place. We shall attempt to show to what it is leading, what are the signs of progress and to what changes in concept and emphasis these signs are pointing. In conclusion, we may wish to enquire whether the repentance has gone far enough and to suggest some problems still to be faced.

The discontent itself is a most encouraging indication of improvement. Enquiry, discussion and experiment in the field of religious education have notably increased. That the weaknesses and failures of religious education are recognized and deplored may be seen from even a cursory glance at the contents of church periodicals published in India during the last five years. The special call of the International Missionary Council to examine the purposes, the procedure and the practice of religious education in mission fields has stimulated discussion in all parts of India,

[1] Dr George A. Coe, on 'Religious Education as a Problem of Christian Missions,' 1923 (Jan.), p. 81.

has served to bring together many expressions of opinion, and to make available for larger numbers the experiences of groups who are thinking and experimenting. A conference in Bombay called by the National Christian Council from January 31st to February 3rd of this year, attended by delegates from all the provincial councils, attempted to gather together the results of a number of discussion groups and individual educators. Only a beginning has been made, however. The most obvious present need in this phase of mission work in India is the need for closer co-operation. Great distances and the pressure of local needs have prevented those especially engaged and interested in the improvement of religious teaching from meeting and discussing, and much of the valuable work that is being done is not known and used by many who nevertheless need help. Constructive contributions to the problems of religious education are still rare. The National Christian Council will continue, we hope, to render service by stimulating enquiry and experiment and by making the results of careful study available for all.

Some of the more significant tendencies in the discussions reported from various study groups and the Bombay conference are as follows: A new emphasis laid on a more inclusive conception of the scope and meaning of religious education; a trend away from the older preoccupation with subject-matter as the main concern of education toward making the 'educand' the starting-point; an earnest desire to make the approach to non-Christians more sympathetic and effective; a desire for better organization of teaching materials; suggestions for improvement in methods of teaching; an increasing emphasis on the necessity of expression of the religious life and application of teaching to life; stressing of the essential importance of the teacher; and attention to the need of special training for leaders in religious education. In so far as these changes in thought and attitude are interpreted to those who are teaching the Christian religion in villages, bazars, churches,

health centres, elementary schools, high schools, colleges, industrial and training schools, and in so far as they are accepted and followed by them, a long step forward will be taken away from formal, lifeless, ineffective teaching of religion.

A broader concept of the meaning of religious education is beginning to prevail. No longer is it possible for Christian teachers to hold the complacent belief that their duty has been accomplished by compelling daily attendance at the Bible class and securing the memorization of Bible stories and statements of Christian truth. While it is essential that the course in the history and literature of the Bible should be thorough and its intellectual requirements on a par with the standards in other studies—and many schools still acknowledge failure in this—it is understood that this Bible study is not an end in itself. The school is concerned with the whole life of the child. Religion should permeate and control the whole personality. Therefore, the curriculum for religious education must be a complete programme for a given school situation, including all the activities and experiences relating to religious life and growth. Among these Bible study will be one; and the corporate life of the school, training in worship, activities in service and fellowship will receive their rightful emphasis.

In considering this wider programme of religious education, special attention is being given to the pupils' experiences of worship. Failure to build upon the religious capacities and impulses of the Indian child is acknowledged. We have gone contrary to the natural tendencies of the Indian religious life when we have assumed that 'learning certain ecclesiastical and historical facts is the equivalent of communing with God.' Neglecting the rich Indian background of religious experience, we have too often made of corporate worship a stupefying thing. Several promising studies have recently been made by day school and Sunday school experts of the possibilities of private and public worship. The adaptation of ritual to the Indian religious

consciousness ; Indian music, architecture and symbolism ; the use of silence, meditation and out-of-doors worship—these are receiving more attention.

If religion has a message for the entire personality, it must meet the situations in which the child lives and acts, and help him to solve the problems which most frequently face him. What are those problems, and do the programmes of religious education take account of them ? Research is needed at this point. Studies should be made, securing from teachers and pupils alike statements of the actual questions of conduct which Indian boys and girls face at different ages and in different environments. Certain it is that while we have striven to help in some of these central questions of life many which are vital to the pupils have been left untouched. One of the findings of the Bombay conference states this :

> Curricula as they are at present do not include material from which may be given adequate training for Christian parenthood, Christian citizenship, voluntary evangelism among non-Christians, or organization and maintenance of the Church and the church school. They do not prepare the child for living as a Christian in a friendly yet independent way with Hindus, Mohammedans or other non-Christians.

One of the situations which Christian pupils face is their relation to the Christian Church. Instruction in preparation for church membership is included in some of the newer syllabuses. But instruction will not go far enough. What is needed, it seems to the writer, is an understanding of the opportunity of the school to help pupils to grow in Christian character through their social inter-relations. Learning how to work together, helping each other, serving the community, governing themselves, organizing for common purposes, these will lead them in progressive participation in the Christian fellowship. But this cannot be fully accomplished by teachers who cling to individualistic methods and fail to realize the social possibilities of classroom work.

Two of the life problems of both Christian and non-

Christian pupils, which have been largely neglected, were stressed by the Bombay conference. One is that of sex relations. Questions of home life and sex must be recognized in the programme of religious education. Not only should the school provide specific training for present and future home life for both boys and girls, but scientific instruction in moral hygiene must also be given. Plans were made for the preparation for India of helps for teachers and books for pupils, as translated material seldom meets the need.

The growth of right national and international attitudes is also a concern of religious education. A paramount and largely neglected duty of Christian educators is to promote intercommunal sympathy and peace. Good citizenship and service to the Motherland are objectives which need attention in the selection of subject-matter and in the use of teaching methods in religious education. Just what place the rich educational material available from the Indian social and religious heritage may have in the subject-matter of Christian religious education is a matter which has aroused great interest in recent discussions. Indian Christian leaders may be expected to give guidance in these problems. It is surely the duty of Christian schools to train Christian patriots, and also to foster respect and sympathy for other nations and to develop world-citizenship.

The scope of religious education must also include more than the college, the day school and the Sunday school. There is little indication that this is realized by church leaders in India. But is education only for children and youth ? The preliminary report issued in preparation for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council asked the question whether a fresh consideration of the meaning and purpose of religious education should not serve to reinvigorate and enrich every branch of Christian activity. This issue deserves more attention than it has yet received. The need of seeking knowledge and help from modern educational thought, in order to make

the Gospel ' effective in the hearts and lives of men ' is not sufficiently acknowledged. In solving the difficult problems of mass movement evangelistic work and the growth of the village church, the educative point of view is especially and supremely needed.

All this emphasis upon the wider meaning of religious education is encouraging. In most of the teaching of the Christian religion in India, it is still unfortunately true that the teacher's objective is the imparting of a fixed body of knowledge. The course of study has too frequently a logical rather than psychological basis. All the newer outlines and plans are based, however, at least in intention, upon the needs and the stages of development of the child. And everywhere in the colleges and schools Christian teachers are studying their students and trying to adapt teaching to their interests and needs.

This earnest effort is especially strong among those who are in contact with non-Christian students in colleges and high schools. The student's interests, his religious background, his inner life, his reactions to the teaching, these must be considered in selecting the subject-matter and the method of its presentation. Respect for personality is more and more the controlling factor in the question of religious teaching in colleges. The group discussing the approach to non-Christians at the Bombay conference reported as follows :

It has long been the custom to impose compulsory attendance upon all students in Christian institutions at the classes for religious instruction. For many years there was no feeling of resentment on the part of the students or of the people generally against this regulation. Now, however, as a result of nationalist feeling, as also of the widespread desire for independence and of resentment of any form of compulsion, it is strongly felt in many circles that there should be as little interference as possible with individual liberty in such matters. In view of these facts this conference feels that it is desirable in the circumstances of to-day to make attendance at religious instruction in all schools and colleges optional, it being understood that those who are set free from attendance at the religious classes shall have to attend an alternative class instead.

The conference considered the situation that has arisen through the

creation in the minds of pupils and students not only in Christian but in other educational institutions of two conflicting universes of thought, feeling and action. The practices and ideals of the home in all its relationships are often seriously at variance with the thought and ideals of the school or college. It was recognized that this dualism is not peculiar to India but is to be found in a greater or less degree wherever processes of change are going on in thought and practice, but the problem is specially acute in India.

It was agreed that it is desirable in all Christian teaching and in all relationships between teacher and pupil that the teacher should seek to conserve all that is good in national and traditional ideals, and not to destroy them, presenting the message of Christianity in the spirit of fullest sympathy with this. The importance on the one hand of having students and pupils in residence so that they may be continuously under Christian influence, and the importance on the other hand of keeping in intimate touch with the homes of parents of pupils were emphasized.

The emphasis upon the persons affected by the subject-matter, rather than upon the subject-matter *per se*, has directed attention to the curriculum and the technique of building it. The group on curriculum, at Bombay, reported :

Among existing curricula the most satisfactory are in the field of the primary and middle school, though even here emphasis is needed on the approach to God through nature study, careful grading of materials, materials from church and missionary history. All material needs to be based upon a very careful psychological study of the Buddhist, Hindu, Mohammedan and Indian Christian child and through adaptation to the non-Christian religions and Indian customs which form such an integral part of the life of the Indian child.

There are extant a few books designed for use in high schools. These fill a valuable place. However, the fact that students come to high school in many stages of knowledge and experience of the Christian religion and thus form groups, each of which requires special approach and treatment, tremendously complicates the programme of religious education in high schools. Many optional and supplementary courses are needed which will take pupils of different stages and give them the special training they need. Further, these separate courses ought to be correlated with each other and worked into a harmonic whole.

There are no generally accepted college curricula and very few existing in any college over a period of years. In many cases they have no curricula but depend upon the wish of the individual teacher for the subject-matter presented and the methods followed. The colleges face

peculiar problems. They are in positions of unique opportunity among the educated and independent classes. There is tremendous need for very careful study of the special needs and interests of college students of the various types found in India and the creation of curricula specially suited for their guidance. . . . Existing curricula are entirely inadequate in the fields of adult education. At the very time when men and women should be receiving specific instruction about sex, the many phases of Christian parenthood and child training, citizenship, the organization and management of the Church and of the church school, there are no materials or courses of study available.

There is an appalling dearth of text-books, supplementary readers, teachers' guides and other materials of religious education. The curriculum ought to provide these, paying special attention to teachers, and in some grades pupils', texts, which indicate in detail the aims of the courses and methods to be used in attaining them, as well as supply the subject-matter. However the task of creating for from twelve to fifteen class groups really Indian texts, educationally correct, fitted to the Indian child, adapted to the mental and religious concepts of Hindus, Mohammedans and other non-Christians, as the case may be, and finally translated into many major vernaculars, is Herculean. It will be properly done only as groups of specially qualified persons are set apart to work for long periods of years specifically on this task.

Improvements in teaching method are everywhere stressed. The development of story-telling as an effective method of presenting Bible truth has been encouraging. Practical helps for teachers in using this method are available and training in the method is given at such centres as teachers' institutes. The India Sunday School Union offers short courses to teachers. There is now little excuse for the dull and lifeless teaching which still prevails in too many primary schools. A few experiments are being made with other methods, such as the discussion method, the project method and self-teaching, but little has been written on these methods for the guidance of teachers. Work is being done on the problem of securing vital and intelligent memorization of Scripture. It cannot be too strongly urged that the very facility with which Indian boys and girls learn is in itself a danger. Teachers must earnestly seek for genuine, vital learning instead of parrot-like repetition.

There is also to be noted a growing emphasis upon expression in conduct as an essential step in learning the Christian religion. The teaching which does not show fruit in life is of little value. The application of the Bible story is seen to be of supreme importance. Expression in the form of handwork, in participation in worship, in church life, in the service of society and in co-operative activities are urged as integral parts of the religious educational programme. There is great need of securing sympathy with this point of view from pastors and teachers. The wide separation of religious instruction from the real lives of those who hear and study is a sad fact. Mr Mayhew in his illuminating book, *The Education of India*, has called attention to the duality of life and thought among those who have been educated in western institutions. In so far as our teaching of the Christian religion tends to become a meaningless process, drawing apart from life, this unreality and insincerity will be produced. It has been well said that 'the aim of all religious education, including Biblical instruction, is the changing of life.' Attention is drawn to the need for a more definite realization by teachers of their responsibility for building Christian character. Thoughtful, skilful, individual work on conduct problems is part of the duty and privilege of the teacher of religion, and Indian Christian teachers need to be stimulated in this direction.

With a realization of the need for a right selection of subject-matter and for improved methods and the importance of training in Christian living, comes a new sense of the essential place of the teacher. The training of teachers is of paramount importance. This is badly cared for in India. No really adequate provision has been made for training Christian teachers in the principles and methods of religious education. Fuller courses in Christian training schools, provision for the needs of Christian students in government normal schools, special training of rural teachers for their unique opportunities of leadership, short courses, institutes and camps are recommended.

It is fundamental that missionaries and Indian church leaders should be prepared in religious education. The conference strongly recommended to theological colleges the necessity for departments of religious education. Practically every missionary (including the medical missionary) needs to study education. If the regeneration of human nature is the purpose of the message, the messenger should not be ignorant of the laws of learning in accordance with which the message becomes effective. Much missionary effort is misdirected because of ' an imperfect understanding of human nature and of the laws which govern its change and growth.' The preparation of the missionary candidate, therefore, should most certainly include the subject of religious education. In addition, facilities should be provided for furlough study and for special study by those with experience on the field. Especially is there a need that able young Indian Christians should be encouraged to prepare technically for service in the field of religious education. The research and study necessary to adapt the curriculum to the psychology of Indian boys and girls, the problems of the approach to non-Christians, the discovery of methods most effective in developing the religious life of Indian students can best be done by Indian educators possessing the requisite technical training, scientific spirit and religious zeal.

Such are the tendencies toward improvement of the programmes of religious education. Such are the suggestions for earnest and consecrated effort to overcome the weaknesses and atone for the failures of religious education in India. Yet still further and more searching repentance is required. The multiplicity of problems and the diverse means suggested for their solution seem to leave us confused and uncertain. Clearer vision and more definite purpose are needed. The discussion of religious education at the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council will, it is hoped, lead, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to a new advance. It may not be amiss to close this paper

by suggesting three attitudes which, it seems to the writer, educators in India, both leaders and Christian teachers, need to adopt, for the sake of further definite progress.

First, what may be called a pragmatic attitude is needed, that is, the temper to test theory by practice, efforts by results. It is fatally easy to devise programmes, but laborious to provide a scientific basis for them. Our first need in India is scrutiny of the outcome of present practice. The specific question must be asked: Have the desired changes in human nature been secured, or not, by the subject-matter chosen, the methods used? Not only must such a test be applied in general considerations of curriculum and methods, but each teacher must adopt this attitude, testing his most earnest efforts not by tradition nor by opinion but by actual results.

The second attitude helpful to progress is a willingness to question and weigh objectives. A careful evaluation of all the elements entering into the purposes of religious education is necessary, in order that desirable aims should not be under-emphasized. Final ends will determine what immediate purposes shall be stressed. For instance, if we accept a statement of objective similar to that formulated by the all-India conference on religious education at Bombay, namely, 'The aim of religious education is to promote the growth of human personalities in and through participation with the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ, in building and finding joy in the ideal God-centred society,' then we cannot accept a goal of religious teaching which limits the growth of personality or which ignores its development through its social relations. All our purposes will be animated by respect for the child's personality. We shall place more emphasis upon fostering purpose, choice, reflective thinking and creative service, than upon docility, conformity to present standards of the Christian life, formal acceptance of our faith and ideals. 'We are not satisfied to become more efficient upon yesterday's religious level; we aspire to raise the level itself' (Coe). If such an objective is

accepted, we shall strive to guide the pupil in the growth of a God-centred, abundant life, which shall inform with the spirit of Christ all the great common purposes of life.

The third essential attitude is the concomitant of the other two. It is the attitude of consistency. Method must square with purpose. Selection of subject-matter and choice of method will be checked by the aims and by the results. It is easier to accept an aim in education than it is to discard a favourite method which, when tested, does not prove its usefulness in attaining the aim. I know a course of Bible lessons which states that one of its aims is 'to guide boys and girls in making right choices,' yet gives not one opportunity for real choice by pupils. Ultimate purpose will determine the minutest detail of curriculum and method. If our goal is a predetermined body of knowledge, and fixed ideals as to attitudes and experiences to be produced, we shall favour an elaborate, inflexible curriculum. We may even fall into the fault mentioned by the Kodaikanal group :

> Instead of seeking living contacts of life with life in a co-operative search for religious values, supervisors are mainly seeking a formula to apply through the teachers, the teachers cut the pattern and are endlessly busy in trying to fit it to all pupils alike, and the pupils are occupied, year in and year out, with words, just words.

Further, consistency will demand that we take account of the great body of patient scientific study of educational method and results. We shall find help in discovered laws of the learning process. This may mean a complete change of fundamental approach. We may come to see that the reason for our failure in securing spiritual results is ignorance of the conditions of true learning. True learning takes place through experience, through activity. In expecting children and older students to listen to a lesson and then apply it to life, have we not put the cart before the horse ? Our best efforts have certainly too often resulted in failure. Activity is not the end of the learning process, it is the beginning of it. Instead of trying to teach a body of

subject-matter in such a way as to urge pupils to act religiously after the lesson should we not try teaching them through giving them opportunities to act religiously? Is not a curriculum of controlled and graded Christian experience a possibility?

The changes in concept and emphasis suggested in this paper are more and more widely influencing the improvement of religious teaching in India. The problems are difficult, but they constitute a challenge to courageous thinking, humble and consistent following of the guidance of the Holy Spirit and patient, consecrated service.

IRENE MASON HARPER

THE JERUSALEM MEETING AND THE MAN IN THE PEW

By A. M. CHIRGWIN

THE importance of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council for missionaries and missionary administrators as well as for the Churches and Christian leaders in the mission lands is apparent enough, but what has it to do with the home Churches ?

Much every way. One of the greatest dangers for the Church of Christ in this or in any other age is that while one part is advancing another part should fall behind, or while one section is thinking and working its way through certain great questions another section should not even be aware of what these questions are. The advance guard of the Church to-day is face to face with completely new issues and problems, and it is of the first importance that the whole Church should share in their solution.

Though only eighteen years separate the meeting at Jerusalem from that in Edinburgh, in 1910, the Christian issues of the mission field are altered almost beyond belief. A glance at the programmes, and still more at the findings of the two gatherings is sufficiently startling. At Edinburgh the ' Christian ' West was looking at the non-Christian East ; at Jerusalem, the Christian Churches, both of the West and of the East, were together facing their common problems, many of which had not even emerged in 1910.

In 1910 there had been no world war, no revolution in China, no non-co-operation movement in India, no hint of Bolshevist agitation anywhere, no demand of the coloured races for equal treatment by the white races, no indigenous Church firmly rooted in the life of eastern peoples, no whisper of the names of Gandhi or Sun Yat-sen or Lenin

or Mustapha Kemal, no realization of the power of education as a world-force, no popular wireless, no commercial aviation and no International Missionary Council.

Not only are the tasks that face the missionary enterprise of the Christian Church vaster than was realized in 1910, but new tasks have emerged. The amazing advance of science has largely annihilated distance. Nations that were relatively isolated eighteen years ago are to-day bound up in the bundle of the world's life; and like a large family in a small house, mankind has now to find out the art of living together. The discovery of the Christian contribution towards the solution of this race question is one of paramount importance for the Christian Church.

At Edinburgh they spoke of the indigenous Church fondly as a hope. There were no Christian Councils in India, or China, Japan or North Africa. There was then no Church of Christ in China, no South India United Church, no Bantu Church of South Africa. These were hardly even dreams in 1910. With the emergence of the strong indigenous Churches in the mission field many of the problems with which the Edinburgh Conference was concerned have disappeared, and a whole set of new issues have appeared. The mission and the missionary have ceased to be the central factors in the Christian movement. The Church has been planted; it has taken root, and has gained a measure of strength and confidence; it has taken over more and more responsibility for the evangelization of the people in its own land. As the Church increases, the missionary decreases in importance, and the Christian movement is becoming more Church-centric and less mission-centric. The question now is that of the transference of responsibility and leadership.

The Christian occupation of the world was the great objective before the mind of the Edinburgh Conference. The delegates gathered there talked in terms of geography. At Jerusalem the emphasis was upon issues rather than upon countries, issues for the most part that were common

to all fields, that overstepped all geographical boundaries. Missionary thinking took a wider sweep, seeing the problems steadily and seeing them whole. The day for piecemeal methods and geographical policies is clearly over. It is essential that Christianity should be at the heart of the great formative movements and creative forces that are shaping the life of vast numbers of people, then they themselves will become means of advancing Christ's kingdom. Christianity must set itself to grapple with industrialism and race movements, with education and secularism, as world issues.

The issues that confront the Christian Church in the wider world to-day are evident from the Jerusalem programme, yet the man in the pew is scarcely aware that they exist. In so far as he is thinking of missionary matters at all, he is thinking in the old terms. He has hardly begun to orientate himself to the new day and its new Christian demands; he knows little about the work of missionary co-operation, of which the Jerusalem Meeting was the supreme expression, having little or no idea of how it has grown, what it has accomplished, whither it is tending and what it all means for the Church of Christ. He is frankly amazed, and not a little delighted, when first he hears that a dozen missionary societies co-operate in the running of an institution in the mission field, or the production of a study book at home, and a new set of ideas begins to stir in his mind; but for the most part he does not hear about it.

The first important fact which emerges is that the man in the pew is a long way behind those who were at Jerusalem, in his apprehension of missionary matters. The second is that he must keep pace with the thinking done at Jerusalem, or it will have been largely done in vain. We have to carry our people in the home Churches with us in this new era of world endeavour. The greatest care must be taken lest the main body of the missionary army moves so slowly as to lose touch with the vanguard. Hard thinking was done

and considerable progress was made at Jerusalem by those already in the forefront of the enterprise. Even before the meeting took place, the man in the pew was all too far behind the international leaders, and if the gap should be allowed to grow greater the result would be continual strain through lack of common understanding and conviction. Any attempt to force the pace on the one hand, or to put on the brake on the other, would inevitably cause reaction. The Church abroad and at home is one, and that unity should be preserved.

If the eager-hearted members of the younger Churches of the East were to lose touch with their brethren in older Churches of the West, it would not only be to the spiritual impoverishment of all concerned, but it would lessen sympathy and helpful co-operation. The need is for patience. If the missionary leaders move forward too fast, it will be difficult for the home Churches, possessing much less information on great missionary questions, to keep abreast. They will tend to fall out of the march or to be a drag on the wheels of progress. The need is for statesmanship.

If something is required of the Churches in the mission field and of the leaders in the missionary enterprise, much more is required from the Churches at home. For the Churches to fail to keep up would be parallel to a failure to send up munitions to the front line just when a great push was to be made; the line of communications must at all costs be kept intact. It is possible that the value of the Jerusalem Meeting might be greatly lessened not by any considered opposition to the aims and policy it has formulated, but by what is much worse, sheer ignorance of what it stood for and inability to understand the language it spoke. The need is for a new campaign of unresting educational work.

Of the three needs just indicated, by far the most urgent is the last. The patience of the younger Churches and the statesmanship of the international missionary leaders will not compensate for the failure of the older Churches to respond to the clear calling of God at Jerusalem.

There is now no question of holding back or slackening the pace. Whether we like it or not, industrialization, race contacts, the relation between the older and the younger Churches, are questions whose consideration cannot be deferred. That they have forced themselves upon our attention is not due to the over-eager advance of the younger Churches, nor to the advanced and radical thinking of missionary leaders, but to factors over which neither group has any control. The gathering at Jerusalem was not one of missionary highbrows, spinning unreal problems out of their own heads, but a company of men and women actively engaged in the Christian enterprise and endeavouring to face the facts of life in the world to-day and to discover the mind of Christ in regard to them. So far from thrusting too rapidly ahead, the delegates were deliberately endeavouring to get down to fundamentals.

The challenge of secular civilization to Christianity, or the emergence of race-consciousness, or the rapid industrialization of the Orient, or the entrance of governments into the field of education are not questions the consideration of which can be shelved till a more convenient season. Not to attempt to define the Christian strategy in relation to these facts, not to attempt to adapt Christian policy to the needs of the new post-war era of world-life, would be virtually to give up Christ's claim to world-rulership.

The intellectual assent of the people in the home Churches has to be won to the new policies that are foreshadowed. This will not be achieved by merely handing on to the Churches the main results of the meeting at Jerusalem. What is needed is a statement, probably in a series of books, of the steps by which the findings were reached, steps taken both at Jerusalem and before going there. These books must be written not in the parlance of missionary societies but in language 'understanded of the common people.' In plain words, it is essential that the folk at home should, as far as possible, travel the same intellectual and spiritual path as those who went to Jerusalem; they must be carried

through the same process of thinking and experience. To fail to do this is to court what has been aptly called 'the fallacy of the sub-committee.'

A matter that is found to bristle with difficulties is delegated to a sub-committee to discuss in detail and to submit a solution. The sub-committee does its work with ability and care, and presents its findings to the larger body as concisely as possible; but it presents nothing more than its findings, it says nothing of the arguments that were used and the considerations that had weight. Subsequent discussions in the larger body reveal the fact that certain members seem unable to translate the new policy into practice. They are neither obstinate nor obtuse, but since they did not traverse the same intellectual and emotional path as the members of the sub-committee, they have not been able to re-orientate themselves to the question, and the chances are that many in the larger body will not be convinced and the matter will have to be considered again. They may assent to the theory but they will lack the new attitude of mind and heart.

Similarly, the Jerusalem Meeting cannot attain its goal unless the home Churches travel the same path as their representatives who gathered on the Mount of Olives. The very subjects necessitate this. There is the problem of the relation between the Church and the mission. Most missionary societies nowadays are trying to hand over authority to the indigenous Churches. That passage of responsibility is of the first importance to the strong fresh growth of the Churches that have been planted. But that transference cannot for long go any faster or further than the home boards permit; and the action of the boards is conditioned by the informed interest of the Churches they represent. They in their turn cannot for long go faster or further than the Churches allow. If they press beyond the pace or point at which they carry with them the informed agreement of the average church member, reaction is certain sooner or later. The man in the pew is therefore the man

who matters. Everything depends upon whether he is hostile, indifferent or intelligently zealous. His goodwill is not enough; his informed goodwill is essential.

The same is true in regard to education, church union or the presentation of the Christian Message. What shall be the material as well as the method of religious education? Shall conscience clauses be admitted? Shall there be co-operation with governments? Shall mission schools be judged by the number of baptisms secured or by the development of Christian character in the students? Or again, shall the younger Churches be free to enter into union with Churches of a different ecclesiastical order? Shall they have the right to devise systems of church order and government which differ so greatly from those of the home Churches as to make it difficult for the latter to continue their fellowship and support? Or again, shall missionaries and indigenous Christians of the East and South have the right to accept for themselves and to advocate for others an interpretation of the Gospel which is at variance from that held by their supporters in the home Churches?

If these and such questions are to be handled wisely and constructively it is essential that the man in the pew shall have an informed missionary conscience. It is probably true that he is immensely attracted by the new appeal when he hears it. The modern and larger setting of Christian missions is just what he wants to hear. It brings the missionary enterprise into the realm of his ordinary daily thinking. The new treatment of missions, not as a thing apart, but as one of the great world forces, side by side with, influencing and influenced by, other great world forces such as racialism and industrialization, education and secular civilization, is precisely what the average church member is anxious to learn about.

The Jerusalem Meeting has, therefore, a profound significance for all engaged in the task of the missionary education of the home constituency. The very books and other apparatus of missionary study must not only reflect

the new attitude, but must deliberately attempt to evoke it and to win the assent of the Churches to the new policies. The study books of a few years ago gave nearly half their space to the history and geography of the country under consideration. But two factors have made this no longer necessary. The first is the fact that the general educational level, and in particular the missionary education, of the constituency has been raised in the last twenty years. The second is that geographical boundaries are counting for less. The great questions for consideration to-day are independent of country, and the main emphasis at Jerusalem was accordingly not upon countries but movements, not upon lands but issues. During recent years the mission study slogan has been, 'One field, one year.' Probably in the future it will have to be, 'One issue, one year,' with all the books published in all the series in any one year.

The introduction of this changed emphasis into senior study text-books will be comparatively simple so far as books intended for adults are concerned. It will not be so simple when it comes to the books in the junior grades, but doubtless a way will be found. We ought, therefore we can. Perhaps *Dawn in Africa* gives a hint of the way in which religious education as a great life force can be handled in a book meant for young girls. It is important that the boys and girls as well as the adults in the home Churches should have books that reflect the new attitude, otherwise every generation, as it reaches adult life, would have to be won over to the new position.

In addition to books there is the wide range of newspapers and periodicals, magazines and journals. Men who can write for the great journals, and who can handle such subjects as those dealt with at Jerusalem in the manner required by the monthlies and quarterlies, are needed, and can render invaluable service by influencing the mind of the intelligent reader.

The ordinary man can also play his own important and indispensable part if he will call the attention of his friends

to books and articles that handle these great subjects in an attractive and great way.

The British Broadcasting Company has for some time been in the habit of broadcasting a monthly missionary travel talk, but the importance of the subjects considered at Jerusalem would seem to call for a greater latitude than is indicated by the title 'missionary travel talk.' The findings in regard to race and industrialization, for example, would be of interest to many people, and the steps whereby these findings were reached would be no less interesting.

The Jerusalem Meeting also has its significance for missionaries on deputation. In many quarters the old type of missionary appeal has already been dropped, but in other places it is still expected, and missionaries are apt to succumb to the temptation and put the appeal once again in an outworn and sentimental setting. Now that the new era of missionary enterprise has definitely opened, it is merely honest and honourable to deal with world movements and their significance for the Christian Church, the interdependence of East and West, and the true place of the missionary in the religious and social development of backward races. If the missionary enterprise is to be the concern not of a few but of all Christians, it must be linked on to the dominant issues of the day. It must be related to the modern and growing interest in adult education, to the all-important school system, to the labour movement.

There is no single class in the community whose informed interest it is more important to secure than the Christian ministry. The outlook of any congregation depends to a greater degree than is generally recognized on that of its minister. If his attention can be drawn to the right literature, if he can be brought into touch with the new trends of missionary thinking and strategy, it will make all the difference in the presentation of missions which he gives to his people. Literature especially and exclusively for ministers, and in a form that can be readily used for pulpit purposes, is eagerly welcomed where it is provided. At

present such literature is prepared by two or three societies only, independently of one another. Something much more widely valuable might be prepared by common action between all societies. Small residential conferences of about three days' duration, addressed by outstanding missionary leaders, have been found singularly fruitful. The great problems handled at Jerusalem can be dealt with by competent speakers, and the unhurried and informal atmosphere of a residential conference is calculated to give those present not only stimulus and information, but a new orientation which will find expression in their preaching.

Probably every one would agree that the church members to-day who are uninterested in Christian missions are the uninformed. If that is true, the course to be pursued is clear—the Churches must be steeped in missionary information; the aim must be not machinery but knowledge, not new organizations but the saturation of existing organizations with missionary information, in such a fashion that every department of church life is giving a right and regular place to missionary items on its programme.

The need is for a comprehensive scheme of missionary education for the whole Church (not merely for the zealous few), for the whole year (not merely for an occasional week-end) and eventually for the whole community. Steps towards this last end would be the larger use of the cinema, the wider advertisement of missionary books in the non-religious press, the placing of missionary books in town and country libraries and the gaining of effective access to elementary and secondary schools.

If the Jerusalem Meeting means for the home Churches one thing more than another it means education. An unconvinced home constituency is a permanent menace to the whole missionary enterprise; while an informed missionary conscience at the home base means the eager response of the Church to the new call sounded at Jerusalem in 1928.

A. M. Chirgwin

NATIVE LIFE IN THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC:

FROM TWO POINTS OF VIEW

I

By JOHANN FLIERL

A FEW centuries ago when the Dutch took over the island of Java, it was a sparsely populated country. Now, Java has over thirty-five millions of inhabitants, showing a slow but healthy development. In Java there is no labour problem, for the plantations have always plenty of local day labour, and also there is a good deal of independent native cultivation. But in the Territory of New Guinea the labour problem is a burning question and makes all independent native cultivation exceedingly difficult, if not quite impossible. Ten per cent of the population, i.e. twenty per cent of the male population, is too much to be indentured. The history of the world war shows clearly that the economic condition of any country and people cannot remain satisfactory if so many of the able-bodied men are away from home for long periods.

If it should be maintained that it cannot do harm to the population if so many men are away, as a proportion of the men are always at home, besides nearly all the women, one would answer that people cannot be raised like cattle, and that even primitive tribes have moral instincts superior to those of the poultry yard. The first duty of married men is to their wives and families; the father and mother in co-operation should raise and educate their children. If a married man is away from home for a long term his wife is exposed to temptation which she may not be strong

enough to withstand. If young unmarried men are abroad for a few years to learn work and other customs, that is well and good. But husbands and fathers should remain at home—at any rate sufficient able-bodied men to carry on healthy village life; otherwise no independent native cultivation is possible; the old and infirm, the women and children will be doomed to semi-starvation, and slowly but surely the country will become depopulated.

Again, indentured labourers should be repatriated promptly at the end of their contract time, and as far as possible with their full earnings in cash. There have been cases with men from Village Island who went away for two or three years to earn money for themselves and near relatives to pay head tax. Some of them did not come back at the right time, others came back with a little trade goods and no money. It was hard for the families and clans who had sent them.

Let me now touch on a most important matter, that of native jurisdiction. Tribes which have been enlightened by the blessed Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which have received a new vision of life and a new knowledge of right and wrong, should be granted the right, the liberty and the privilege of handling their own affairs and having their own jurisdiction. This will greatly strengthen their tribal vitality. Otherwise, if the Christianized tribes have no freedom in their own houses and villages, they will lose all interest in life, they will be more miserable than their forefathers who were in the full darkness of heathendom, but were at least free.

I speak from experience. In the 'nineties of last century we few missionaries lived here at Finschhafen, in three stations, among a savage heathen people. The European Government of the Colony was far away at Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen—now Madang. Spirit-worship and belief in sorcery were deeply rooted in the hearts of the heathen. Village warfare and bloody vendettas were the order of the day. For nearly every natural death, caused by sickness, another man was killed as the supposed sorcerer. Accord-

ing to European standards of justice all adult males of the Kate, Jabim and Bukaua would have had to be hanged in those days. Our mission did no police work and was not expected by the Government to do so. We did not report cases of so-called murder to the far-off Government, and did not call for punitive expeditions. The killing of men was the outcome of an animistic religious belief and no real murder. They deemed it their holy duty to kill a supposed sorcerer. As soon as such a belief was rooted out, the wholesale killing of men ceased.

We learned the language and by that means learned to know the customs of the people and also their beliefs. In course of time we preached the holy Gospel and taught the truth of the Word of God and witnessed against spirit-worship, sorcery and their evil consequences, namely, the killing of men, forbidden by God's holy commandment.

By this means in due course, in the first decade of the new century, came the great change. The betterment came from within. The tribes as a whole did away with their old heathendom, with all belief in spirits and sorcery. The bad old order fell and a new order of things was established, a better order, in its crude outline that of an elementary Christian civilization. Adultery, for instance, in the old heathen days was a punishable offence, and was punished not by the death penalty but by a blow with the spear in the leg, not to kill the man, but to give him a severe warning for the future. After doing away with heathendom they also did away with the spear, and so had to invent a punishment not quite so cruel as a spear thrust. It was a principle that wrong should be punished.

Rumours reached the Government at Madang, not long before the war, about a 'Neuendettelsauer Kirchenstaat,' a Church State of the Neuendettelsau Mission. An official came down to do away with such a Church State. But he found none. He visited Finschhafen, the Huon Gulf and Sattelberg and the villages round about, and what he saw and heard pleased him well. He found a new good order of

a young Christian people, their own order, not that of the white missionaries. He found no antagonism between Christian and heathen, but rather a united people with only the one aim—to do away with the old heathendom with its wicked rites and to establish a new good order, not the strange one of a European Church, but rather a genuine Papuan civil order rooted in their own community.

He found in the villages real people's prisons and prisoners inside with no armed guard before the door. The transgressors were locked in only by the quite ideal authority of the elders and council of the village community. The government official found nothing wrong in such people's prisons. He gave the Kate people a certificate to say that their order was good and they should keep it.

Long ago these village prisons vanished, not by a government ruling, but rather by the wise decision of elders and village councils that it was not good for a healthy man to sit idle, but that he should do a useful piece of work, such as roadmaking, for the village community.

Meetings of the village or district councils are not held in the church with a missionary as chairman, but in a room in the village, simple in form and built like the houses of the people, all in genuine Papuan style. Occasionally the missionary is invited, but he is only a guest; he can give advice if it is asked, but he can never decide the civil matters of the people, and we are glad that it is so, and that the free villagers order their own civil matters so well, independently of the missionaries. Purely church matters are considered in the church or in the house of the missionary and in co-operation with the missionaries. The meetings of the councils are public and open to all adult villagers, baptized or not baptized, and even women have access and also a voice in matters concerning them.

Blackmailing, so common with the Luluais in New Britain, is quite impossible with the public and open village and district councils here. And, best of all, the councils here do all their work for the community gratis.

Trouble is often caused by young men returning home from overseas. They are only too ready to flout the elders, and sometimes they are upheld by white men lacking in common sense. The elders often deplore bitterly that all their influence and authority for good is broken down and that the young people so frequently go astray.

But still these councils of the elders can do much good by unity and steadfastness. For example, last year a young man came back from Rabaul to his home village, Lanizala. His wife and three children had waited patiently for the husband and father of the house and struggled bravely through the long years. And now that man said: 'I will not have again my former wife. I will have the young girl, N.' The whole village, however, council and community, standing against him as one man, he yielded at last.

It will be worth while for the Government to strengthen the authority of the elders and councils. It certainly would work well if the younger men were told by the government officials that they should listen to their elders.

Jurisdiction by the elders and councils of native Christian communities would be inexpensive and good if such councils had some power of punishment, such as roadmaking for adult transgressors, and for adolescents a slight birching by the parental authority of the elders and uncles. But little punishment would be needed if the young people knew that the Government took its stand with the natural authorities of the native community. The natives know all their own ways and customs and can make themselves well understood, as no white man is able to do, be he missionary or judge. Offences by natives against white men could be dealt with by the European courts, but most cases between the natives themselves could best be settled by the native elders and councils. All marriage matters especially should be regarded as native affairs in the Christian community; missionaries and government officials should not interfere with them if a bitter feeling among the people is

not to be created. Many a young native, subjected to timely discipline by the natural and God-given authorities of his own community, sanctioned by the Colonial Government, may thereby be saved from the rope and gallows.

JOH. FLIERL

II

BY A. I. HOPKINS

MELANESIA is the name that covers a long chain of clusters of islands emerging in groups from the South Pacific Ocean, north-east of Australia. The islands are now being rapidly brought under the control of alien influences—those of the missionary, the trader and the government official. The efforts made by the natives to adjust themselves to these influences are emotional and exhausting. The reaction tends to lead to ennui and death, unless a real Christian faith vitalizes both the white and the brown. This means mutual service, not one-sided exploitation.

In this article three pressing problems in Melanesia are discussed. The writer has had long personal missionary experience of life there and has watched the rapid changes taking place. The three problems touch the official, the trader and the missionary, and are those of administration, labour and the conflict of various missions.

There is in these islands the instructive spectacle of three different governments dealing with the same type of native. The New Hebrides group and two small adjacent groups are ruled by a joint English-French administration called the Condominium. This Government is situated on the shore of a large and most desirable harbour called Vila, which is likely to become of great commercial importance. There is a vast joint-court building looking over the harbour. There are fine spacious residences and

offices for English and French Chief Commissioners, and for the neutral president of the joint-court (a Spaniard), and for other officials. There is a joint post office, a customs house, a quarantine station and a jail; there are officials in grades—clerks, native attendants *et hoc genus omne.*

This great costly machine does not revolve, but creaks and groans as it grinds out doles of expensive justice, spasmodically, to a dying-out population. For the amazing facts, stated with humour and without bias, the reader should read *From the Middle Temple to the South Seas*, by Judge Alexander (Murray). All admit that the Condominium does not work; but agreement between England and France as to the future tarries. Meantime, of the 200,000 people the white man found there 80,000 are left. They are losing faith and abandoning hope, and need sorely a sensible charity. They are infested by swarms of recruiting schooners, and their villages are being depleted of their youth; the smuggling of liquor and arms demoralizes them; new diseases assail them to which they offer feeble resistance; fewer and fewer children are born; life is lethargic and full of ennui. The only villages that are awake, or show some sparks of life and joy, are those where Christianity is in possession. Here is heard most clearly the weak voice of the native asking for justice and mercy. It gets fainter and fainter and if not heeded now will soon be heard no more at all.

One remedy suggested, asked for by English settlers that they may compete fairly with the French, to whom it is already allowed, is imported labour (Indo-Chinese). This might relieve the pressure on the native to recruit. But it would need most careful regulation. Meantime what can Christians do? Little that looks effective. Glaring illegalities can be reported, redress patiently pressed for, facts made known. But for us the essential fact is that when Christ is in Melanesian hearts there is life and hope. So we must go on with our work, making it as real as we can by every means in our power.

Going north we enter another sphere under another Government. The Santa Cruz group and the British Solomon Islands form a British Protectorate over some 150,000 natives, living on five large and several smaller islands. Here (though Santa Cruz is a sad exception) we find a more virile people, almost capable of holding their own as to numbers, though in need of great care. The seat of Government is not in the Solomon Islands. It is at Suva in Fiji. The Solomon Islands are but a small piece of the sphere of government, and a High Commissioner may well go through his term of office and never have an opportunity to visit the Solomons; at best any visit he can make must be brief. There is no direct steamer between Fiji and the Solomons. The route is via Sydney, or by government boat or man-of-war at a great expense of time and money.

At the time of writing, the sending of Sir H. C. Moorhouse to the Solomons to enquire into various questions of the Government there has been officially announced. Many white men of all classes wish for a separate Crown Colony for the islands. This would mean an official of experience and rank in immediate control. Under the present system a Resident Commissioner is in charge and is restricted by need of reference on anything of importance to Fiji. At present the Government and the people are not at one. What the native sorely needs is sympathy. That can be most effectively shown by a great extension of medical work; he might then see reasons for being taxed. Often his susceptibilities are sorely tried by regulations in ever-increasing numbers and stringency about his wives, his pigs, his paths, his villages, his fightings, his witchcraft, his land tenure. As laws they are excellent on paper, but he is not ready for so many coming on him so fast, administered in pidgin-English and enforced by native police.

If one might venture on a few constructive suggestions of things that would be for the benefit of the Solomon Islands, they are these: (1) A Crown Colony should be formed of the islands, separate from Fiji. (2) Medical

work should be greatly developed, and taxes, if taxes there must be, be liberally and visibly used for this work, that the native may see benefit to himself from it. Greater government support might also be given to mission hospitals and other medical work. (3) Government laws as to taxation, pigs, polygamy, paths, huts and so on should be imposed as the districts are able to bear them, more gradually and locally, not suddenly and universally. The experience of missionaries and their intimate contact with native customs, languages and feelings might be of service here.

One thing more is needed, namely, the co-operation of the trader and settler with the missionary and the government official. The native should neither be spoilt by sentimentality, nor be the object of profiteering. He is a human being in sore need of civilizing, in sorer need of being understood, in sorest need of all of Christ. And Christ comes to him in the white professors of His Name. In so far as they are Christian so will the native be. He is sometimes expected, strangely enough, to set a higher standard than his teachers follow.

Journeying north-west, we pass out of the British Protectorate to more large populous islands, New Britain, New Georgia and others, close up to New Guinea, also close to the Equator. These islands, with a portion of the mainland of New Guinea, were under German rule before the war. They are now mandated to the Commonwealth of Australia, which has made a fine beginning. Medical and educational work is planned carefully and financed liberally ; labour laws are strict and enlightened. Many of the people are not yet touched at all, but law and order is being established in ever-widening circles. White men are coming in fast, there are upwards of three thousand already there, prospectors and planters in search of plantations, minerals and pasture land. This inpouring requires much watching and regulating to save the natives from deterioration. It is a challenge to the Church to move now, in time, in the forefront of this invasion, into districts as they are opened

up. On the whole there is hope here for the brown man, given good government and missionary effort from the first.

Labour problems have been already partly discussed. But something useful may perhaps be added. The white planter wants labour, he needs more than he can get. The native is willing to turn labourer, too willing for his own true interests. The two cannot be left to bargain alone. For the advantages are too many on the white man's side. Labour to the young native offers a change from the monotony of village life; practically all the youths are recruited for at least one term of two years on a coconut plantation. Many renew their indentures, perhaps for several terms without returning home. Some do non-indentured day labour near their homes, or work for spells on ships or on the wharfs. Where government control is effective, they get food in plenty and varied, good living quarters, a reasonable wage, inspection, clean houses, two hours' rest at midday and no work after five o'clock. The work is not often severe; on Saturday afternoons and all Sundays they are free to walk about, visit neighbours, play cricket or football, go to stores, wash their clothes, sleep, yarn together, gamble their tobacco allowance, go to church if they are Christians and near a Christian village. It all sounds good to them, and at the end of their term they have put into their hands on discharge at least two-thirds of their pay, for they may not draw more than one-third before their time is up.

As a matter of fact is it all good for them? They have left villages that need them and their work; some of them are already married men with families, others are of an age to marry and settle down. Again, segregation of men and boys on plantations is not wholesome and may lead to grave evils; work for eight or nine hours daily is monotonous and does not teach simple folk of irregular habits to love work. They learn to gamble wildly, swear fluently, dress foolishly and spend unprofitably; they often lose respect both for themselves and others. Where they work for a good master (and still better a good mistress), the life

on the plantation may do them much good, a lad may be carried safely through difficult years during which he would have been a nuisance to himself and to his village. But the average man when he gets home to his village determines to take life easily. The chief or teacher has lost hold over him. He may share his money with others and help to pay taxes, but his garden is neglected, his handicraft out of date, his contribution to the work of the community meagre. If he returns to a Christian village he is a slacker in church work, if to a heathen village he is often restless and a stirrer up of the embers of old feuds. The pidgin-English he has picked up makes him useful to white visitors and unduly prominent as a go-between. One longs for the ideal of the native at work on his own coconut plantation, sun-drying his own copra far more extensively and exclusively on his own land, tending his own garden, living his own native married life, absorbing slowly and naturally new Christian and civilizing ideals, not donning them uneasily like the uncomfortable clothes he will buy in which to strut about.

In order to mitigate the evils of the indentured system, local labour should be encouraged. The planter's trouble is its uncertainty as to numbers and difficulty of control. Unindentured boys may leave for trivial reasons at times when they are most needed, they are less amenable and more inconsiderate, even with the best of masters, than indentured labourers.

If labour is indentured, married couples should be encouraged to apply, although a woman's work is uncertain and affected by family cares. Spiritual, educational and medical work should be carried on among the labourers, but it is difficult to arrange. The white missionary at best can pay only flying visits. The native teacher is not wanted unless he also is an additional labourer, taking services and school in the evenings. That is quite reasonable, for otherwise he would loaf about all day; but it is a big thing to ask of him. The best results are seen when planter and missionary are on good terms, each seeing things, in part at

least, from the point of view of the other, and mutually respecting each other.

There are a good many different Christian bodies at work in Melanesia. There are Church of England, Presbyterian and Methodist missions in recognized separate spheres; there are Roman Catholic, Church of Christ, South Sea Evangelical, Seventh Day Adventist and other missions working where they list. All are working in Christ's Name, all with His cause at heart. It is a terrible commentary on our Lord's prayer 'that they all may be one'; but as things are we must follow the Government's plan of allotting districts not already occupied. Their rule as to pioneer work is, 'First come first served, and then occupy effectively your allotted place.'

The native finds it hard to understand, but easy to imitate, our differences. Respective adherents argue crudely about different teachings on the sacraments, the ministry and so on. The arguments are apt to end in personalities, while accusations of conceit and hypocrisy are flung about. Their various missionaries are seen to be personally friendly, mutually helpful in time of need and hospitable, but neither praying nor working together.

Can anything be done until unity is forced on the Church, perhaps by a mighty urge from the mission field? In non-controversial matters we might work together in co-operation far more than we do; but we often do not know what others are doing. We might accept each other's rules of church discipline. We might teach more positively and less controversially. What would S. Paul say were he to enter Melanesia to-day? Would he not reiterate his words to Corinthian and Philippian disputants? Should we listen? And the Christ whom we all worship is still so patiently and, may we dare say, hopefully praying to our Father 'that they all may be one.'

A. I. Hopkins

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CHINA IN EVOLUTION

China: A Nation in Evolution. By Paul Monroe. New York: Macmillan. $3.50. 1928.

IN the first two sentences of his Introduction, Dr Monroe states his purpose in writing this book and the type of reader he had in mind:

> So numerous are the books on China that with difficulty can another be justified. This volume is not for the specialist, or for those familiar with China; but for the average American, puzzled by the complexity of the problem, by the strangeness of the names of places and of people, confused by the contradictory character of the news; yet earnestly desirous of understanding.

Then follows in a single sentence the author's belief 'that the Chinese problem is extremely complicated,' and a summary of the complexities, together with his belief that the American people, wishing to be friendly to China but sorely puzzled by recent occurrences, need a reasonably comprehensive if necessarily sketchy contribution to this end such as his volume aims to be. After illustrations of the voluminous literature required to compass even a single phase of Chinese life, there follows another sentence which should also be quoted in order more fully to grasp the author's own thought as to the function of his book:

> By contrast with works more adequate to the subject, the chief justification of this modest attempt is such complete recognition of its limitations as should disarm most criticism.

Dr Monroe develops his theme through fourteen chapters, beginning with 'The Problem' and the physical, social and religious backgrounds of the people; passing on to the history and effects of contacts with the West, the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the personality of the leader of that revolution, and the nationalist awakening which followed it, the growth of the student movement, and so forth, until in the two concluding chapters he admirably reproduces the Chinese point of view and then with cogency and

courage sets forth his own. One of the chapters requiring and revealing a large measure of information coupled with well-poised appraisal is the one on 'Russia and China.' Being avowedly written for the instruction of his fellow-countrymen, there is a special chapter on American policy, the fairness of which ought to satisfy the most fiery patriot while faithfully disclosing weaknesses and inconsistencies contributory in no slight measure to the perplexities of the situation.

The readers of the present review will be primarily interested in the treatment of Christian missions, which though referred to in other places are the subject of one chapter. The author is heartily sympathetic and appreciative, but unsparing in friendly criticism and illuminating in his analysis of the causes for anti-Christian sentiment and suggestions for removal of suspicion or hostility. This chapter could be profitably read by every believer in the missionary enterprise at home and by every missionary on the field, not only for its factual and interpretative content, but as an example of calmly restrained and discriminating evaluation of a topic which arouses strong emotions for or against. Such sympathetic insight and reasoned self-control are important qualities for every one concerned with the place of the Christian movement during the years that lie immediately ahead in China. There is a charming chapter describing —free from references to authorities—the author's own impressions of Shansi and its 'Model Governor.' Each chapter is garnished with apt quotations from Chinese proverbs or bits of classical wisdom.

This account of what the book contains is, like the book itself, compressed into the briefest summary, as perhaps the best method of describing it. Yet, again as with the book itself, this is longer than many hurried readers of to-day may take time for. The book accomplishes its aim so splendidly that the only fear one has about it is that the very persons who should read it will fail to do so because of its length and the detail of the earlier chapters, and will thus lose the message of the last one. The present reviewer endorses enthusiastically the general attitude of Dr Monroe, and desires intensely that the final chapter should be widely known as the conclusion of one so sane and so qualified to judge. He therefore fears the length of the book merely on pragmatic grounds, while wondering how the case could have been made in much less space. The work bears the marks of the teacher, careful in the collection of his materials, as in the formulation of deductions from them, critical and provocative

of thought, human withal and anxious to be helpful. This volume can be endorsed as one of the best which have recently appeared, perhaps the best for those—Americans at any rate—who want something more than a superficial handbook, but have little time for extended reading on the subject.

To quote a Chinese proverb about the captiousness of blowing the cat's fur to find blemishes, the destruction of the summer palace at Peking is twice referred to as that of the winter palace.

J. Leighton Stuart

New York

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA

Das Werden der Christlichen Kirche in China. By Julius Richter. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. M. 25. 1928.

THIS is the fourth volume of a series on the history of missions by Dr Julius Richter (*Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschichte*). The other three are on India, the World of Islam and Africa. These four form a unique contribution to the history of Protestant missions.

The present volume opens with a description of the political, social and religious life of old China. Then follows a sketch of the beginnings of Christian missions: the Nestorians who came in 635, the Franciscans of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the Jesuit mission, 1583–1773. Then the beginnings of evangelical missions, 1807–40, are described. This is followed by a chapter on the work in the five ports (1840–60), in which the author discusses the Opium War, missionary work, the T'ai P'ing Rebellion, the Arrow War, the Peace of Tientsin and the Peace of Peking. He then takes up the period from the Peace of Peking to the Boxer Uprising (1860–1900), and treats the following topics: the political background, Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission, the main developments of missionary work, the general conferences at Shanghai in 1877 and 1890, medical missions, work for women, one hundred years of Bible translation, persecutions and the Boxer Uprising. Then comes a chapter on the period from the Boxer Uprising to the Revolution (1900–11) and one on Opium.

The period of the Republic, 1911 onwards, is discussed under the following headings: the political background, the fight for religious

liberty, the missionary situation, co-operation, new plans, and the Shanghai Conference held in 1922. There are two short chapters on Roman Catholic missions. The last part of the work deals with the dawn of new China—the political background, the anti-Christian movement, the renaissance, political strife, the fight for control of mission schools, the Christian Church in China, the National Christian Council, new missions, and the Christian Message.

Dr Richter is fully aware of the difficulty of writing a history of missions in China. Not only is the material for such a history scattered in all parts of the world, but policies, methods and objectives of mission work are changing and institutions are being evaluated according to new standards.

Out of his long experience and study, and with a prophetic vision, Dr Richter has seized upon a vital principle about which he organizes a great array of details. This is the becoming or the emergence of the indigenous Christian Church of China. He recognizes this principle in the feeble and seemingly futile beginnings of Nestorian missions, in the superficial work of the Franciscan monks of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in the efforts of the Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They failed, but their failure was a witness to later ages of the unquenchable spirit of the witnesses of Christ in making Him known and in extending His kingdom throughout the world.

In the nineteenth century a new era opens. A titanic struggle begins between the advanced guard of the Church and the old forces. Wars, trade rivalries, imperialistic ambitions, rebellions, the fall of the dynasty, the rise of militarism, the world war, the renaissance, new social theories—all these surge over the pages of history. Out of this strife and turmoil and carnage, yes, in spite of it, emerges a body of people with a consciousness of unity not based upon national traditions or aspirations, but actuated by the love of God for sinful men revealed in Jesus Christ, and reaching out to their brethren in the West for fellowship. This living principle is the heart of Dr Richter's book. To him the Church is not a visible organization but ' the Church in the churches.'

The indigenous Church of China emerged at the Shanghai Conference in 1922. The National Christian Council then organized is its agent. With the emergence of the Church the attitude toward past history changed, and a vision of a new future with new tasks and new problems confronted the missionary and the Church. In

the coming years these problems and relationships will be worked out, and to this process Dr Richter will make a valuable contribution.

The book is well organized and documented and written in a clear style which holds the interest to the end. A number of questions of fact and interpretation arise. The author assumes that the T'ai P'ing Rebellion was inspired by Christianity. This view was started by Meadows and has been followed by historians since. While the impact of the West upon China was a contributing factor, the influence of Christianity was not great. There were only a few hundred Christians in China at the time and they were mostly in the five ports. The driving force of the movement was in the secret sects which honeycombed China.

The author exaggerates the direct influence and participation of American missionaries and the Chinese connected with them, in the revolution in 1911. Individual Christians had a part in it, but the great body of church members and students were not carried away by political propaganda. The revolution was not made in America.

In a new edition certain changes should be made, for example: A *Tao* (p. 3) was not a prefecture, but a circuit consisting of several prefectures supervised by an official called a *Tao Tai*; there were fifteen such circuits in the eighteen provinces. Amida and Pureland are said to be the representative schools of Mahayana Buddhism in China (p. 25); the two are different names for the same school; the chief schools of Mahayana Buddhism in China are the Pureland or *Amida*, *Tendai*, *Wei Shih*, *Ch'an* (*Zen*) and the *Lü-men*; the Awakening of Faith and the *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* are important works of Mahayana Buddhism, but not especially the basis of the Amida school. The dates of the T'ang dynasty are 618–907 (p. 34). The Jesuits at first donned the garb of Buddhist priests, as stated, but later changed to the Confucian costume (p. 48). The students came on the stage as early as 1905, when they organized a boycott against American goods (pp. 537–8). Sun Yat-sen died March 12th, 1925 (p. 546). The influence of Confucius has been operating for much longer than seventeen centuries (p. 567).

But after all, these are mere details. We congratulate Dr Richter and the German missions on this book and on the series of which it is a part. Protestant Christianity is the richer for this work and for the two volumes, soon to issue from the press, on the history of missions in China by Professor Latourette of Yale.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT LEWIS HODOUS

CHINA AND FOREIGN POWERS

China and Foreign Powers. By Sir Frederick Whyte. Second and revised edition. London: Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. 1928.

THIS new edition is most welcome. The continued demand which has occasioned its issue is a sign not only of a widespread interest in the Chinese situation but of a desire for trustworthy information regarding it. The new edition is well worth its slightly enhanced price. Additional pages (p. 30 *et seq.*) dealing with Sino-Russian relations (1920–28) explicitly recognize beyond Russia's political aims 'the dream of the Third International that China would swing into line as the Far Eastern wing of the World Revolution,' and summarize the story of the relations between Russia and China right up to their breach in 1927. To the appendices are now added the announcements of policy in 1927 of the United States' and Japanese Governments, and documents relating to what the preface calls 'the rendition of Hankow,' but surely to be more accurately spoken of as the rendition of the British concession there.

But besides this additional matter to which the preface draws attention there are other changes to be noted in this new edition. A prescient remark by Sir Robert Hart is quoted on p. 9 (compare the reference to him and to Sir John Jordan on p. 21). The reference to the menace of Japan on p. 12 is slightly enlarged; so is the account on p. 13 of Japan's getting rid of extra-territoriality, which she effected without violence by making it unnecessary, even though the process took thirty years to complete. The matter on pp. 18–21 has been rearranged and supplemented. On pp. 28–9 there is a fuller account of the action of the British Government in 1926, which finds the germ of the famous December memorandum as early as May. Appendix XI (B) now describes its contents as the Programme of the Kuomintang and not, as in the first edition, the Programme of the Cantonese. Even so slight a change as this has its value in guarding the reader against a too narrow localizing of a widespread political party.

All these additions and changes make for a clearer view of the whole situation. 'Good wine needs no bush,' and, as the demand for it proves, this booklet is already finding its public; but it is again warmly commended to all who are interested in China. Nowhere else is there to be found so succinct and clear a statement of the history that lies behind present happenings.

London P. J. Maclagan

JAPAN: BETWEEN TWO CULTURES

JAPAN: ZWISCHEN ZWEI KULTUREN. Von J. WITTE. Leipzig: Hinrichs. RM. 19.50 und RM. 21.50. 1928.

IT is with great delight that I have read Dr Witte's new book. It is not only an excellent encyclopædia of Japan but also a treatise on the Japanese nation which shows real insight. Dr Witte emphasizes in his foreword that he has written the book principally for Europeans; but it is of the highest interest also for a Japanese, who can learn from it not only the nature of European culture, and the habits and customs of European life, but also that of Japan itself. One cannot readily understand the nature of any culture if he cannot examine it from without. A Japanese ambassador in a European State, at the request for his autograph of visitors from Japan, always wrote: 'In the West a man first understands the East.' It is an acknowledged fact that the Japanese acquire a clearer understanding of their country when living in Europe. This is correspondingly true of Europeans living in Japan. A foreigner can learn to understand the meaning of another way of life and the nature of another culture in the country in question if he is fair-minded and is interested in such matters.

The book will commend itself to Europeans, therefore, not only because it is a true 'book of Japan' (*Japanbuch*), but because through it they can examine their own European culture from outside.

A picture of the Japan of to-day can only be painted by a comparison of Japanese and European cultures. It cannot be done in any other way. The empty sketch of the superficial traveller in the far East has no value and gives no true picture of Japan. The days are past for the idle curiosity which could be satisfied with such scanty information, and the time has come when Europeans should seriously set themselves to understand Japan We, the friends of peace in Japan, wish that every European possessed even one-hundredth part of the knowledge of Japan which every Japanese to-day possesses about Europe.

I do not know whether another such book about Japan exists to-day; there are indeed many books dealing with similar topics but not one of them is a 'book of Japan.' I especially admire this author's accurate, painstaking and thorough study. The book is not the meaningless relation of a superficial observer, but a scientific work, the result of systematic study.

The contents are in four parts: The development of Japan up to its present position and situation; the antagonism between old and new in the life of Japan to-day; the struggle between the old and the new; religion in the life of Japan to-day. Dr Witte begins with a few pages of well-written condensed history of the country, giving the reader a good foundation for his study of modern Japanese life. He gives a clear picture of the introduction of the Chinese culture and writes:

> The whole of Chinese culture, intellectual and scientific, as well as their civilization, found here good ground in which to take root, and so there sprang up in the new soil of another race a second unique and brilliant presentation of the rich treasure of their spiritual culture.

He is right also in saying that there exists a great difference between Japanese and Chinese cultures. He writes:

> The Japanese have built up, out of the culture which they took over from the Chinese, a culture of their own which has developed in a special way in many directions. The Chinese and Japanese cultures appear alike only to those far-distant lands not familiar with the life of Eastern Asia. As a matter of fact, there are great differences between them.

The book contains much that is of the greatest interest even to those Europeans who already know Japan. The author gives a clear picture of Japan as it is to-day and of the Japanese struggling in the fight between the life of old Japan and modern Europe. He shows the antagonism of the old and the new ideals in actual life and then the struggle which arises from the clash of ideals. He describes in a masterly way the working out of the impersonal element in the Japanese culture in regard to matters of the spirit, of moral conduct and of religion, as well as in the new culture which has come to Japan from the West. His observations regarding Japanese life—the family, customs, youth, food, housing, clothing—are deeply interesting and on the whole accurate. As in all books, there are, to be sure, a number of statements which the reader will not allow to go unchallenged. But they are only small points which do not detract from the real worth of the book.

Of the 505 pages, 270 are taken up with the question of religion. Dr Witte says in his foreword:

> The religious problem stands squarely in the foreground of this book. That is not because to me, a theologian, it occupies, or must be dragged

into, the foreground, but because it has in fact central significance in Japan. Whoever would speak of the thought life of Japan must take into account the religious problem.

As far as my slight knowledge and observation of this matter goes, I know many Japanese who believe the exact opposite. Many of them complain that the present-day Japanese are an irreligious people, and wish that the influence of religion might be strengthened.

In any case, this book provides an excellent document on the history and growth of religion in Japan, and I am glad to be able heartily to recommend it to Europeans, not only as the best ' book of Japan ' that has so far appeared, but also as a work of real scientific value. A sympathetic understanding is the mother of love and of peace. Dr Witte has done a good work for humanity.

M. Inagaki

Paris

AN ESSAY IN PSYCHOLOGY

Spiritual Exercises and their Results. By Ælfrida Tillyard. London: S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. 1927.

THIS is a good book—all except the title. This suggests the queer passage in Virgil where the dead are seen at exercise, or, even more gloomy, so-called ' religious exercises ' and all those tedious performances with which men bore one another to the glory of God. But it has nothing to do with either of these; it is, as the sub-title tells us, an ' Essay in Psychology and Comparative Religion.'

This bad phrase, ' comparative religion,' survives in spite of the fact that it has no meaning, but the authoress is wise enough not to compare religions. She contents herself with bringing together from various sources the meditations and the technique of meditation of the group of mystics who form the focus of four great religions. This is timely and the book follows aptly upon Dr Underwood's *Conversion, Christian and Non-Christian.* It enforces an impression brought out in memoranda on the great religions prepared for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, that mysticism is religion in its purest form. At the heart even of the faith of Islam are the Sufis and others with a mystical experience of religion. Even in the dry scholasticism of the monks of Southern Buddhism are the *dhyānas* and the experiences

of an other-worldly joy. Even in our dull modern expressions of Christianity there are groups with a first-hand experience. How few there are is well brought out in the criticism of a Hindu, quoted by the authoress from Edward Carpenter :

> You in the West say ' O God ! O God ! ' but you have no definite knowledge or methods whereby you can attain to see God. It is like a man who knows that there is ghee to be got out of a cow. He walks round and round the cow and cries, ' O ghee ! O ghee ! ' Milk pervades the cow, but he cannot find it. Then when he has learned to handle the teat, and has obtained the milk, still he cannot find the ghee. It pervades the milk, and has yet to be got by a definite method. So there is a definite method by which the divine consciousness can be educed from the soul, but it is only in India that complete instruction exists on this point —by which a man who is ' ripe ' may systematically and without fail attain the object of his research.

This is well put. The mystic is a virtuoso in religion, and he has his methods and his techniques, some of them strange, and some grim. To bring these together is to do a great service to those who are not specialists. Here, for instance, is the essence of that strange book of modern Southern Buddhism, *The Yogavachara's Manual*, published by the Pali Text Society, and not known to the general reader.

From Mohammedan sources, again, the authoress has made a good selection which will reveal elements in Islam too little understood. The missionary, in particular, who is apt to spend time attacking Islam as a cold and intolerant deism, will find that there are Mohammedans of a different kind, and that there are, in fact, side by side with the intellectual meditations and the hypnotic practices, a Mohammedan *Bhakti* and a Mohammedan *Yoga*. Are not these two methods of divine union older than either Mohammedanism or Hinduism ?

It is with this type of religious experience, well illustrated in some of the stories of conversion here gathered together, that the devout Hindu may find a meeting-place with the devout Mohammedan, and, as Dr Reichelt has been finding in China, there is a quiet inner sanctuary where the followers of Christ may meet and share religious experiences with the followers of other teachers. Perhaps it is in such meetings and in co-operation in great causes, such as social reform and international peace, that the religions may at last get to understand one another.

The book, then, is greatly to be commended to the serious study of missionaries and to all students of religion, alike in its high flights and in its strange bypaths.

KENNETH SAUNDERS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

A SAIVITE TEXT-BOOK OF PHILOSOPHY

SIVA JNANA BOTHAM. By ST MEIKANDA DEVA NAYANAR. Translated by N. D. NADAR. Trichinopoly: Jananukoola Press. Rs. 2. 1927.

THE classical text-book for the most significant system of philosophy among the Saivites of India, particularly in the Tamil country in the south where it most flourishes, is the *Siva Jnana Botham* ('Teaching of the Knowledge of Siva'), originally written in Sanskrit, but best known in a Tamil translation made a few centuries ago. Unfortunately this work dates from a period more scholastic than creative, when the glory of the philosopher was to be unintelligible to ordinary people, and its highly artificial form has carried the art of condensation to a perfection which involves its meaning in unnecessary obscurity. The whole system is concentrated into twelve brief stanzas. To elucidate the meaning, commentaries have been written in Tamil, which in their turn have become classics and, one is bound to admit, in their turn need explanation.

There have been two previous English translations, written in the nineteenth century. Both of them being now out of print, Mr N. David Nadar has made a new translation, with a translation of one of the standard commentaries and illustrations from several works of philosophical Saivism.

That such a task should have been undertaken by an Indian Christian—the author's name indicates that he is that—is symptomatic of the heightened interest which Christians in India are taking in their ancient heritage, an interest to be warmly welcomed, since it must result in Christianity becoming sufficiently rooted in Indian soil to produce growth which will be truly indigenous. But it is puzzling, if not disconcerting, to find in the book itself no indication that the author is not a Hindu; on the contrary, his reference in the introduction to his giving the sense of the original 'with reference to practical experience,' his constant use of the term 'Saint' applied

to Hindu teachers, and the general tone of his comments, appear to go beyond the requirements of scholarly objectivity to the point of acceptance of the views of God and Reality set forth in the work which he is translating.

The task attempted is as difficult as any work of translation could possibly be. The Hindu philosophical scholastics used a vocabulary entirely their own, which became almost a code language. Their words were those of ordinary men, but acquired a specialized meaning, the figurative language of poetry being petrified into the fixed connotation of technical terms. Consequently no literal translation of the *Botham* can convey its meaning to anyone unacquainted with the Tamil language and with the code of the philosophical poets. The present translator has followed the method of free paraphrase, into which he has even introduced new technical terms of his own, such as the hideous word ' absorbefacient ' for Brahm who makes and reabsorbs. It must be regretfully admitted that he has failed to smooth the reader's path. This book can only be used by Tamil scholars who will patiently compare each rendering with the original, and who will distinguish, without much aid from the printer, between an extract from the original, another from a commentary, a quotation from an illustrative work and the author's comment on the whole. In other words, this translator himself needs to be translated into ordinary English speech.

This is a pity, for the book doubtless represents much labour, and is a collection of most valuable material. Furthermore, the Saiva Siddhanta deserves more study than orientalists have been able to give to it in their preoccupation with Sanskrit rather than vernacular works. And to those who are concerned with interpreting the Christian Gospel as a fulfilment of India's religious aspirations the *Siva Jnana Botham* is a mine in which they must do much quarrying. Witness, for example, the eighth stanza, which is paraphrased by our author at great length, but which may be roughly translated as follows :

> The Lord appearing as teacher to the soul which has advanced in austerity shows him that he has spoiled himself by growing up amid the wild men (the five senses). Then the soul leaves these wild men, and not being different from Him, becomes united to His feet.

There is religion as well as philosophy here, the thought of a soul needing deliverance and of a God of grace who imparts it. In

the next stanza is the thought of the soul finding its rest in the vision of God, the alone Real, while in the tenth stanza the Lord's union with the human soul is set forward as the example for the soul, emancipated from egoism, becoming so one with God as to perceive that all its actions are His.

In this last clause we are near to Advaitic pantheism, but the Siddhanta doctrine never goes the whole way, and herein it has affinities with Christianity. Its God is personal enough to take on a human form and impart to men His grace which so enlightens them that they can attain to God-likeness, which is never mere absorption into the divine essence. One can detect in the system the soul's inherent longing for God and its hope of ultimate assimilation to Him.

In its philosophical presuppositions, such as the coeternity of souls with God, and its practical teachings on action and its results, the system is further from Christianity than these stanzas might suggest. Nevertheless it is full of interest to the Christian thinker. There is great need for a book which would paraphrase in clear English the *Siva Jnana Botham*, illustrating its main teachings by clearly indicated extracts from other Tamil works, and relating the whole system to the philosophy of the Christian religion. The missionary in the Tamil country cannot afford to be ignorant of the religious vocabulary of this classic, which has become embedded in the life and thought of serious people throughout the country.

LONDON G. E. PHILLIPS

FRIENDS AND SERVANTS OF AFRICA

FRIENDS OF AFRICA. Edited by JEAN K. MACKENZIE. Cambridge, Mass.: Central Committee on United Study of Foreign Missions. 75 cents. 1928.

THE CHRIST OF THE CONGO RIVER. By W. Y. FULLERTON, D.D. London: Carey Press. 3s. 6d. 1928.

THE reports of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commissions of 1920 and 1924 have greatly stimulated thought about African questions and have had a wide influence. There is evidence from many sources of a new outlook and an increasing determination to share the best with the new Africa. Each new book indicates how a sense of responsibility is being burnt into the heart and conscience of the Christian world.

Friends of Africa is one of the most satisfying and adequate of such recent books. Mr J. H. Oldham has written a masterly interpretation of the new Africa that has emerged. Miss Mackenzie illustrates this theme from the wealth of her experience, and, as in all her writing, with a charm that grips the heart and fires the imagination. It has a haunting quality peculiarly her own, revealing a deep understanding of the realities of African life. The chapter on the friend as doctor, by Dr Agnes Fraser, is one of the best statements I have read on how the woman doctor can reach the hearts of the people, and help to change a whole community. Mrs Bridgman's chapter brings home the danger which comes through the withdrawal of the African from his tribal life and contact with new economic forces. It is a good book; its title indicates Miss Mackenzie's method and the ground of her hope, an unlimited faith in the possibilities for Africans dominated by the spirit of Christ.

Dr Fullerton tells the story of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Congo. The book is a worthy offering for the Jubilee to be celebrated this year. It is difficult to condense into a small volume the work of fifty years in a great field, but the author has succeeded in giving a complete and living history of the mission, tracing it through all its stages of growth. The story impresses one with a sense of the great cost of this service in human life, particularly in the early days. But more impressive is the indomitable courage and faith of the early pioneers who refused to be discouraged or to lose hope although all things seemed to be against them. There can be few more moving pictures than that of the lonely missionary at a great meeting in London sitting with bowed head, unable for a long time to speak, then beginning with the words of our Lord : ' Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone : but if it die . . .'

The names of Bentley and Comber and Grenfell, with many others, will be written in letters of gold on the Roll of Honour of those who gave themselves gladly for the Congo. From the work they did and the foundation they laid the new Congo has arisen. The deepest impression the book leaves is an overwhelming sense of the supernatural. The situation was and is beyond all human resources, but again and again as one pauses in the story, one response only is adequate : This is of God.

A. W. Wilkie

Edinburgh

A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Political History of South Africa. By Eric A. Walker. Maps. London: Longmans. 12s. 6d. 1928.

UP to the present the wide spaces of South Africa, with their sparse population, have been reflected in the pages of her histories; events, often small in themselves, and which should be insignificant, have assumed too lengthy importance. The story has been told with a pettiness of detail, spread thick with local sentiment and coloured deep with traditional notions.

Professor Walker's history is a masterly attempt to free South African history from the trammels of prejudice. As only the true scholar could, Professor Walker, without in the process losing the liveliness of action, shifts the narrative from the *mise en scène* of drama and epic to the more comprehensive conception of philosophical history. The book tells the story of the development of Africa south of the Zambezi from the time of the Portuguese discoveries to the fall of the Smuts ministry in 1924. The great achievement of the book is that it not only fits into their places the various peoples, tribes, 'Companies' and individuals that have had a hand in the making of South Africa, but correlates each to the influence of world forces, and the processes of colonial development that were at work in Europe and the Indies, as well as in Africa and America, during the centuries that followed the Portuguese discovery of the Cape. 'The wind of liberalism emanating from England blew strongly in France and stirred the dry bones of Europe' . . . and when in 1795 the Cape Patriots demanded a written constitution and a share in the making of their laws, 'thus were natural rights interpreted in Cape Town when the American Declaration of Independence and the *Wealth of Nations* were hardly three years old.'

Professor Walker casts his net too wide to have any one main theme; but if the book has one it might be said to be the new orientation which he gives to the interaction of tribes and races in South Africa. Although not omitting the intricacies of Dutch and British relations at the Cape, complicated later by the founding of the republics and Natal and the 'opening up' of Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, he shows how the policy of both races was determined and constantly modified by the more far-reaching clash between black and white. Underlying political dissensions of Crown and Colony, charter and independence, were always the questions of 'protection' and of 'labour.'

From first-hand research the author begins by describing the original inhabitants of South Africa—Bushmen, Hottentots, the Bantu (of doubtful origin), the Arabs on the east coast with their connexion with the East. Then in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries came the Portuguese and the Dutch and the first settlement as a half-way house to India. With the later arrival of free burghers and the French Huguenots in the late seventeenth century, the settlement became a colony, with its own problems of government, church and school, trade and economics. With the still further growth of the colony and with the British occupation in the beginning of the nineteenth century, followed as it was by the anti-slavery movement and agitation which culminated in emancipation in 1833, the economic problem of labour became immensely complicated ; and on this pivot the whole of the subsequent history of Kaffir wars, the Great Trek and even the politics of the republics depend. From now onwards the tale is one of treaties and frontier disputes, a scramble for cattle and land and for a place in the sun.

The central part of the book, with its kaleidoscopic survey of wars, commandos, raids and ' lines,' involved yet balanced, leaves one big impression that the struggle for all, Dutch, British, Hottentot and Bantu alike, was not so much racial as economic.

The greatest injustice in South African history has been done to the missionaries. Partly because their arrival in greater numbers synchronized with the anti-slavery agitation, of which movement, in fact, they were the only torchbearers in South Africa, the missionaries personally were made to bear the blame of all the economic complications that followed emancipation. In a colony where few, except for the army and officialdom, were even educated —traders or settlers or farmers—missionaries, in contact as they were with the affairs and ideas of Europe, were left to stand alone for any wider view in local contests ; hence their part in agitations, as, for example, for a free press, for justice to the depressed settlers, for representation, and above all for emancipation and the rights of the oppressed and weaker races. With all other groups the missionaries are given a more rightful place in Professor Walker's new setting of South African history, and the fog that has lain so long over these early episodes of missionary ' interference ' begins to clear.

The book is so academically sound, its judgments are based on such full and skilfully sifted evidence that, with its advent, all previous histories become immediately obsolete. As on his first page

Professor Walker recalls old Herodotus' record that even the Cape of Storms and the Suez Canal were 'already of old time, which was before us,' so on his last he reminds perplexed South Africans [1924] that their 'new Premier, head of a coalition pledged above all things to the fostering of "white South Africa," has addressed himself to a study of that Native Question which had exercised van Riebeeck in the beginning.'

JOHANNESBURG — JEAN MACMILLAN

CHRIST AT THE ROUND TABLE

CHRIST AT THE ROUND TABLE. By E. STANLEY JONES. New York: Abingdon Press. $1.50. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. 1928.

THE many readers of *The Christ of the Indian Road* will welcome this book on the same theme—the compelling attraction of Jesus of Nazareth for the thoughtful Indian of to-day. The round table conferences here described began with a social gathering in the house of a leading Hindu in a certain city. The conversation turned on 'finding Christ.' In centres where Dr Jones successively conducted meetings similar informal conferences were arranged, the method being the same in every case, namely, the statement by each member in turn of the meaning his own religion held for him in terms of living experience. Non-Christians predominated in a proportion of about three to one. This book contains the conclusion arrived at by Dr Jones after many such conferences, namely, that the non-Christian religions do not, because they cannot, satisfy a man's deepest needs, which Christ both can and does satisfy.

The number of non-Christians who insisted that they had found all they needed in their own religion seems to have been exceedingly small. Was it that the conferences failed to attract such men? or that, being present, they failed to make their point? The second alternative being unlikely, one must fall back on the first—and on the fact that women were not among those sitting round the table—to explain the absence of those sincere, devout and passionate defenders of their faith to be met all over India.

In his endeavour to reproduce the atmosphere of the conferences, and to make them real to his readers, Dr Jones has tended to overload his book with anecdote and illustration. Again, the reader experiences now and then the uncomfortable feeling that he is listening to confidences. One must distinguish, however, between the book

and the work, and while minor criticisms of the former may be made, the latter can only command humble gratitude to God. No better means exist for getting people to face facts and to think things out than small informal group meetings, and undoubtedly wonderful use has been made of this means by Dr Jones. His own sincerity and earnest seeking for truth has been reflected all around his conference tables with the result that, as ever, Christ who is the Way and the Truth has proved for many to be also the Life.

WALLINGTON, SURREY M. M. UNDERHILL

SHORTER NOTICE

The Sunday School of To-day. By E. A. and E. M. Annett. *The Child and His Religion.* By V. P. Mamman. (Coonoor: Indian Sunday School Union. Each 12 as.) These two little books are representative of the spread in India of modern Sunday school ideals and practice. Written for Indian readers, both are up-to-date manuals embodying much of the discovery of recent years in both principle and practice. Mr and Mrs Annett have packed their book with suggestive material on every aspect of Sunday school work, dealing successively with curriculum, method and worship. Practical difficulties that the Indian village teacher has to face are never overlooked, and the suggestions are at every point closely related to the needs and to the possibilities of an 'average' church. Particularly interesting for the initiator or reformer are the chapters on 'The Village Sunday School,' 'A Standard of Efficiency' and 'Training in Worship.' Mr Mamman deals more generally with religious education and less specifically with the Sunday school; his book would provide, for example, the necessary background for planning a Scripture course for schools. He outlines the normal development of the successive stages of infancy, early and later childhood, and early and later adolescence. Defining 'child nurture on the religious side' as 'the attempt fully to co-operate with God in the winning of the whole mind and soul and spirit to Him,' he makes useful suggestions as to both content and method for the religious education of each age. Neither volume, perhaps, lays quite enough stress on the child's own activity as a major factor in the religious education process, whether through expression work or through the many possibilities of the project and allied methods of learning by doing. L. E. C.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Oliver Chase Quick, Residentiary Canon of Carlisle, and the author of a number of books dealing with Christian belief, was a British delegate to the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, and a member there of the group studying the Christian Message.

Professor Francis Cho-Min Wei, D.C.L., Acting-President of the Central China Christian University, Hankow, was also present at the Jerusalem meeting, as a Chinese delegate.

Mr F. H. Hawkins, LL.B., has recently concluded a tour in China. He is a Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

Dr A. J. Appasamy, D.Phil., is English Editor of the Christian Literature Society for India. He is known to many as the collaborator with Dr Streeter in a study of Sadhu Sundar Singh.

Mr Percy M. Roxby is Professor of Geography in the University of Liverpool, and was a member of the China Educational Commission of 1921.

Mr S. A. Hammond is Superintendent of Education in the Northern Provinces, Nigeria.

Sister M. C. Magdalen, of St Joseph's Convent [Roman Catholic], Calabar, is conducting an experiment in educating African girls entirely on the Montessori system.

Mrs A. E. HARPER is a missionary of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and works in the Training School for Village Teachers at Moga, of which her husband is Principal.

The Rev. A. M. CHIRGWIN is Assistant Home Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

Missionssenior JOHANN FLIERL, of the Neuendettelsau Mission, celebrates this year his seventieth birthday and the fiftieth year of his missionary work. After eight years in Australia, he became the pioneer German missionary to New Guinea in 1886. He has therefore seen the whole growth of that Church which now numbers twenty thousand souls.

The Rev. A. I. HOPKINS has been for some years a missionary in the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England.

Writers of book reviews are : the Rev. J. Leighton Stuart, D.D., President of Yenching University, Peking ; the Rev. Lewis Hodous, D.D., Secretary of the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford ; the Rev. P. J. Maclagan, D.Phil., Foreign Missions Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of England ; Mr Morikatsu Inagaki, of the Japanese Embassy in Paris, formerly Secretary of the Japanese Association of the League of Nations ; Professor K. J. Saunders, Litt.D., of the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California ; the Rev. Godfrey Phillips, a Foreign Secretary and former missionary of the London Missionary Society ; the Rev. A. W. Wilkie, D.D., of the Gold Coast Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland ; and Mrs William Macmillan of Johannesburg.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 576.

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(from Morocco to Somaliland)

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General

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO =*Church Overseas*
CR =*Chinese Recorder*
EM =*Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM =*Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM =*International Review of Missions*
JCQ =*Japan Christian Quarterly*
JIR =*Journal of International Relations*
MRW=*Missionary Review of the World*
MW =*Moslem World*
MZW =*Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ =*Neu · Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR =*National Christian Council Review*
NMT =*Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT =*Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM =*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR =*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE TEACHING METHOD OF JESUS

By CHARLES E. RAVEN, D.D.

IN connexion with the new outlook upon education, it is surely worth while to consider afresh the teaching method of Jesus. Recent study of the gospels has made it possible to trace the steps by which He built up the characters of His disciples, and to appreciate His mastery of human psychology and of the processes of human growth. Hitherto no serious attempt has been made to study the example of Jesus—and this no doubt because scholars have hesitated to accept the evidence for a sequence of events in the ministry. To-day, as a result of our fuller knowledge of the records, we can see far more plainly than ever before the purposive stages by which our Lord worked upon the raw material of His Galilean followers, and gradually developed in them the power that was consummated at Pentecost.

To set out the educational work of Jesus at full length it would be necessary to enter first into an elaborate examination of the whole material contained in the New Testament, to discuss the signs which indicate that in the synoptic gospels, and particularly in St Mark, can be found a

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sequence of events, and to detail the probable course and policy (if such a word may be permitted) of His ministry. Such treatment would carry us far beyond what is strictly necessary for our present purpose. We can only emphasize the broad divisions of His work in Galilee, and then elaborate a few points of the education characteristic of each phase.

The ministry opens with a period of public teaching in the synagogue and elsewhere. In St Mark the account of this is concerned mainly with the development of a breach between Jesus and the Pharisees over forgiveness, caste, fasting and finally the sabbath, culminating in their report of Him to the civil authorities (Mk. III, 6). His teaching during this time is characterized by its 'authority' (ἐξουσία) and is concerned with the kingdom of God and the new values, outlook and relationships both to God and man which constitute that kingdom. It may well be argued that much of the teaching incorporated in the Sermon on the Mount belongs to this phase of the ministry.

The closing of the synagogues and the endorsement of the verdict of the local rabbis by the deputation from Jerusalem (Mk. III, 22) involve a change of method in the work of Jesus. He chooses the twelve, symbolizes the new policy by His public adoption of the mode of parable (Mk. IV, 1–9), gradually withdraws from the lake-side, and takes His disciples on journeys in and afterwards outside Galilee (Mk. VII, 31). An important episode in this phase is the sending out of the Twelve by two and two to proclaim the good news.

Hitherto there has been no specific teaching as to His own person and claims. The feeding of the five thousand (Mk. VI, 35–44) may probably be regarded as in some sense a messianic act; but it is not till the journey to Cæsarea Philippi that He raises the specific question of His own status. Peter's confession and the subsequent transfiguration mark the great turning-point in the ministry: thereafter He sets His face to go up to Jerusalem, and puts forward His own claim with a new significance.

The journey to Jerusalem, whether or no St Luke's great interpolation is rightly assigned to a ministry in Perea, marks a further stage when Jesus is mainly concerned with purging the disciples' idea of messiahship, preparing them to understand the necessity for suffering, and helping them to a radical transvaluation from ideals of power to those of service. The parables of this period—the Great Supper, the Talents, the Wicked Husbandmen and the rest—differ notably in form and content from those of the earlier phase.

The climax of the whole is reached in the events of the crucifixion, resurrection and ascension, when the faith, dimly understood, is put to the test, and by means of failure and penitence the disciples are set free from ambitions and fears, knit together in closest loyalty to their Master, assured of His life and divine nature and made fit for Pentecost.

With this brief survey of the main phases of the ministry we may pass to a more detailed consideration of the method and motives of the teaching appropriate to each.

The first phase aims at proclaiming the character and consequences of the kingdom. Jesus starts with that which His hearers already possess, with their law and customs, and the ideas of God and man inherent in them. 'It was said to them of old time' is superseded by 'but I say unto you': that is, He shows by taking the imperfect ideas of His hearers how those hearers can discover a full and positive truth contained in them. Behind the prohibitions and regulations of their traditional culture there is implied, however imperfectly, a far wider, richer and freer way of life. As positive ideals of love and fellowship grip the imagination, the fears and superstitious restrictions are resolved. The treatment of the paralytic is a concrete instance of His method. The man's life is clouded and his powers inhibited by the false idea that he is a victim of God's vengeance. Sin is visited upon him. 'Child, thy sins are forgiven,' says Jesus: God is not offended and aloof: there is no barrier save that of man's making between the Father

and His palsied son. Remove the inhibition, resolve the complex, and the man can arise and walk.

It is noticeable that Jesus does not attack or censure His hearers' beliefs : He accepts them and gives them a new and large significance. It is useless psychologically, and probably wrong morally, to attack heathenism : we must fasten upon the elements in it which point beyond itself, and explain and extend them. Moreover, in doing so, the supreme influence will be the personal conviction, the ' authority ' of the teacher : sympathy and sincerity are the conditions of success.

Yet while generous to the old, there can be no compromising of the new. It is a new way of life, and to patch bits of it on to the fabric of the old will be disastrous for both. From the first Jesus claims that His new wine cannot be contained in the old bottles : new customs and culture, new outward and visible signs, must be used to express and embody it. If He is exquisitely sensitive to the prejudices and environment of His hearers, He is ready to be rejected by them rather than to surrender the essentials or impair the character of His message of love and freedom.

The schooling of the disciples may be said to begin when He adopts the method of parable. This method has certain characteristics which are made use of in what modern educationists call the project system. Jesus takes the simplest and most universal experiences of normal life : a man sowing a field, a woman baking bread or sweeping the house, the growth of corn or mustard, a group of fishermen, a pearl-merchant, a speculator ; uses it as a test of spiritual insight, an illustration of spiritual principles ; and explains the ' mystery ' contained in it. The method implies His belief that all things testify in their measure to the fact of God, to His character and operation ; it encourages His hearers to be sensitive to the reality of spiritual values, fostering their intuitions and quickening their responses. Here behind the simple events of every day is a new world of meaning, a new environment into which as we become

conscious of it we gain entrance. The 'numinous' is not remote or awful only, 'closer is He than breathing': all the earth is sacramental and, to the eye that sees, every common bush ablaze with God. And of the God thus unveiled certain attributes are discoverable: from the quality of His creatures and from their behaviour we can learn the lessons of His nature and purpose. To those who have associated religion only with fixed times and places, moods and rites, Jesus begins by re-associating the idea of God with the simple and universal happenings of nature and of humanity. Religion is to be as wide as the universe, as general as life itself. The change of mind which we call repentance and usually regard as an awareness of sin is really the discovery and acceptance of this knowledge of God.

How simple and universal is this gospel may be seen by the instructions which Jesus gave to those whom He sent out to proclaim it. They were to go almost at haphazard to the first house they found, not seeking out those who were likely to be favourable, but assuming that the news is welcome to all. Nor were they to argue about their message: men would either understand or be indifferent, have eyes or be blind; the responsibility of the messenger was in the delivery of his faith.

This interlude of practical service is significant as showing how early in their training Jesus would have His pupils put their belief to the test of action. Their service is elementary (this is perhaps why He limits it to the bare delivery of a message), but psychologically the effect of fixing a lesson by giving it practical expression is profoundly important. 'He that doeth the works shall learn of the doctrine' is a principle of which in these early days He gave a concrete example.

It is not until He has trained His followers to see God in mustard-seed and leaven that He begins to link up this discovery with the specific revelation of God in Himself. We can see that even if all things mediate to us the know-

ledge of God, human personality, the highest thing we know, will be the supreme mediator. Yet it is only after many months of preparation that Jesus confronts His disciples with the parable of Himself—'Whom say ye that I am?' To the Jew with his intense insistence on monotheism and his rigid exclusion of God from all direct contact with His creation, it was perhaps more necessary to delay the full proclamation of the incarnation than would have been the case with any other people; but it remains significant that Jesus did not encourage His disciples to find God in Himself until He had removed their misapprehensions and helped them to find Him in other and simpler parables. It is at least worth considering whether we ought not to make those whom we teach familiar with Jesus in His manhood, and as the greatest figure in human history, and to educate them in the Christian concept of God and the Christian way of life before we lead them on to the discovery of His divinity. In any case, from the manhood to the Godhead of the Master would seem to be the correct order: and it is one which is all too seldom followed. As it is, by beginning with the Godhead we too often banish Jesus to the plane of the mythological and create almost insuperable obstacles to a full understanding of the scope and effects of the incarnation.

In any case the confession of Jesus as the Christ of God must lead to a long and drastic process of transvaluation. As soon as Peter had acknowledged His messiahship Jesus set Himself to purge the ideas inherent in that title of their conventional meaning. He was not to be the herald of a nationalistic uprising or of a miraculous irruption of celestial energies: love not power was God's instrument; suffering not dominion was its consequence. The Lord was the servant: His crown was of thorns, His throne a cross. Men would reject Him; and He would not compel them to do otherwise. His disciples must learn to see in the self-surrender of their Master His supreme claim to their obedience; they must themselves be fitted to share His cup and baptism. So by direct warning and by a new type of parable

He prepares them to translate all their preconceptions into His terms. Those who seem the obviously privileged will not necessarily accept the good news: those who receive talents must use them or lose them: Israel itself has never risen to a true sense of its obligation, and when its opportunity comes will reject it. Only those whose love is so pure as to leave no relics of selfishness will discover and enter upon fullness of life; but for them there is the freedom that knows no fear and the romance that no danger can daunt; in their endurance they will gain possession of their souls.

This phase, which represents the more advanced use of projects that all life may be seen as it is in Christ, is one in which every one of us is still a learner. To discover day by day new ways of escape from selfishness, new applications of the law of love, new understanding of the redemptive power of suffering—to be set free by Christ, to live in Christ, to suffer with Christ, this is our discipleship. At this stage we shall introduce our pupils to the corollaries of faith, to the need for and the characteristics of a Christian social, industrial and political order, to the working-out of the principles of the faith in face of a hostile or unchristian environment, to the exploration of the full significance of the incarnation. If, hitherto, they have been concerned rather with their personal relationship to God and to their fellows we may now introduce them to the conception of the unity of mankind in Christ, and to the task of building up humanity into the organism of His body. To see the world as, potentially, His; to recognize the movement of His Spirit in every forward aspiration of mankind; to find their own place and work in the community of His Church—this is to begin to live in Christ.

And always it is not enough to see religion expressed in principles, even the high principles of fellowship, service and sacrifice. It is life; and God is more truly experienced in the personality of Jesus than in any ethic or dogma. Hence in all our teaching as to our own calling and responsi-

bility God's character must be kept in the forefront: the good Samaritan, the Father of the prodigal, the Father of Jesus the beloved, it is to this foundation of our hope and inspiration of our way that we must always be turning. As we learn to know Him, so here in the things of time we shall be living eternally.

One lesson remains—a lesson which, if we are to receive power, we must not evade. The actual transformation by which the Galilean fishermen were changed into world-renewing evangelists was not accomplished by the teaching of Jesus, but by His death, resurrection and ascension. Nothing is more striking than the contrast between the Master and His disciples as they go up to Jerusalem, nothing more pathetic than their inability to understand His warnings or to rise to His conviction. They accompany Him, but, as we do, with minds bewildered and loyalties divided. They are not yet free from worldly hopes, from ambitions and fears: and while He is facing the cross they are disputing about precedence and rewards. Only the event, only the experience of failure and betrayal, can free them from their self-concern. He knows what will befall them, but cannot, will not, save them from it. Like His Father He will allow the prodigals to go out into the far country, and there learn what a sheltered home-life could not teach them. Is there not here a lesson for every teacher?

Having forsaken Him they go through their own agony. The knowledge of sin, and of the suffering of the innocent which is its bitterness, fills them with self-contempt and penitence: the evidence that despite their shame He loves them still, lifts them from their despair. Finding Him not dead but risen, and not merely a risen comrade but One who has the value of God, they are so possessed by the splendour of His triumphant life that there is no longer room for selfishness, for complacency or jealousy, anxiety or panic: at last they have lost their lives and gained them; at last He lives in them; at last they are ready to be welded into oneness with Him and with one another, as His Spirit comes

upon them, unites them and inspires them for the fulfilment of His work.

How far the sharing of such an experience can be a deliberately chosen part in any Christian scheme of education may be doubted. That it is only by such a partnership in His cross and risen life that the Christian can enter into the fullness of His calling seems clear. We have too often slurred over the austerity of our faith, too often assumed that we could reach Pentecost without passing through Calvary, for it to be right to neglect or minimize our supreme obligation. If we are faithful in the earlier stages of our education, if we can build up in our pupils the mind that was in Christ Jesus, we may be sure that they will find their crucifixion. And for them as for ourselves we shall pray that we may be strong to take up the cross.

Can we apply the teaching method of Jesus thus traceable in the gospels to the situation which we find to-day in the mission field? To answer such a question is to meet one immediate objection.

Jesus came to Jews, to men who had for generations been familiar with the practice of corporate religion, with ordered worship, definite instruction and an austere ethical code. The law had been their pedagogue to lead them to the Christ. No race had so noble a spiritual heritage. Jesus had shared with them the cultural riches of Israel, and could assume in His hearers a moral discipline and a consciousness of God vastly more constraining than that of any other people. Is it possible to disregard this qualification in adapting His educational system to juveniles and to other types of inheritance and environment? Ought we not to realize that in any attempt to follow His scheme of training a long period must be given to inculcating the rules of conduct and the experience of public worship? Can we treat the Gentile world as He treated His Jewish contemporaries?

Many will feel that this objection carries enormous weight. Indeed we know how perplexed St Paul was

when he set himself to face the problem of Israel's rejection. Was it possible to take the children's meat and cast it to the dogs ? Must not certain restrictions and probations be placed upon converts who lacked the Jewish background ? Must we not to-day, in dealing with heathen peoples, aim at lifting them to the moral and religious level of Judaism before we go on to initiate them into the religion of Jesus ?

What, then, is the advantage of the Jew ? He had three well-marked qualities—his sense of corporate solidarity with the ' holy nation,' his sense of moral obligation and of obedience to the law, his experience of the regular services of temple and synagogue and of the awe and fear of the Lord. Jesus accepted these things, made full allowance for them, and set Himself to emend and enlarge what was mistaken or defective. The first phase of His teaching is concerned with the sublimation of Israel's heritage, with the removal of taboos, of exclusiveness and fear, and the substitution of a new concept of God as Father not judge, a new incentive to morality, love not constraint, and a new experience of fellowship with God and man, which should free worship from local limits and disclose to mankind the spiritual worth of all good life. Surely this method, the sublimation of existing beliefs, should be our starting-point, whatever the level and character of those beliefs.

No one will wish to underestimate the value of the old dispensation in preparing the way for the gospel, or to dispute the importance of the Jewish background in the lives of the first disciples. Yet it may be doubted whether they possessed anything of such primary value as to constitute an essential element in religious education. If we ask, ' Would Jesus have used the same method if He had been teaching African children or educated Hindus ? ' I believe that we can unhesitatingly answer that although He would have had different defects to emend, and other errors to counteract, He would still have set Himself to create a right attitude towards God, a real ' family-feeling ' towards other men, a large concept of the kingdom of Heaven.

Therefore I believe that we also can adopt and apply His method as to Jews so also to Gentiles.

For, in fact, every normal child has in rudimentary form these three qualities : it belongs to a society, a family and tribe, a cultural unit in which it is a member ; it has, or discovers as soon as it leaves infancy, certain prohibitions and a discipline, the moral standard of which may be debased, but from which it gains a strong sense of the obligation of obedience ; finally, it has that fundamental experience of the numinous, of awe and fear of the unknown and mysterious which, even if not associated with any specific idea of God, is at least the germ of all worship. We may assume in all normal human beings these three rudiments of religion.

And if it be argued that the primitive endowment of an African child is widely removed from the profound and systematized convictions of the Jews of our Lord's day, it may be well to remember that it was precisely in proportion to the extent to which His hearers had formulated and hardened their religious impulses that Jesus found them impervious to His message. He had a warm welcome from the simple and comparatively unsophisticated people of Galilee ; He was rejected by the Pharisees and persecuted by the rabbis : He speaks always to the simple-hearted and unlearned, to the outcaste and the sinner ; to the rigid and the ' righteous ' He utters words of tremendous condemnation. It is open to question whether in our emphasis upon the inspiration of the Old Testament and our desire to magnify the value of our Jewish heritage, we have not greatly exaggerated the legalistic element in our own religious teaching, and ascribed a worth to the law which neither Jesus nor St Paul would have admitted.

CHARLES E. RAVEN

CHRISTIANITY AND CONFUCIANISM

By T.-C. CHAO, B.D., Litt.D.

CONTINUED and unavoidable contact with the West with its aggressive and virulent civilization has convinced China of the necessity of a thorough-going revolution. She must at all costs turn away from the solid past toward an imagined future, from her ancient culture toward her new possibilities, which she must realize through her own understanding, determination and achievement. If no nation in the world understands her and does her justice, China will in the aspirations of her loyal sons and daughters do justice to herself. Not only must political institutions in the light of such a conviction be radically changed, but ethical and social systems need to be battered to pieces and re-created to meet modern national and international needs. The years since 1910 have seen an accelerated process of revolution; the whole nation has been, voluntarily as well as involuntarily, subjected to the birth pangs of a new intellectual, social, economic, political and even religious life. Everything, whether or not sanctioned by custom, antiquity and the breath of sages, has been summoned before unsparing scrutiny and strict criticism and re-evaluated. Like other systems, Confucianism also is being called in question. Ever since 1918, after the conclusion of the great European war, when the New Thought tide rushed upon China's ancient shores with unparalleled force, Confucianism has been cross-examined in the light of modern thought and it has even been condemned for its sins of omission as well as for its sins of commission.

Confucianism has often been thought of as a religion as well as a system of ethics. In the broad sense of the word,

Confucianism, embracing teachings on the worship of heaven and ancestors as accepted by Confucius himself and perpetuated by orthodox Confucians, may well be called a religion. But Confucius did not contribute anything new in the way of interpreting the religious experiences of his time, or urging others to lead a devout religious life. He did indicate, however, the necessity of remaining aloof from the superstitious practices and beliefs which existed in abundance in his day. Being an ethical teacher himself, seeking after the knowledge of the mundane world, he said: 'To hold that one knows when he really knows, and to hold that one does not know when he really does not know, is knowledge.' His method of attaining to knowledge of the universe was to start from an investigation of things and particulars, so that a man, through first knowing himself and the things that surround himself, might perchance arrive at a later day at a knowledge of heaven.

The first thing one must know is mankind; consequently Confucius said about himself: 'If I have not been able to serve man, how can I serve the spirits? If I have not known what life is, how can I know death?' His approach to life, therefore, was more that of a philosopher, or even of a scientist, than that of a religious genius or an enthusiastic prophet.

Yet Confucius, and more especially his later followers, believed that the universe is an ethical order, with *Tao* immanent in and permeating it, as the creative ethical urge working towards the realization of its purpose both in nature and in human nature. And so, while there is no clear-cut teaching in Confucianism in regard to the existence of a personal God, apart from such teachings as are found in the Book of Odes and the Book of History, there is something of religious value in Confucianism, in that it embraces a strong faith in the ethical nature and power of the universe. There is even a trace of mysticism in Confucianism, in spite of its utilitarian and practical characteristics, in the idea

that man and nature are essentially at one. Says Confucius: 'The benevolent loves the mountains, the wise loves the waters. The benevolent has long life, while the wise has happiness.' There seems to be a slight suggestion of an appreciation of nature as that in which man could find a reality which is both permanent and transient, both transcendent and immanent, both changeless and all-changing.

This ethical urge is at work with particular clarity and power in the good man who is working continuously with nature in the creating and developing of life. To this creative power both in nature and in man we human beings should turn in gratitude and reverence, as children turn lovingly towards their parents. This is the philosophical basis of filial piety and ancestor worship, of the deification of man and the worship of heroes. This is essentially Confucianism as religion.

But China to-day has turned away from such a religion, thinking that religion is nothing but the opiate of the people, and a form of superstition which is in direct opposition to the recognized findings of science. In this turning away the weak elements of Confucianism are abandoned and at the same time the strong ingredients in the teachings of the sage are also in danger of being forsaken. At present it seems that Confucianism as a religion is failing, or has failed. Christian missionaries, rightly and wrongly, have criticized this religion and shown up its weaknesses. The intellectual leaders among the Chinese have laid the blame of conservatism and stagnation of Chinese civilization at the door of Confucius.

Says Dr J. Leighton Stuart:

> Confucianism is cursed to-day, by ardent reformers, as the bulwark of conservatism and the barrier to enlightened progress. It is blamed for many of the evils most hateful to young China—absolute monarchy, intellectual bigotry, moral hypocrisy, concubinage, burdensome social requirements.[1]

[1] *Christianity and Confucianism* (Jerusalem meeting preliminary paper, No. I, 3), p. 15.

Under the fire of such curses and criticisms, it has lost its spell over the nation and its appeal to the young generation. There seems to be no effort sufficient to galvanize Confucianism, as a religion, into life, because when the Chinese people have turned their backs to it they can no longer retrace their steps and again worship their ancestors with the same sincerity and reverence as in the past; nor will any attempt be sufficient to rejuvenate Confucianism by giving it a more adequate religious and metaphysical basis. For when this is given it will no longer be Confucianism but something else.

At the same time, Confucianism must also be understood to have been going through a process of purgation. As religion, it may be said to have died; but as a system of ethics, it will continue to live and may even become an important factor in Chinese life. The fact is that Chinese thinkers are already casting about to find a new ethical foundation and an adequate meaning of life for young China. There has been no period when Confucian ethics have been more intelligently studied and deeply appreciated. Confucius is conceived of by Chinese scholars of to-day as one who centres all his teaching, activities and love in the human being as such. The teachings of Confucius give, in the opinion of many, an adequate rationalization of human life and relationships, and a complete philosophy of life. Divorced from religion, and having passed through a process of modification, Confucian ethics may yet ascend the throne of Chinese thought and life. It is the human, with all its relations, summed up in the virtue of being human (*Jen*) that counts with the Chinese intelligentsia. It is true that there has developed a deep sense that China needs good men and women to meet the multitudinous problems and to face the manifold dangers of to-day; it is also true that in the minds of non-Christian Chinese patriots and thinkers good character and good conduct can be attained through self-discipline and education; through the realization of human nature in education.

In discussing Dr Sun Yat-sen's treatise on the spiritual development of the soldier, Mr Tai Chi-tao, one of the prominent nationalist leaders, says :

> We may, if we understand its central thought, express it in the following simple words : 'There are three comprehensive principles in the world, namely, nationalism, the people's sovereignty and the people's livelihood. And there are three things needed to maintain these principles, namely, intelligence, goodwill and courage—the cardinal virtues of man bound together in action by one universal virtue, the virtue of sincerity ; that which holds fast to the chosen good.'

In this way without much effort Mr Tai relates the teachings of Sun Yat-sen to the teachings found in the Doctrine of the Mean, and classifies his hero with the sages of the nation, thus securing a philosophical and ethical foundation for Sun-Yat-senism.

Whether Confucianism, completely separated from religious values and related to modern secularism, will be sufficient to produce the kind of men and women that China most needs to-day, will be seen in the future, but the situation remains clear that Confucianism will be able to withstand the onslaught of wholesale materialism in practical life, and will not go down, as some of the other religions will go down, into oblivion, on account of its ethical strength, humanitarianism and rationalism. It will not lose ground in the face of on-coming secularism because it embraces in itself the best elements that form the secularist aspirations of to-day. And as such Confucianism may become the best friend or the worst enemy of Christianity in China. This will depend upon whether an understanding or a misunderstanding will exist between Confucianism and Christianity.

With nothing incompatible between Confucianism and science, and with everything that is good, beautiful and true as an ally to Confucianism, it may present to Christianity a strong challenge, saying that it has all the best elements and none of the weak elements in Christianity. It does not have to pin its faith, the rationalist will say, to such things

as belief in virgin birth, resurrection of the body, miracles of all kinds and Jesus Christ as God. In the eyes of many a Chinese rationalist Confucianism may be the only way to combine moral conviction and intellectual honesty into a reasonable harmony.

The following words of President Lim Boom-keng, of Amoy University, are significant :

> The Confucians are endeavouring to restate the case for Confucianism in the light of modern knowledge. In this renaissance, Confucianism finds itself happily in a much sounder position than that of any other religion. (1) Its theology is purely rationalistic and is not vitiated by any obsolete creed based on any alleged revelation. (2) Its system of ethics is founded primarily on the fundamental relations of mankind, and is wholly deduced from the principles of filial piety and altruism, subject to revision at any time by altered political or intellectual conditions. (3) It recognizes the need of science in the furtherance of knowledge. (4) It bases its philosophy entirely upon reason and logic. (5) Its politics are the application of the law of love for the government of mankind, and are not inconsistent with the demands of the new democracy. Thus neo-Confucianism, despite its temporary set-back through the fall of Mandarin classicism, is a clear advance, and may claim to be the kind of religion most suitable to our age, not only in China, but throughout the world. It is socialistic and democratic without being too idealistic, and yet it combines a sane pragmatism with an absolute conviction in the truth of the immanence of the divine spirit in the world.

So it is in the mind of President Lim and of many who think like him. And so Confucianism is no more than the best expression of secularism and secularism is no less than religion. While it is not clear what the immanent divine spirit is and how it can meet the requirements of the religious soul, Confucianism thus conceived may throw out to Christianity its confident challenge. It will be something like this : What good will Christianity, encumbered with many theological difficulties and much institutional impedimenta, do for the Chinese people that Confucianism in its clear ethical onward march cannot render ? Christianity is good perhaps for the West, but it is not good for China.

According to Confucianism the power for righteousness is

felt and experienced in the human being, but this power is nothing more than the best in human nature itself. It is immanent and divine, in need of no other god than itself to lead it on towards the realization of the true, the good and the beautiful. Moreover, instead of being depraved and sinful, human nature, because of its intrinsic goodness, is capable of self-discipline without the need of any transcendental, supernatural power to deliver it either from sin or from weakness. Confucianism recognizes all human desires as good, when properly educated and adequately regulated through the cultivation of the mind. There is no need of reconciliation when the very depth of the human soul is in harmony with nature, nor is there any need of salvation when man has before him the way of gradual growth and increasing superiority to his past self. The superior man is, to the Confucian, a human fact. There is the continuity of humanity, and the perpetual progress of moral influence in society. What need, then, is there for immortality of the individual soul ? As to the time-worn and weather-beaten doctrine of a heaven and a hell, they are indeed below the contempt of the virtuous, superior man.

Under such a challenge, Chinese Christians who are more or less educated in the teachings of Confucius are feeling and will continue to feel a difficulty, intellectually as well as morally, which their rationalistic, pragmatic, ethical and this-worldly temperament cannot unswervingly withstand. They have no difficulty in welcoming Christianity as a social gospel, with its teaching of the fatherhood of God (a beautiful metaphor) and the brotherhood of man (a congenial doctrine). And the young believers of China may in the immediate future have to face many hazards arising out of just such a situation, and the whole Christian movement in China may have to deal with China's ultra-secularist secularism. The task will be to Christianize a secularized China and to keep the Christian element in China from being swept into the strong current of secularization.

Yet Confucianism may find Christianity its own source of life, and Christianity may see in Confucianism its own agent of truth, for if we are human at all, according to Confucianism, we must recognize the fact that we are not satisfied with ourselves, nor with others like, or even far better than, ourselves. There is a yearning in the human soul too deep to be satisfied with the immediate, the immanent, the relative and the changing. The religious soul always cries out, as St Augustine did of old: 'My soul finds no rest until it rests in Thee.' The restlessness of the human soul will find Confucianism utterly inadequate to meet its deep needs. It needs the mystery of salvation that comes to man from a source both internal and external to himself. The greatest contribution that Christianity can make to Confucian culture is its experience of God as revealed in the Word Incarnate, Jesus, the Christ. This contribution, instead of curtailing the best ethical teachings of Confucianism, is just their fulfilment. And more, it not only proclaims that the immanent divine spirit is finally and perfectly seen in the Word Incarnate, but also leads the human into the realm of mystery, where there is communion with transcendent Reality and where, in consequence, there is love, power, peace, joy and abundant life. If Christianity has nothing else to contribute, this gospel of deep and abundant life will be sufficient, this gospel, with its height and its depth, which proclaims that God is personal, that God is both immanent and transcendent and that God is saving mankind through the life and suffering of Jesus Christ. After all, it is a matter the individual religious soul knows in the depth of his own spiritual life. And individuals who know Christ will prove by their life and by their resulting influence upon society the truth of the Christian religion.

But Christianity has another contribution to make, of almost equal importance, and that is the sense of sin. The human being never rises to the height of complete self-sense, to the nobility of saintliness, without a deep

sense of sin and human inadequacy. It is just here that the Confucian is shallow and just here that he fails. In order to attain to the superiority of the superior man, he too must learn the deep meaning of human weakness, of moral feebleness and of ethical incompatibility with his high ideals. He has simply to recognize the human fact. There is, indeed, a freedom achieved through rigid adherence to duty and the demands of life, for God has many ways and does not leave Himself anywhere without a witness. But the freedom that comes through self-abandonment, repentance and acceptance of the grace of God who forgives and strengthens, carries with it a peace that passes all human understanding, a joyous and adventurous spontaneity that the penitent person alone knows, and a power over and above that which one can at any moment exert. So the mistake should not be made that the sense of sin is unmitigated gloom and mere sombre and sad sobriety. It is more ; it is the beginning of true joy and peace, because its existence, coupled with penitence and faith, leads inevitably to deliverance and freedom, through a sense of forgiveness and reconciliation ; it leads to God, in whom and in whom alone the human being can find his own unity, reality and meaning.

Christianity, in view of what Confucianism is, will also contribute the needed other-worldliness to the Chinese people. The Confucian is like a perfect arrow on a perfect bow not fully drawn. He needs the power which will draw him to a religious solitude detached from this world in the lonely presence of God, from which he will speed into the world of service with vigour and enthusiasm. What he needs is excess, for he has too much of moderation ; personal religion, for he has too much of a social gospel ; other-worldliness, for he has too much of the mundane and utilitarian arresting his spiritual growth. He is in urgent need of the experience of 'a flight of the alone to the Alone.'

We must not forget, however, that Christianity is the

social gospel for mankind. Christ did come to preach the gospel to the poor, to liberate the oppressed, to give light to the ignorant and to proclaim the joy of heaven to the whole earth. As such a social gospel, as a gospel of salvation for the down-trodden, the publicans and sinners, the outcasts of society, Christianity must make its appeal to the Chinese people. As such a social gospel it will make its specific contribution and prove its superiority to Confucianism. The teachings of Confucius do not, indeed, prevent Confucians from giving of their best to the poor and oppressed, through active loving service and self-sacrifice. But history has not shown that Confucianism has within itself that religious fervour and enthusiasm which would carry its life in full abandonment to the needy souls, to the ignorant and oppressed people of the country. The history of Christianity is different. It begins with Jesus Christ, proclaiming and living His social gospel, continues with the social message for His apostles and saints, and still carries on this ever-expanding service to suffering mankind throughout the world. Christian missions have made a great social contribution to China in the way of philanthropic, educational and evangelistic service. Chinese Christians know nothing better than this—that the faith they have is the faith in Jesus Christ's social gospel. Not many will ever understand Confucian philosophy, or care to study either Confucianism as ethics or Christianity as theology. But all, all the poor, the sinful, the suffering, will need and understand the loving Christ as revealed first perfectly in Jesus and then more or less clearly in His disciples, both missionaries and native Christians. Thus Christianity, as social gospel and living ethics, with power and assurance, will give its answer to challenging Confucianism.

The Christian social gospel, issuing from the personal religion, the deep mystical experience of believing individuals, is also the gospel making for international understanding and friendship. It fulfils the highest aspirations

of Confucianism for universal brotherhood. Christianity does not stand in the way of any good effort or movement that promotes international goodwill. Nor does it boast of its own great contributions. Whoever knows its inner workings to-day in the hearts of the youth of many countries can but confess it as the power working for international righteousness and justice and for universal integration in the deepening of the Christian consciousness of the world. The idea has been circulated that Christianity has failed when some so-called Christian institutions are tardy and unwilling to follow Jesus in His clear call to advocate international justice and brotherhood. But has Christ failed? Have the best Christians in the world, who really love the Lord, failed in their efforts? Great movements, like the movements of the luminaries in the firmament, progress in wonderful silence. Science will make its contribution, commerce, art and communications of every kind will have their influence on international goodwill. So Confucianism, when purified and further developed, will have its share in the upbuilding of good international relations. But the depth and height of human brotherhood will not be reached without the religious homogeneity of a world God-consciousness that Christianity alone can give. China to-day is struggling, even against Christianity, for right international relations. Confucianism, together with science, art, commerce and diplomacy, must render important service. But Confucianism, with all its possible allies, should not be too ready to assert its independence of and separation from the spirit and power that Christianity offers to mankind.

Finally, Christianity can give China a mysticism and an institution which she needs. According to von Hügel, religion has three fundamental aspects—the intellectual, the institutional and the mystical. The Confucian is intellectual or rationalistic enough; but in the present circumstances he is ill-equipped on his institutional and mystical side. The Chinese people should not become less

level-headed, less sane or sober, but should make a strenuous effort to be more reasonable through a daring adventure into the world of the spirit there to meet God, each individual for himself. Mere intellectual analysis never reveals an adequate meaning in life. It is in the experience of integration, of oneness with God, that our lives take on their own value and validity. Furthermore, the Chinese people must give up ancestor-worship—they are indeed abandoning it—but they must learn how to worship God with their ancestors and with humanity at large.[1]

Religion has its social mission and must consequently perform its social functions through its institutional side. Therefore the Chinese will have to learn also, through their own experience, blunders and experiments, the necessity of a religious institution and of institutional religion, which is not merely an inter-group, but also an international movement. It is only through institutions that values and realities discovered in the deep human experience of religion can be conserved and perpetuated, and it is only through the mystical union of minds, the veritable communion of saints, that this religious experience can be realized, understood, interpreted and shared. It may be that the Chinese, on account of their instinctive generosity, reasonable tolerance and natural flexibility, can create an institution that will not retard progress or oppose the advancement of knowledge. But it is Christianity and Christianity alone that will be able to relate the Chinese to a world-fellowship, rooted deeply in its faith in God as revealed in Jesus Christ. What China needs—namely, the discovery of God in religious experience, the deepening of life through inner reconciliation to God through Christ, and the creation of an adequate religious institution for the conservation of religious values discovered in personal experiences, and for the fulfilment of the social functions of religion—what China

[1] This statement is based upon a remark made at the meeting at Jerusalem by Professor William E. Hocking, to whom I also owe some other thoughts which appear in this article.

needs, Confucianism cannot give; Christianity, and Christianity alone, can impart it. And the task of imparting this great discovery and of leading men into this deep experience rests upon Christendom.

T.-C. Chao

ANOTHER FAMINE IN CHINA

By WALTER H. MALLORY

NOT without ample reason has China been called 'the land of famine.' A glance at the historical records will show that nearly every year some part of this huge country suffers from lack of food. And occasionally, when the area affected is large or when there has been a failure of successive crops, conditions ensue which to the western mind are truly appalling. Such a catastrophe has recently overtaken the 'sacred' province of Shantung and adjacent territory in North China. According to reliable reports which have been received during the last several months, the shadow of death has lain darkly over something like ten million people already reduced to the uttermost depths of human misery. Many have starved, but there are still millions who have survived to continue the struggle against tremendous odds.

There are several checks which may be applied to test the severity of a famine disaster. In the early stages there is a perceptible rise in the interest rates in the area. There is also a noticeable movement of beggars who leave the district and congregate in neighbouring cities. Next, there is a rapid increase in the cost of food, and a corresponding decrease in the prices of commodities, and finally of land. This continues until clothing, jewels, furniture and even land become practically worthless, interest rates mount tenfold, and trade in everything except food-stuffs practically ceases for want of buyers. Finally, the exodus from the district, which is led by the professional mendicants and followed by the well-to-do who have the means to travel, is joined by the poorer people. Millions take to the road, seeking a place where the means to sustain life may be

found. They go—whole families together—carrying their household goods with them, having first sold everything that could be spared or for which a market could be found. Some of these people reach a place of refuge, more of them merely wander about, many perishing by the roadside.

All these stages have been passed through by myriad natives of Shantung and Chihli this year. Correspondents and investigators in the field have witnessed a pilgrimage —a flight from famine—appalling in its proportions. Fortunately, in this emergency, the thought seems to have taken shape in the minds of the refugees that relief could be found in Manchuria. Thus the exodus is more controlled than is usual, and the number which is succeeding in reaching a destination where there are better conditions is much greater than is the rule. In 1927 more than a million people, mostly from the famine area—for conditions have been bad in Shantung for more than a year—reached the ' promised land ' of Manchuria ; and the total which is expected for 1928 has been variously estimated at from two to four millions, constituting the largest movement of population that the world has seen in many years.

Although almost all parts of China are subject to famine, it is in the north that they occur with the greatest frequency and severity. This is due in large measure to the climate, for while the population is dense, especially in Shantung, there are other regions where analogous conditions of overcrowding exist. With dependable crops the starvation condition of a portion of China's population is accepted as normal—the extremely high death-rate containing a constant famine factor. It is when the crops fail, bringing to light the meagre margin of livelihood of the masses and more easily identified starvation conditions, that the attention of the world is attracted. The fact is that the food requirements of China are not being met even in normal years. Population has overtaken production on the great plains, and thus there is a chronic famine situation.

Chinese histories contain innumerable allusions to

famine. These records have been made in chronological sequence, and apparently no scholar has essayed the herculean task of sorting out this data from the mass of other material. Only in a few isolated localities has any comprehensive effort been made to trace the struggle of the Chinese race to find food for its ever-increasing numbers. One of these studies has been made for the province of Shensi which, like Shantung, is a northern province, lying in practically the same latitude, but inland. This investigation showed that in ancient times Shensi suffered from a major famine on the average once every twenty years, but that during the last few centuries this region has endured a famine year every decade, sometimes two and three in yearly succession.

The natural phenomena which serve to precipitate starvation conditions in North China are, in the order of their relative importance, drought, flood and locusts. Of these, drought is the most disastrous. A critical study of the data in the great Chinese compendium known as the *T'u Shu Tsih Ch'eng*, made years ago by Alexander Hosie, shows that between the years A.D. 620 and A.D. 1643, sixty-one droughts are recorded for Shantung and about twice as many floods. Thus during those centuries this province had, on the average, one year in every sixteen without adequate rainfall, and one year in every eight when the precipitation was so heavy that floods occurred. While locust visitations are mentioned several times, it was usually the combination of this pest with either flood or drought which caused famine.

It may seem at first strange that so serious a disaster as the present North China famine could have been developing for months and so little be known about it outside the area. In spite of the urgent appeals of missionaries in the affected field, and of the testimony of foreign government officials and trained investigators, there were those residing in other localities in China, many of them missionaries, who insisted at first that famine did not exist. Even the

spectacle of the migration of several millions of people—the most conservative, home-loving people in the world—passed by practically unnoted, and was apparently accepted as a normal development.

The reasons for this seemingly inexplicable situation are several. The Chinese themselves—at least the Chinese who could most effectively bring the matter to the attention of the world, the officials of the Government and influential leaders who resided outside the famine area—at first said nothing about the famine. The Government made no announcement because this section of North China was at the time held by a group of military leaders whose unbearable taxation and utter disregard for the welfare of the population over which they held sway was itself largely responsible for the disaster. Chang Tsung-chang, the ex-bandit military Governor of Shantung, actually instituted a censorship on outgoing famine news, and correspondents of certain American papers found, after many weeks, that dispatches which they had filed for transmission in Shantung were actually never sent. In fact, most of the Chinese people—those who were not themselves famine victims—were more interested in the revolution, in the success or failure of the northern advance of the nationalists which would so vitally affect their own fortunes. These had little thought for their starving brethren. It will be remembered that in 1920 it was the Chinese themselves—the railway employees, district magistrates, provincial governors and officials of the central Government—who recognized the famine and took measures to cope with it. Their action was supported by resolutions of the diplomatic corps at Peking and the active co-operation of the missionaries in China and their boards at home.

In 1927, on the other hand, the disorganization all over the country was so complete that the unusually severe famine conditions in the north were not so noticeable by contrast. The missionaries had been the victims of an anti-Christian and anti-foreign campaign, and, with the

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advent of fighting in the Shantung area, they were all ordered by their government officials to quit the territory where the famine was rapidly growing more and more tragic in its effects. Thus, in the time of greatest distress, it is a fact that there were practically no missionaries in the area when they were most needed in the service of humanity. It is only since they have been returning to their stations that a full knowledge of the situation is becoming current. Added to all this is the general apathy on the part of all foreigners in China, which many of the missionaries share. This feeling is largely the result of the natural discouragement occasioned by seeing the labour of a lifetime destroyed by the ruthlessness of human passion, whether that labour has been devoted to the building up of a business, of a mission station, or of 'good relations.' These last few disillusioning years have undoubtedly removed a good deal of the concern for the welfare of the Chinese people from the hearts and minds of the foreigners who live within their borders. 'Things are certainly bad but who's to blame?' 'Let them stew in their own juice'—these are phrases which have gained ever greater currency of late.

However, we may be confident that the future will bring contrasting reactions, especially if the promising current trend of affairs in China leads, as is hoped by the Chinese, to a renaissance of the past glories of their nation, to be manifested in a modern expression of international goodwill and co-operation in the affairs of humanity. It is not to be doubted that when foreigners come to give consideration to the problems and difficulties of the Chinese in their struggle and evolution toward stability, as the western mind conceives and practises it, China's sincere friends—those who have laboured in her interests—will again lend their efforts in support of the New China of so much latent promise. Discouragement and disillusionment, so natural now, are destined, we cannot doubt, to give way to revivified hope on the part of foreigners as well as Chinese as the events of the recent past are seen in perspective and recede still

more, finally to give way to a modern application of the best in China's centuries of ethics and culture.

Now that military operations are temporarily past and the area affected by famine has come under the control of the nationalists, official reports are being made, investigation of the area is easier, relief measures for the starving people have been instituted, and there is unanimity of opinion that a major famine emergency has occurred and in fact still continues. Dr Sao-ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister in Washington, recently made a statement which contained the following passages :

> News dispatches of the last few months have carried harrowing reports of the suffering of millions of families living in Southern and Western Shantung. The famine area has also included sections of neighboring provinces : Northern Kiangsu, Southern Chihli and Eastern Honan.
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> The people have been driven to most desperate straits, some migrating to Manchuria and other near-by territory. Many homes have been completely broken up. Often, with food gone or nearly gone, it being impossible for the whole family to travel, the men have migrated, leaving families behind. In desperation, children have been deserted or, through death or disease, children have been left orphans and wives widows.
>
> In their desperate efforts to secure food not only have dray animals and implements been sold, but houses have been dismantled that the woodwork might be sold for fuel, and farms have been mortgaged or sold. Thus a considerable proportion of the population has been reduced to utter poverty and hopelessness.
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> Early reports indicated that the spring harvest would be very meagre in some sections due to the fact that not more than 50 per cent of the crops had been sown and to the fact that dry weather during the early spring had seriously affected the growing crops. The interruption of communication, due to military activities of the last few weeks, leaves us without much detailed knowledge, but it is obvious that suffering must still be very great among those who have survived but whose resources are exhausted. Such reports as have come to hand indicate that there is need of much relief, even during these summer months.
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> So great is the distress and so obvious is the fact that extensive relief will be needed during the coming fall and winter that the Nanking government is now preparing for extensive relief measures in all this region. Preparation is now being made for raising a fund of several millions of dollars through customs, surtaxes and otherwise for this relief.

While it may be said that the fundamental reason for the famine is the overcrowding on the land, the immediate causes have been building up during the last few years. The drought of 1920 affected this same area. In 1921, the Yellow River left its course and flooded a large area in the north-eastern part of Shantung. In 1924, one of the worst floods in the memory of the inhabitants inundated the Chihli plains, destroying the crops over a stretch thousands of square miles in extent and causing damage estimated at two hundred million dollars (in Chinese currency). In 1925, the Yellow River again broke its dykes in western Shantung, flooding more than one thousand villages. And in 1927 there was another severe drought, another Yellow River flood and a visitation of locusts. Add to this background of distress due to natural causes the exigencies caused by warfare, and the feeding of large bodies of soldiery on the practically exhausted supplies of the people, and there are conditions which would develop a famine in a much more prosperous district than Shantung, which, because of its poor soil and uncertain climate, has long been regarded by the Chinese as one of the poor provinces.

Faced then with this situation, at present serious and likely to continue so during the coming winter, and with the condition of disorganization in China such that there is likelihood of even additional catastrophes in the years immediately ahead, it is legitimate to ask what, if anything, can be done about it—first, to meet the need of those who are to-day crying for food, and next to devise means that will help to prevent the recurrence of famine in the future.

To relieve distress is always easier than to prevent it. In America there has been little difficulty in caring for the victims of the floods of the Mississippi River, but thus far, despite the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, the danger of future inundations has been only comparatively lessened. There are those who feel that the duty of the present generation is to take care of its own poor and to leave to the next the same duty or privilege. There are others

who vociferously object to succouring victims of a present famine ' who are kept alive only to starve in the next.'

There has been formed in the United States, with headquarters at 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City, the National Committee, China Famine Relief, which is seeking to assist in the present emergency by providing funds to feed the starving. It has committed itself to follow the policies which have been worked out by the China International Famine Relief Commission of Peking, so that its funds, while used to bring succour to the victims of the present disaster, may be administered in such a way as to help in the prevention of future catastrophes. As has been said, the immediate cause of most of Chinese famines is either flood or drought. By applying modern engineering methods of dyking along China's river courses the danger of flood can be decreased. By the construction of irrigation projects on the great plains the effects of drought can be rendered less disastrous, and by the building of roads through interior provinces the transportation of food supplies can be expedited in times of emergency. These projects need only labour and organization. During famines there is labour in abundance, for the farmers have no crops to harvest. In the old days, famine committees maintained the people in idleness. Now, the Famine Commission gives relief only in return for work by the able-bodied members of refugee families. They are paid sufficient to provide sustenance for themselves and their dependents. Thus, after the famine is over, the sufferers have not only been saved but reap the benefit from a flood-prevention project, a new irrigation scheme, or an improved road system which will make famine in the future less likely. The famine victims themselves provide the labour. The Famine Commission provides the organization and the funds.

In this way, the means to meet the immediate situation are at hand. Given funds in sufficient quantity, the starving people in North China can be saved, and at the same time important famine prevention projects can be

constructed. The fighting, for the moment at least, is past. The assurance has come from China that the administration of relief is entirely practicable.

Our duty obviously is to provide for the poor who are with us to-day. In doing this, we must agree, it is our logical responsibility to make our contribution as practicable, as lasting and as beneficial as possible to future generations.

This is the sum and substance of the intention of the American Committee : to feed the hungering and to do so in such a way that those saved shall work with us, their more fortunate fellow-men, in constructively providing for the future in so far as can be done scientifically. In brief, our effort as a prosperous, humanely sympathetic people is to aid young China—the New China now being evolved—likewise to become a prosperous and humanely responsive people eager to contribute whatever it can toward development of the human family.

It is not to be denied that the problem of curing China's famines is a gigantic one. In fact, without a lowering of the birth-rate, it would appear that our best efforts may be only palliative. Every people, however, must work out its own destiny. Famine-prevention projects are not advanced as a cure-all for the miseries and century-old woes of China, but they do provide us with an opportunity for an expression of goodwill toward a struggling, earnest and cultured fellow-race and an opportunity to express our goodwill in a material way which will at the same time be an earnest of our recognition of our trusteeship for the generations which are to follow.

WALTER H. MALLORY

THE YOUNGER AND OLDER CHURCHES:

A QUESTION CONCERNING HELP

By STACY WADDY

THE object of this article is limited and practical. We are entering upon a fascinating period of history in the relations between the younger and the older Churches. In China, Japan, India and throughout the world there are now bodies of Christians feeling fully conscious that they are Churches—feeling the liberty of it, the responsibility of it, the joy of it, the adventure of it. This calls for a new type of relations between them and the Churches of the West from whom they received the Good News. No generation of Christians ever had a more inspiring and thrilling problem to work out. There is one element in it which is there for a time only, which is minor but important; for the present both parties agree that there is a call for giving and receiving of money and other help, to pass from the older to the younger. This relation is temporary, and the relations between them involve much wider matters than those concerned with money. We deal here with the one question: on what footing should the money relation be placed, between givers and receivers, so that it may not hinder the full and rightful growth of the whole new relationship between the older and younger Churches? It should be stated here with emphasis that this article is not enunciating a settled policy, but putting forward suggestions in order to call forth a frank and full exploration of the issues.

In several parts of the world native Churches[1] have reached a stage of growth where it is right for them to be self-dependent. They claim it, and quite rightly; and if in isolated cases the claim is sometimes expressed almost provocatively, we must remember that the development has grown up alongside of the development of nationalist 'self-determination' movements. The claim itself is absolutely right, inevitable and Christian. We on our side accede to it; in fact, we have urged them to feel a sense of self-respect and Christian liberty and responsibility: it is a joy to us to recognize their growth. We look forward to the production in each case by a free native Church of an indigenous type of Christian life, culture and worship. We long for it: we shall not fully know our religion until we have these enrichments. Some of us might be a little afraid of too rapid a development at too early a stage. But all of us recognize as an outstanding and happy fact to-day the existence of self-conscious native Churches, instinct with a patriotic confidence that their race will develop its own special characteristics and through Christ will come to a splendid future.

At the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928, certain deductions were made clear from this established fact of the independence and self-reliance of native Churches. Certain claims were made, which seemed to the native Christians, or at least to those who represented them there, to follow from the above fact. These claims were not novel: we had been hearing of them from overseas for a long time; many of our missionaries were conscious of them, and had been most actively and sympathetically encouraging them. Among some representatives from the East, at Jerusalem, there was perhaps the feeling that 'whether we are fully ready to get on by ourselves or not, yet self-respect demands that we should

[1] The word 'native' is used throughout, in all honour, as designating the young Churches that have grown up amongst other than European races. It was a joy to find that this fine word 'native' was accepted by the Jerusalem meeting as the worthy and honourable appellation of such Churches.

try to, and faith assures that we shall.' In the final and moderate form in which eastern and western all agreed, it was still a strong statement—that gifts are still needed, but all gifts should be of the kind that minister to and evoke the spirit of initiative and self-reliance in the receiving Church; that giving should not be linked with control; that there should be a real partnership of working between the giving and the receiving Church; and that 'financial aid from the older Churches for existing work should be placed on a gradually decreasing scale to be terminated by mutual agreement' (*Messages and Recommendations*, page 34).

The meeting seemed to contemplate the gift of sums of money as general endowment to be used at the discretion of the receiving Church. This was not quite clear. I should regard it as important to go further and work out the full implication of the question as to what kinds of help a native Church can consent to receive: what parts of its own needs it must first of all remove entirely from the sphere of being helped by foreign grants. I think this will be found to give an answer inconsistent with the idea of gifts sent out to be used merely at discretion. All gifts should be for objects: the native Church should have the full responsibility of saying what those objects are to be, but the money when raised should be sent out to be used for the object for which the giving Church was invited to appeal: and reasonable account should be rendered of its use.

Let us look at what missionary societies now send missionaries to do, or give funds to support, for native Churches and apply the test suggested by the native Churches. Are all these objects such that a Church can take help for them without danger to rightful self-reliance? Societies should then examine the allocation of their grants in the light of the conclusions reached, and consult with the authorities concerned with regard to action to be taken in revising such grants.

One further consideration should be mentioned. It is

a fact that the incomes of missionary societies for helping the native Churches overseas are not adequate, and are not expanding as we should hope. But I trust that this question we are now considering will not be thought of as a matter of economy. We are not looking for reduction of grants: not of helping less, but of helping better. It is probably true that missionary incomes have sometimes suffered because of declarations made by native Christian leaders that sounded like a refusal to accept further help. If we can get the matter clear, and show what are the perfectly rightful ways in which we can still help the most self-helpful of native Churches, I am confident that our people will respond.

Here, then, is the summary of our problem: (*a*) Everybody wants a native Church to develop an indigenous type of Christian life, work and culture of its own. Its members rightly claim it: we heartily urge it. (*b*) We should not and cannot do it for them. But we can help them, partly by rightful kinds of help, partly by refraining from harmful kinds of help or control. We accept this partnership in their growth as a Christian privilege. (*c*) If the native Church is to develop its indigenous Christianity it must be, and feel, free and responsible. It must neither be controlled nor pauperized. The essential point is that there shall be no interference with the rightful spirit of independence, of self-help and self-respect in the native Church. A gift which infringes this principle is doing harm greater than any good it may seem to do. The crucial question therefore to answer is this: What is the help which an evangelizing Church can offer and a self-respecting, self-controlling, self-helping native Church can accept?

A native Church, to be vigorous and aggressive, needs three kinds of work, and each of them must be financed, namely: Pastoral work, the whole care by a Church for its people who are already Christian; secondly, what may be called institutional work, the provision and staffing of all its plant for the education of its children, the training of its teachers and candidates for Holy Orders; and thirdly,

aggressive missionary work, so that they may pass on the Good News to their fellow-countrymen not yet Christian.

Some of the means most effective for the last coincide with some that are included under the second: such as the offer of education of a Christian type, especially higher education, to non-Christians at institutions that in any case are needed for the Christians.

Can we see here any indication of the help to be given, not in money but in men—for what objects western missionaries should or should not be sent and accepted? We are thinking of a native Church at the stage when it has ceased to consist merely of converts gathered round foreign evangelists: when it has become a corporate body, with real and rightful self-consciousness, and at least partly and increasingly staffed by native clergy and teachers, and partly self-supporting. At that stage much or most of its pastoral work and of its elementary educational work will be done by native agents—clergy, catechists, school teachers. Possibly some such work will still need to be done by missionaries from outside: the decision must always rest with the Church on the spot. It is not clear at present which are the kinds of work that are best entrusted to the missionaries (who must not, of course, be used as stop-gaps for work that would more rightly be done by native workers). Pastoral work for native Christians obviously should be entrusted to their own clergy. One would have thought that aggressive evangelization of their non-Christian fellow-countrymen would also be their sphere: it certainly will be so eventually; no nation will be fully won except by its own Church. But we gather that there is valuable help that can at this stage still be given by foreign preachers. In colleges for higher education or training of the clergy there is still help that can with all self-respect be invited and given.

If this is how the matter stands, looked at from the point of view of help by missionary workers, it assists us to get a classification of the objects for which help can also be

given and accepted in money: all the work that may rightly be done for a native Church by a foreign missionary may rightly be paid for by the Church that sends him. This can be a free and happy Christian gift, offered in love, received in appreciation. Such missionaries should not be used for ordinary pastoral work, nor as substitutes for work that should be in the hands of native clergy or catechists.

With regard to aggressive missionary work to the non-Christian community, an older Church may happily and naturally offer to share this with the native Church, even though it is true that no Church will eventually be really healthy until it is doing its own missionary as well as pastoral work. But in all ordinary circumstances it is better that the foreign contribution should be by giving missionaries, and their cost, rather than by paying for the work of native evangelists. We and they must constantly be on the watch lest our native Christian brothers incur the reproach of being employees of the foreigner: those who know China especially are aware how obnoxious are the terms of reproach levelled at our fellow-Christians there by ardent patriots.

Foreign missionaries will chiefly be valuable in what we have called above institutional work. There is no tinge of patronage in this, no claim of superiority; and in every case care should be taken to see that the native Church invites, and welcomes the fact that a post is to be held by, a missionary. By the heritage of the older Church to which he belongs, the missionary can bring qualifications and powers that are of value to the younger Church, just beginning the glorious adventure of its Christian history. All such missionaries can and should be the free and happy gift of the Church that responds to the invitation to send them.

Institutional work needs plant; and the provision of buildings is a matter of great cost, even though they are not on an extravagant scale. Here surely is another sphere where Christian generosity can give and Christian self-reliance in a young Church can accept all needful help. In general one would say that initial expenses of any kind,

that are necessary to set a Church in a position to carry on its work for itself, are fair matters of appeal and gift, even in cases where it would be unworthy and harmful if the working expenses of those institutions were also given. In some cases, however, a distinction is drawn, that congregations of Christians should build their own churches, which may well be on such a scale as they can afford; schools possibly are on a different footing. It is a question whether the elementary school, and still more the college for higher education, should not be regarded from the point of view of the most valuable of aggressive agencies rather than merely as necessities for the Christians. In that case they become works in which the native Church can accept foreign help.

Pastoral work, then, and to some extent the work of elementary education, should be withdrawn from the sphere where gifts of men or money can be accepted: the responsibility for their support being definitely and proudly accepted by the native Church. This is not to say that to-morrow at one swoop all existing grants for that purpose should be renounced. Nor is it to exclude the possibility of requests for help, in exceptional cases, by sending a missionary or funds. But as a general axiom it should be openly accepted. We must recognize that it involves putting a severe test upon the Christians of the native Church, and should give them our confidence and admiration accordingly.

It raises also a further and extremely important point. On what scale of life are the native clergy and teachers to live? It will often not be possible for native Christians living on one scale to support their clergy living on another, possibly a European, scale. Yet we must realize that a certain standard of life, and especially a capacity to buy books, is necessary to a pastor. Help for such matters as buying books is a legitimate and welcome gift. But this subject leads us on to another question: If institutions are to be a gift from the older Churches, what kind of institution ought we to provide, if we are invited to do so, for the training of candidates for the ministerial and teaching

professions? We cannot accustom native candidates and students to live on one scale during their training and expect them to revert to another when they go to their work.

This matter needs serious consultation between us and the Churches we wish to help. Also, it is not a fair thing for the giver to supply an institution which it will be almost out of the question for the native Church to take over and finance. We must certainly be prepared to hand over such properties. We must do nothing to hold back the time when complete ownership and control will be local. Therefore, in the gift of an institution, its buildings, its staff and its working expenses should be such that a time will rightly come when the local Church can take it over and become completely responsible for it. It must be such that this can happen within a reasonable time, and its products must be such that the native Church can reasonably be expected to support them.

In summing up our conclusions, I venture to repeat that they should not be regarded as dogmatic assertions, but as suggestions for consultation, animated by a great pride in, and a genuine wish to help rightly, our sister Churches in this early stage of their growth. Grants to and appeals for help for a young Church should be concentrated on the following objects:

(1) Men and women from our Church for special tasks, as invited by the native Church. With them, their full support while doing this work, passages, furloughs, outfit, liabilities for sickness and pension, and all such expenses as somebody must undertake for them. Let these be completely our gift. We might happily join with this the giving of invitations to leading Christian thinkers of native Churches to come over and do a special work for us, and to contribute some spiritual gift.

(2) The initial and working expenses for which we may be asked of special institutions, especially higher educational and theological institutions. Scholarships and

bursaries may be liberally provided. About the question of endowments I myself do not feel sure. It should be understood that these institutions should progress towards self-support by the charging of reasonable fees and by the training of people of the land to take their place on the staff; and that they should be suitable for the Church of the land to take over within reasonable time. The handing of them over will be our goal and our joy.

(3) Initial expenses for buildings and plant, in order to put any work on a good basis for self-development and vigour: possibly help towards building churches and village schools.

But money from outside should not be given for the support or allowances of native clergy or catechists doing pastoral work—and possibly not for native school teachers teaching Christian children in village schools. If such a grant be made, it should be exceptional and stated to be such, the need being candidly shown, and it should be definitely renounced as soon as possible by the native Church.

STACY WADDY

[NOTE.—The foregoing article is the outcome of much thought on the subject by the author. It is not to be taken as an authoritative pronouncement, nor even as a final personal statement, but rather as a basis for further thought and discussion.—ED.]

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE OF NATIVES:

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

By HENRI ANET

THE Jubilee of Protestant missions in the Belgian Congo is celebrated this year; but it will not be till 1935 that the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Congo Free State will take place. Less than half a century is a short period in the life of a country, especially for a colony situated in one of the most inaccessible and unknown parts of the world, with a population at the lowest stage of human evolution.

Nevertheless, astounding progress has been made in such a short space of time. During the last few years that progress has been greatly accelerated. For instance, the growing of cotton, which is essentially a native product, increased from 12 tons in 1916 to more than 15,000 tons in 1927; a surface of 50,000 hectares[1] has been planted and the Natives have received in payment for their rough cotton nearly twelve million francs. In the mining district of Tanganyika-Moero (Katanga), the food production by the native agriculturists has reached 20,000 tons. The products of picking copal gum have increased between 1922 and 1926 from 13,909 tons to 20,866 tons, and the money received by the native producers has increased from $3\frac{1}{3}$ to 24 million francs.[2]

The commercial development in three years may be

[1] One hectare = 2·471 acres.

[2] M. Lippens, *Notre Politique coloniale*, pp. 6–7.

judged by a comparison between the statistics of 1923 and 1926:

	Exports	Imports
1923 . . .	146,210 tons	330,000 tons
1926 . . .	203,676 tons	666,000 tons

The increase in the export of different products is characteristic:

	Copper	Palm Oil	Palm Kernels
1923 . .	55,000 tons	12,400 tons	54,600 tons
1926 . .	79,000 tons	18,400 tons	70,400 tons

Travelling on the railways has increased from 298,655 passengers in 1923 to 469,408 passengers in 1926. The increase of native passengers is chiefly noticeable, namely, from 263,926 to 424,084. On the river steamers the number of passengers has increased from 26,935 to 67,003 in the same period.

The white population of the colony was on the 1st January 1923, 10,037 inhabitants (5865, or 58·43 per cent, being Belgians), and on the 1st January 1926, 18,169 (11,898, or 65·49 per cent, being Belgians).

As a sign of the economic prosperity of the native community, the native taxes have risen from 15½ million francs in 1920 to 45 million francs in 1927. (One must take into account the lowering of the value of the Belgian franc in the meantime.)

From 1923 to 1924, the number of native workmen employed in industrial and commercial concerns increased from 185,357 to 278,104—an increase of 92,747.

When the general statistics of the Belgian Congo for 1928 become available, most of the figures quoted will be much higher still.

In the face of this astonishing economic development, the colonial authorities have a tremendous responsibility. They have a double duty: on the one side, to level up the physical, intellectual, moral and social standards of the native population; on the other side, to utilize the enormous natural

resources of this new country for the service of the world as a whole, without overlooking the legitimate interests of the state which is taking the risks and the charge of the stupendous undertaking.

The director of one of the largest mining companies of the Belgian Congo wrote recently :

> Social policy and economic policy are inseparable and are unavoidably united in their development. The work of civilizing must be mostly financed and sustained by the economic output of the colony ; and, again, the economic prosperity of the colony rests on the physical, intellectual and moral uplifting of the Natives.[1]

These views are in keeping with some of the findings of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, as under :

> In developing the natural resources of undeveloped countries, it is of vital importance :
>
> *a.* That economic development should not be accelerated in such a way as to prevent due attention being paid to the problems created by changing social conditions, or as to injure the social welfare of the population affected by it.
>
> *b.* The welfare of the indigenous populations must be the primary consideration. . . .
>
> *c.* The utmost care should be taken to prevent the social institutions which preserve the stamina of the native peoples from being undermined before they can be replaced by other safeguards.
>
> *d.* The revenue of the country should be applied primarily to the development of services . . . designed to promote the welfare of the indigenous peoples.[2]

It is a question of balance between the legitimate interests of the white colonizers and the human rights of the indigenous populations. If that balance is not easy to establish theoretically it is yet more difficult to realize in practice ; it is especially difficult in a country like the Belgian Congo, where the acceleration of development becomes bewildering

[1] Major Cayen, ' Politique nationale et sociale au Congo belge,' in *Illustration congolaise*, 1928 (Avr.), 1855.

[2] *The World Mission of Christianity*, pp. 49–50.

and where the different regions are not at all alike, some being industrialized in the most modern fashion, while others are still inhabited by the wildest type of pagans living in the most primitive barbarism. The Government has also to bear enormous pressure from financial concerns, more and more centralized in a few hands, and backed up by strong political power in the homeland.

The principle underlying the colonial policy of the Belgian Government is one of collaboration between the white and the black races. There is no colour bar in the Congo; numerous declarations by responsible officials have maintained that the Natives must not be excluded from skilled labour; in fact, many professional schools have been established for their training, and the number is ever increasing of Congolese who are working as artisans, clerks, telegraphists, stationmasters, engineers on the railways and in the mines, medical assistants and so on. Except on the high plateaux in the east and south, that equatorial colony is not likely to become a white man's land and there are no permanent white settlers yet. Belgium has no mass movement of emigration overseas.

The Belgians are unwilling and unable to develop their colony without the active and increasingly intelligent co-operation of the Natives. At the inauguration of the Bas-Congo-Katanga Railway (B.C.K.), in July of this year, King Albert said: 'We can do nothing great here without the co-operation of both races in the interests of fruitful collaboration.'

But the native population has little density, except in the mandated territories of Ruanda and Urundi and in some parts of the Uelé districts and the Kasaï. A Royal Commission in 1925 estimated the adult male population at 2,676,000 only (not including Ruanda-Urundi). Diseases such as sleeping-sickness, malaria, yaws and syphilis, spreading with the facilities of communication, are making terrific inroads into human life in some regions, in spite of the enormous increase of the medical budget of the colony (70½

million francs in 1928).[1] As the new Governor-General, General Tilkens, declared recently : ' More than ever before, the extension of colonial life, which is intimately connected with the prosperity of colonial enterprise, will rest on human capital which we must use with the utmost care.'

In the programme of development of the colony the responsible authorities have wisely understood that they must take into account the social stage to which the native populations have attained :

> Their standard of life, their century-old habits, are not at all in keeping with the economic activity conceived upon the plan of European countries. Before native society can, as a whole, have a share in an economic activity of that kind, it must undergo an evolution ; but unless we wish to cause in native society grave crises with still greater danger for European enterprise, it is dangerous to try and pass through the halting-places without stopping. The work of colonization requires time.[2]

' A Belgian Catholic ' has expounded in this Review[3] the findings of the Commission on Recruiting Labour established by the Belgian Government in 1924–25, of which he was a member. The recommendations were that only a certain percentage of the male population was to be recruited for work outside their own region :

> (*a*) In all cases, . . . 5 per cent of the adult able-bodied males (1¼ per cent of the whole population) can be enlisted without damage. . . .
>
> (*b*) For European enterprises in the same region, in a radius of about two days' march from their village, it will be possible to enlist a further contingent of 5 per cent of the able-bodied males, taking into account the facilities of transportation, so that the links with their families are not broken. . . .
>
> (*c*) Lastly, in the villages themselves, part of the population can be occupied in European enterprises (short distance porterage, agriculture, picking of crops, etc.) while living their full family life. It is no exaggeration to think that 15 per cent of the adult workers can in rotation be employed in that manner. . . .

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[1] The estimated medical budget of the State and the trading companies is of one hundred million francs per annum, or ten per cent of the value of export from the colony. M. Lippens, *Notre Politique coloniale*, p. 15.

[2] Report of the Commission pour l'Etude du Problème de la Main d'Œuvre (1924–25).

[3] IRM, 1925 (Oct.), 537–44.

We must be extremely prudent in dealing with native labour and spare it as much as possible.[1]

These percentages were only given as a guide for the authorities and did not mean that these proportions of workers had to be drafted. The freedom of the Native must remain complete; nobody can be forced to work, except for certain public works, by temporary and exceptional measures. The government officials will be allowed only the use of 'moral pressure' in order to induce the Native to enlist in European enterprises, making him understand that his own interest is to accept the remunerative work offered.

The Natives are free to choose the organization for which they desire to work. The Natives are never to be put at the service of employers for whom they are unwilling to work.[2]

The conclusions of the Labour Commission were unreservedly accepted by the Government and translated into instructions immediately sent to the officials in Africa.

During the three years following the sittings of the first Labour Commission, the economic development of the colony has become accelerated; new conditions have been created in many districts: the development of means of communication (new railways and automobile-roads); increase of the operation of many old mining and trading corporations; the creation of numerous new enterprises such as cotton-growing, coffee plantations, sugar factories and so on. The native population, which had not increased but perhaps diminished, was in greater danger than ever, being insufficiently prepared for such whirlwind evolution. In order to facilitate a transition from the certainties of the present, which must be stabilized, to the hopes of the future, which must not be compromised, a new *Comité Consultatif de la Main d'Œuvre Indigène* was called in January 1928 by the Prime Minister, Minister of Colonies, M. H. Jaspar. In

[1] IRM, 1925 (Oct.), 541–2.

[2] Articles 4 and 5 of Regulations of the official *Bourses du Travail.*

spite of the many duties of his office, M. Jaspar presided personally over all the sittings of the Commission, which were also regularly attended by the Crown Prince Léopold.

The new Commission was composed of the highest officials of the Ministry of the Colonies, the retiring and the new Governors-General, three of the four Provincial Governors of the Congo, representatives of commercial and mining concerns and three members of the Conseil Colonial. The Report of the Commission was published in May of this year.

The main suggestion of the Report is the determination of economic zones which will be distinct from the political divisions. They will be determined by geographical, economic and social considerations. Each economic zone will be a unit with a specific character and at a different stage of development. A first scheme of these economic divisions has been drafted for the provinces of Congo-Kasaï, Equator and Katanga. For each zone a programme of labour will be established for a limited number of years, according to the results of a double investigation : (*a*) by the government officials on the density, the physical and psychological conditions and the prosperity of the Natives ; (*b*) by an enquiry to ascertain from the employers the number of workmen needed as well as the steps taken for their care—feeding, housing, medical service, precautions taken for transit and acclimatization of the new recruits.

After consultation with the directors of companies and mines, a first project has been drafted for certain important economic zones. For instance, the findings for the Zone du Bas-Congo (between the Atlantic and the river Inkissi) were as follows : For two years at least, no new land concessions except for food production, till the completion of the Matadi-Léopoldville railway ; and interdiction of all labour-recruiting for other zones, except in the case of skilled workmen. The same conclusions were agreed upon for the zone of Léopoldville, with interdiction of the importation of labour from other zones. In the zone of Bas-Kwango :

Suspension for two years of new land-concessions ; interdiction of exportation of labour, but permission of importation of labour from other zones. In the zone of Haut-Kwilu : Authorization of concessions for cattle-breeding and for enterprises using a moderate amount of porterage ; no restrictions on exportation of labour. In the mining zone of Kasaï : No land concessions, no importation and no exportation of labour.

For the province of Equator, the findings were as follows : Several zones are considered as ' saturated ' and no new concessions will be granted for a period of five years ; a single zone is not so ' saturated ' and a ' small number of new concessions of less than five hundred hectares can be granted after careful study of the authorities in each case, and special decision of the Minister of Colonies.'

For the province of Katanga, with a small population and the most important mines (copper, tin, coal, diamond, radium), the findings were : All regions can furnish, besides the local labour, five per cent of their adult male population for the industries of Haut-Katanga ; during a period of five years the multiplication of certain enterprises will be stopped ; the raising of cattle will be encouraged by every means.

The Government had not waited for the resolutions of this Commission before slowing down the speed of the economic development of the colony. In 1927, improvements to the railway connecting the lower Congo with Stanley Pool and the whole river system of the colony demanded, to be completed in a short time, the drafting of nine thousand workmen from the Haut-Congo province. The work was of urgent necessity, for the narrow-gauge railway, with many curves and limited transport capacity, was endangering the whole economic life of the colony ; trade was at a standstill ; companies were nearly ruined because they could not get the goods ordered in Europe or export the products bought in the Congo ; the missions also suffered from difficulties and long delays in getting food-

stuffs, medicaments for the hospitals and building material. It was a unique occasion for the temporary use of compulsion and some kind of forced labour for an indisputable national emergency, and for a short period only. A beginning of compulsory drafting was made; but it was soon found that the native workers transported into different surroundings and climate suffered too much, in spite of all the measures taken for their welfare during the journey and in the workshops. Immediately, therefore, overriding all the representations of the railway company and of the traders and directors of industries, the Government stopped the recruiting of the extra workmen, with the unavoidable result of a further delay of two or three years in the completion of the reorganized railway.

Furthermore, M. Jaspar declared in the House of Representatives: 'Provisionally, we have taken the heroic decision of postponing all new concessions until we can judge the possibility of developing those already existing.' The too large concessions granted under the Congo Free State have all been reduced to normal proportions. For instance, one of these concessions has been reduced from four million hectares to two hundred thousand hectares. The principle is now not to grant more than one hundred thousand hectares for prospection, which gives a mean area of twenty thousand hectares of development. For the time being no new concessions will be granted, 'the dominant preoccupation of the present time being the supply of labour, which means the physical and the social welfare of the native population.' A recent decree has forbidden for a year all recruiting of labourers in the plain of the Ruzizi and the Tanganyika for employment outside this region.

The Labour Commission has also renewed the declarations of the Commission of 1925–26 about the freedom of the Natives and the intervention of administrators in the recruiting of labourers. The experience of the last three years is that, in some cases, officials have used an 'administrative pressure' with the collaboration of the powerful native

chiefs, that left the Natives little possibility of refusing to enlist or of choosing their employers. Without the use of any physical ill-treatment, the fear of enlistment in the army or of other indirect sanctions deprived the Natives of their freedom in fact. The officials acted out of friendship for the white directors or for more substantial hopes. The Commission says that ' this situation is creating an uneasiness that can be got rid of only by explicitly discharging the state officials of any responsibility in the recruiting of labour for private enterprise. We must come to direct understanding between the white employers and the black workmen.' In a period of transition, the officials, in the interest of the Natives themselves, may recommend ' working with private enterprises aiming at increasing the common welfare of the colony,' but ' in no case taking the place of the recruiting-agent.' ' No help whatever must be given to private employers who do not offer all possible guarantees.' The Government is aware of the existence of abuses in individual cases, but finds it difficult to control the actual application of the recruiting measures by all the lower officials. It is earnestly hoped that soon it will be forbidden for government officials to take any part in the recruiting of labour.

The new facilities for transport are endangering the life of the natural native communities ; without any compulsion whatever, many Natives are flocking towards the mining centres and the growing cities, such as Léopoldville, Stanleyville or Elisabethville. The Commission of 1925 decided that the second draft of five per cent of the able-bodied males could be transported to a distance of two days' march or sixty kilometres ; the new Commission rules that two days' march could not be replaced by two days' railway-journey (four hundred to five hundred kilometres or more), and that along a rail or automobile road the allowed distance must not exceed one hundred kilometres.

The Commission rightly insists on the fact that

> for the black people, taken as a whole, the normal work from which the native society can expect the most beneficial results is the work on the

land ; this agricultural activity will create a race of prosperous peasants, among whom, later on, industries will find the needed labour without difficulty.

The same note was sounded by King Albert at the inauguration of the new B.C.K. railway : ' This road comes at the right time to ensure the development of agriculture, which forms, increases and judiciously distributes the population, and which alone can retain the Natives on the soil.' It was also sounded by a prominent member of the Colonial Commission of the Belgian Parliament : ' The industrialization of the Congo must be accompanied by the agricultural development.' This is in keeping with the wise advice of the Rev. Emory Ross, Secretary of the Conseil Protestant du Congo :

> Where the peasant-proprietor type of production prevails, the labour problem is largely solved and the ultimately destructive doctrine of forced labour, under whatever claim, is not heard. It is not needed. The compulsion to labour comes from within, not from without.
>
> HENRI ANET

THE IVORY COAST

A STUDY IN MODERN MISSIONARY METHOD

By E. W. THOMPSON

THE history of the movement which began with the preaching of the African prophet, known by the name of William Wadé Harris, has been told by Mr Deaville Walker in his book, *The Story of the Ivory Coast* (Cargate Press). It has been related in part by many missionary advocates on the public platform in Great Britain; but there still are—in surprising numbers—Christian people who have never heard of it. At the request of the Editor of this Review I shall endeavour to bring the story up to date, and at the same time to indicate what are the problems and tasks (if by such terms one may denote the happy privileges and opportunities before the missionary on the field) which confront a modern mission on the Ivory Coast.

A word first about the country. The French Colony of the Ivory Coast lies between the Negro Republic of Liberia on the west and the Gold Coast on the east. It has a southern sea-border of about four hundred miles, and stretches away northward up to the confines of the Sahara desert. The Wesleyan Mission, with whose responsibility this article deals, is working at present in the eastern half of the Colony and mainly among the peoples of the shore and lagoons—say from the port of Fresco on the west to Assinie on the east, though two stations on the northward routes have been established in the hinterland at Tiassale and Dimbroko.

A remarkable geographical feature of this coastal region is the lagoon or backwater. This has been made by the damming up of the rivers pouring down from the interior

by sandbanks intervening between them and the open sea. With the help of canals which have been cut across separating necks of land, it is now possible to travel the whole way from Fresco to Grand Bassam by canoe or launch ; indeed, with the exception of a short trek by land, the journey can be made in this fashion to Assinie. Generally speaking, the lagoons are shallow, and here and there you may see the leaves of the plants, which grow so lush in the warm water, lying in a dense and impenetrable network upon the surface ; but a passage-way can always be found, and in places the lagoon widens out into the likeness of an inland loch. The banks rise steeply to a height of two or three hundred feet, and since they are clothed in the verdure of an ever-green forest, the scene is of entrancing beauty. Inland lies the high forest, which gradually thins out into the grassland till that in its turn withers away into the sands of the desert. Wherever they are found, there is a notable sameness of type and condition in the little West African ports which are situated upon the narrow sandbanks lying between the lagoons and the sea. The main street runs parallel with the beach, on which the surf never ceases to thunder. A mile or so out at sea lies some ship engaged in the trade between the West Coast and the continents of Europe or America. She may be hauling mahogany logs through the breakers or taking aboard a cargo of casks of palm oil or palm kernels from the surf-boats. The streets and by-ways of the town are strewn deep with sand, making progress on foot under the scorching sun a tedious and exhausting exercise. To the rear of the town, or, if the term be preferred, on its other front along the lagoon, are the wooden wharves and jetties which serve the traffic arriving from the mainland by the backwater. They stand upon rotting black posts, set down in the sand and slime. You will find moored to them a few launches and jolly-boats, blistered by the sun, and a multitude of canoes of the true African type.

These little ports are now in decay owing to the Govern-

ment's policy of concentrating trade in some one port — such as Grand Bassam for the Ivory Coast, and Cotonou for Dahomey—which has been furnished with improved modern facilities for the handling of goods. The older ports are all alike in this, that they inhabit a sandbank between salt and fresh water; they take in African produce and send away articles of European and American manufacture by the rear or lagoon side, and go through the reverse process on the sea-front, over against which rides the occasional ship, uneasy at anchor, just beyond the breaking of the surf.

But though some of these ports, such as Jackville (Half Jack) and Grand Lahou, come into our story, our real concern is with the simpler and less sophisticated folk of the towns and villages of the farther side of the lagoon and the forest. The drama, for the tale is one of the most dramatic in the history of missionary societies, moves in four acts or episodes.

THE PREACHING OF THE PROPHET. Some time in the year 1913 a man appeared on the Ivory Coast in strange garb. He wore a white 'head-tie' and a long robe, resembling a surplice. From his neck depended a black scarf or stole, and a small cross lay upon his breast. In his right hand he carried a long wooden cross, and in his left a book and a calabash of water. In this guise Harris presented himself as a Messenger of God to the peoples of the Ivory Coast.

The African, we are told, thinks in pictures or images of the concrete: he is a born ritualist and loves to dress a part properly. In the outward garb of Harris of the Ivory Coast or of his junior contemporary—Samson Opon, the Ashanti prophet—we may see what a West African thinks to be outwardly becoming to the prophetic rôle.

The message of Harris was simple and direct. He seems always to have begun with the fact of God as the one Lord and Master. He denounced the folly and the sin of idol-worship and commanded his hearers to cast away their fetishes into the water or to burn them with fire. He bade

them to give up, as contrary to God's commandments, their thieving, adultery, drunkenness and murder, and to keep one day of the week sacred to Him. Of the distinctive Christian doctrines he seems to have said little. The cross he carried was evidence to him and to his hearers that One, Christ, had come from heaven and died for men ; and when Harris baptized men and women he made them take hold upon the staff of his cross and sprinkled them in the Triune Name. But though Harris was taught in a little school of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Liberia and was for a short time a teacher with them, we do not hear of his having told the people about the sayings and doings of Jesus or of his having explained to them more fully the way of faith. He implied that there was much more to be learned and known ; for he would lay his Bible on the head of the person kneeling at his feet for baptism and say that the whole truth of God was contained in that Book. His disciples were to look for the coming of a white missionary who would open the Book to them and unfold the truth.

Such were the vehemence and power of his preaching that the whole population of the regions through which he walked barefoot was moved to forsake its ancient worship. Various and reliable witnesses have assured us that the outward institutions and tokens of fetishism were swept clean away. It was as if some fierce fire had passed through the dense bush of tribal superstitions and consumed everything in its path.

The number of his converts and followers cannot be estimated exactly, but the figure runs into tens of thousands. It is a result the more amazing, when we recollect that Harris himself did not speak any language of the Ivory Coast, but gave his addresses in ' Coast English,' which was rendered into French and the vernacular of the people to whom he was speaking. How can we explain so widespread and amazing a success ? Let us admit frankly and fully that, in West Africa particularly, fetishism has been discredited by modern civilization. I will not shrink from

using this word by reason of the disrepute into which it has fallen with many in our midst. The West African feels that his fetish has been matched against the might of the white man, and it has miserably failed. It has proved powerless to stay the force of his arms; it has been outshone, outmatched in the achievements of peace—the road and the bridge, the motor-car, the railway engine and the steamship. The white man has a knowledge and a magic which make him victorious, enable him to work industrial miracles, and give him a sum of wealth and a variety of pleasures such as all the magic of all the fetishes has never yielded to the black man. Wherever our European civilization has penetrated by its military conquest and political administration, or through its commerce, that process of the discrediting of the old religions has begun and gone far. In West Africa you find nations in search of a new God and a true God, a new religion and a better religion. This is why the coastal peoples, at least, are not attracted to Islam. Their faces are towards London and Paris and New York, and not towards Mecca. There are notable examples of this tendency outside the Ivory Coast—in Ashanti and Southern Nigeria, to mention only two other areas. Harris then came in a fullness of the time, when the people were definitely discontented with the ways of their fathers and were already groping after some new and better thing.

The influence of fear was not lacking in the preaching of Harris. Many tales were current of his terrible powers of prevision and punishment. One example will suffice. It is said that one day he warned a man before being baptized that if he had not given up all his fetishes baptism would bring calamity upon him. The man declared that he had abandoned every one of his idols; but he lied, for he had kept one specially venerated fetish in a box at home. He set out on the return journey to his village, but as he stepped into the canoe which would take him across the lagoon to his home on the farther bank, he fell dead.

The prophet cannot be held responsible for such tales: they were bred rapidly in the popular imagination. But Harris himself had not a little of Israel's unpurged conception of the prophet's duty and temperament. In his old age in retirement near Cape Palmas he sent as a part of his message to his followers: 'All the fetishes, *koubos* and *jujus*, must be destroyed. Burn them all in the fire. Evil befall him who keeps them secretly in his house. May fire from heaven devour him.'

But, while we must recognize the presence and the power of such motives as I have described, surely there was something deeper, worthier and more lasting at work in the minds of the people. E. W. Smith, in the Report of the Le Zoute Conference, cites the Harris movement as a proof of the African's awareness of God. However much it may be overlaid with superstitious fears of evil spirits and black magic, still there lives deep within the African pagan's breast a belief in and a remembrance of the Great God—the Maker of the world and all things therein and a Father to all men. These tribes of the lagoon and the forest, like other Gentiles, 'shewed the word of the law written in their hearts' when they heard the preaching of Harris. He revived in them their best thoughts of God and quickened their conscience too long 'held down in unrighteousness,' and became to them a veritable prophet of the Most High. Their obedience to him was a true, though partial, conversion Godwards.

THE TEN YEARS' WAITING. At the beginning of the war the French colonial authorities were desirous above all else of keeping the minds of the people quiet. They found it impossible to believe there was no ulterior political motive behind a movement which professed to be purely religious; or, alternatively, they feared that an excitement which was religious in its origin might change its character and culminate in a seditious agitation and political disorders. For this reason, Harris, whose personal conduct never gave the Government cause for complaint, was peaceably removed

and set across the border in his native country of Liberia in April 1915.

He had given his disciples a rudimentary church organization. In many places a ' preacher ' had been appointed with twelve ' apostles ' or elders for the management of the affairs of the congregation. Churches had been built—some rude and inexpensive buildings of woven mat and thatch, others large and costly with stone or concrete walls and roofs of corrugated iron. But the officials were still suspicious and ultimately became hostile. The order went out to destroy the churches and disperse the congregations. Many buildings were burned, but the people came together again and restored their ' temples.' They waited for nearly ten long years for the coming of a white missionary of the Book. Some thousands were drawn into the Church of Rome, but the majority stood fast in their allegiance to the prophet and his last command. A few Fanti immigrants, who had come to the Ivory Coast from the Gold Coast for purpose of trade, were able to render them some help. Some of them were Wesleyan lay-preachers or class-leaders, who conducted services in the ' Harris ' churches, and procured English Bibles for the reading-desks, where they lay an object of veneration, but fast closed to a wholly illiterate people. There is nothing more remarkable in the story than this episode of the waiting—an outstanding instance of that patient persistence which is one of the excellencies of the African character.

The coming of the missionary of the Book. The story now moves to the third episode. In May 1924, the Rev. W. J. Platt, a Wesleyan missionary, whose station was at Porto Novo in Dahomey, made a tour along the Ivory Coast and was everywhere received with an extraordinary joy and gratitude. A large proportion of the Harris disciples recognized in him the missionary foretold by the prophet and offered to him their churches and their very selves on the sole condition that he would send them teachers.

The manner of his coming was—in a human fashion of speaking—accidental. He had been sent the previous year to enquire into the condition of an isolated Wesleyan church at Grand Bassam. It consisted of Fanti immigrants—chiefly clerks and traders—and they were in difficulties with the Government, because they were not conducting public worship in one of the three licit languages—Latin, French and an Ivory Coast vernacular. Their case was soon satisfactorily settled ; but a French lawyer whom Mr Platt consulted told him one day that a deputation of ' Harris Christians ' had come to him and laid money on his table for him to fetch missionaries from Europe. ' Of course, I could not do it : it was not my job. But what have you missionaries been doing all the time ? ' That reproach stirred up Mr Platt to go in search of a people so earnest and so patient. The account of his amazing journey does not belong here.

THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION. So we reach the fourth episode. The year 1924 was not propitious for launching out on any new Christian enterprise. The slump in trade and industry had set in, and all the British missionary societies were faced with a shrinking income. When Mr Platt's letter, containing the report of his visit to the Ivory Coast, came before the committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, it produced a profound impression and stirred the hearts of all who listened to the reading ; but the committee did not decide to assume this new responsibility, until every other likely means of help had been examined. The Paris Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of France was urged to undertake the work and financial assistance was promised, but it felt itself unable to comply. Only when it had been made plain that unless the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society answered this call no one could or would, did the society accept its new responsibility in faith. The one thing which seemed intolerable to the committee was that such a cry for light should go unheard and unconsidered. The work to be done was of

peculiar difficulty for a British society. There was the double obstacle of language—an English missionary on the Ivory Coast needs to have knowledge both of French and of an African tongue—and further, a British mission working in French territory might, without so intending, through unfamiliarity with French principles and methods of administration, come into conflict with the colonial authorities. I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the courtesy and fairness of the colonial administration. No hindrance has been put in the way of our legitimate activities, and the head of our mission has maintained excellent relations with the Government. It should be possible in this year of grace for a British Christian mission to serve under the flag of France without the charge being made or merited that it has in it anything of political motive or aim. Our missionaries have sought to maintain and to inculcate loyalty to the French Republic in all the Ivory Coast congregations.

Four years have now passed, and what has been accomplished ? The first step taken was to transfer from the Dahomey mission two of its small staff of French missionaries, one or two African ministers, and a score of young men who were hastily recruited for the service of the Ivory Coast churches. The religious equipment of these was slender indeed : hardly one of them had been trained for evangelism or pastoral care, but they had received some measure of Christian education and they could read their Bible in French or in a Dahomian language. It was an emergency measure and nothing more was immediately practicable.

Meanwhile, the recruitment of a missionary staff in France and England went on. By twos and threes each year it has been increased, until this autumn, God willing, we shall have, in spite of withdrawals, thirteen missionaries on the field. The nationality, sex and denomination of these are matters of interest. Six are French, six are British and one is Dutch. There are ten men and three

women. Three belong to the Reformed Church of France or Holland, and four to the little Methodist Church in France. The British are all Wesleyan Methodists. The mission furnishes an example of co-operation between Churches and of an international *entente cordiale* in Christian service.

Stress has been laid by the home committee on the necessity for properly housing missionaries in West Africa. The day has gone by when a missionary society has any excuse for sending out men and women to live anywhere and anyhow in a climate which must always be trying to a European. One of the missionary staff is a surveyor and builder, and under his direction six mission houses have been erected at the headquarters of the three 'circuits' into which the area is divided at present. A motor-car for the roads and a Thorneycroft launch for the lagoon have greatly improved the communications between one part of the mission and another.

The congregations have been visited and an enrolment of members and catechumens has been made, reaching to-day a total of close upon forty thousand. Several thousands have been admitted into the Church by baptism after elementary instruction. A beginning has been made in the age-long work of building up the Christian community in Christian faith and character. Rough-and-ready versions in two languages—Adjukru and Agni—of St Mark's Gospel have been published and circulated among the people, as also translations of two catechisms by the late Rev. W. T. Balmer. Little 'catechumen' schools were established in the bush. Last year a plan was started of encouraging all those who could read to go out and find nine others who were willing to be taught their letters. It was the introduction into the realm of literacy of the Irish 'catch-my-pal' method. Finally at Dabou a Bible school, under the Rev. Edmund de Billy, for the training of young men as evangelists, was opened in 1926, and plans for day and boarding schools were well advanced. This is how the work of four years may be summed up in a few sentences.

So I reach the last section of this article. The four episodes are no more than a prologue. I shall have failed in my object if I have not made it clear to the reader that the mission now stands upon the threshold of a new career —of what ought to prove its best and most fruitful work. There have been three or four years of survey of the situation, of the recruitment of workers and the enrolment of church members and adherents. Buildings and material equipment have been provided. Tentative experiments in translation and instruction have been made. Valuable information and experience are available, and now men and women stand ready and able to take up worthily and on a big scale the noble task of religious education. The Ivory Coast Synod of January 1927 wrote to the home committee :

> The enthusiasm of illiterate and ignorant crowds is not a foundation on which a strong and faithful Christian Church can be built, especially in a society in process of rapid fermentation and drawn hither and thither by the enticement of many new things. . . . The future of the Wesleyan Church on the Ivory Coast is wrapped up in the question of schools.

For a few years at least, it seems to me, religious education on the Ivory Coast must move in what some may regard as a rather narrow groove. It ought to be concentrated on giving the knowledge of Jesus Christ. We may say confidently that if He be truly given to a learning people, He will be to them the source and power of all moral and intellectual advancement. The story of the first African to confess Jesus as Lord and Saviour may serve here as an illustration and proof. That great officer of the court of Queen Candace had one of the two great means of knowing Jesus. He had the Book—the roll of the prophet ; but he lacked the second—the guide who would enable him to understand what he read, until Philip the Evangelist joined his chariot, and out of his personal knowledge preached unto him Jesus.

The Ivory Coast disciples at present lack both the means of knowledge—the Book—and its interpreter ; and our first

business is to give them the Book. If we think that there is any truth in what Dr Donald Fraser urged at the Le Zoute Conference, that the early Roman Catholic missions in tropical Africa perished and left barely a trace behind them because they did not give the Scriptures to the people, we cannot leave the people of the Ivory Coast Church without the Book for which both their prophet and they themselves have shown so reverent a regard and so passionate a desire.

Until the end of 1926 it was not known whether Harris was still living or not. But one of our French missionaries, the Rev. P. Benoit, made a journey to Liberia at that time, and found the old man residing in his native village near Cape Palmas. He was poor and enfeebled by age and without much honour, either among his kinsfolk or in his own country. He had not, however, changed the tenor of his message, and in his last charge to his former disciples he said : ' Read the Bible ; it is the word of God. . . . Search out the light in the Bible. Learn your letters that you may be able to read the Bible ; it will be your guide.'

When Mr Balmer was at Dabou in the spring of this year he was besieged in his room by men clamouring for the Bible—' Please, Master, the Book, the Book.' He had not even a vernacular gospel to sell ; but, overcome by their persistence, he allowed them to buy the whole stock of French New Testaments. They could not understand the language nor read a word of the Book, but Mr Balmer found afterwards the first man who had bought a copy kneeling on the outskirts of a crowd with his Testament wrapped in a cloth and clasped to his breast.

What the Ivory Coast Church needs first to-day is a Bible in a language ' understanded of the people.' So to say is to state a linguistic problem of great difficulty ; for there are at least ten languages or dialects spoken in the area of our mission. The missionary, therefore, has to make that selection on which the experts on African languages insist. The principle was laid down at Le Zoute that it is neither possible nor expedient to seek to preserve

by literature every dialect that is spoken by an African tribe. We ought only to perpetuate and to enrich the greater languages by reducing them to writing and by producing books in them. The missionaries on the Ivory Coast have decided that two languages at least, Adjukru and Agni, are great enough for consideration; and to these probably one or two others must be added.

The next problem is that of script. The tentative translations already published have been produced without much regard for scientific and accurate denotation of sounds. The letters have the value of the French alphabet—a system which has many and obvious advantages. But Mr Balmer took out with him in January last the script finally approved for West African languages by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. It has already been adopted for Fanti and Twi by all parties on the Gold Coast; and in Mr Balmer's opinion it should be employed for the Ivory Coast languages, some of which are closely akin to Fanti. The dream of the phoneticians is to have a universal script for African languages. Whether that dream ever comes true or not, it is of great importance that new languages which are just in the process of being reduced to writing should have the benefit of the most recent research and of scientific method.

I mention these two problems in order that it may be seen how arduous is the task before a modern missionary in a country like the Ivory Coast where the people are still children in intellectual and spiritual stature, and where it might be supposed that the Christian missionary's work was simple and easy in comparison with what has to be done in China or India. Before a satisfactory version of one of the gospels can be produced, even before alphabet charts are placed on the walls of the schools, these two questions must be answered—What languages are to be recognized? How shall they be represented in writing?

Mr Balmer worked early and late for six weeks at Dabou on an improved version of St Mark's gospel in Adjukru,

making use of the new script. His last illness came upon him after he had finished his second draft. It has reached England in two exercise books in grey paper covers—his last gift to the Church of Christ on earth.

My final reference must be to the modern successors of Philip the Evangelist. What about the African teacher and catechist? The training of these worthily and in sufficient numbers ought to be central in the policy of any mission in a mass movement area. They are the men who will be in charge of little congregations scattered over the face of the country. Upon their character and spirituality the progress and welfare of the infant Church will depend. They are the living interpreters of the written Word. I have said that already a beginning has been made with training at Dabou. It is the intention, however, that this autumn the institution shall be enlarged and its staff strengthened. The Rev. R. Howett has, at the request of the missionary committee, consented to take up again his missionary service. He was for many years in the great Medak Seminary in India, which more than anything else has sustained the movement Christwards of the out-castes of the Haidarabad State. Mr Howett has trained many a pariah convert, almost or wholly illiterate when he entered the class, to preach Jesus to his own folk, and to become a true under-shepherd to a little flock in the out-caste quarter of an Indian village. In a sense West Africa offers a nobler opportunity; for her youth have not been crushed and degraded by a caste system such as has existed in India.

The seminary for evangelists will be flanked by central boarding-schools for boys and girls; and for some years at least the Sunday school and the regular church service should be used to teach the art of reading until the sealed Book lies open to all. Before long it is hoped that a fully equipped hospital will supplement and complete the ministry of the preacher and teacher.

We plan and toil in vain except we propose and do all

in dependence on Him 'without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy.' May the Ascended Lord, as in the former days to the lands of the Mediterranean littoral, so now to the Ivory Coast give 'some to be evangelists . . . for the perfecting of the saints . . . and the building up of the body of Christ.'

E. W. Thompson

TURKISH WOMEN AS PIONEERS

By A WESTERN WOMAN RESIDENT IN TURKEY

TURKEY to-day is a land of contrasts. In no areas are these contrasts more marked than in the life of its women. On the third anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, October 29th, 1926, the Governor of Constantinople gave a ball in the historic building known as the Sublime Porte, and most of those present were Turks. Everything but the place was of the twentieth century. The Turkish women wore Parisian gowns, had bobbed hair and danced the Charleston to jazz played by American Negroes. On the same night, the President of the Republic gave a ball at Angora at which no man was received unless accompanied by a lady. This was to bring Turkish women out of their harems. Outside these ballroom windows ancient, Anatolian ox-carts were squeaking loudly along the dusty road, their oxen led by patient peasant women in baggy trousers and tight-fitting jackets with veils over their heads, absolutely untouched by the western world within.

Throughout the century before the Committee of Union and Progress deposed Abdul Hamid in 1909, Turkey, the home of oriental despotism, was gradually penetrated by western ideas. Mahmoud the Great (1808–1839), led by his intelligent and influential French mother, made friends with Napoleon, encouraged French influence in Turkey and reorganized his army on European models. Under Abdul Medjid (1839–1861) a few reforms were made, and a group of progressive literary men, dominated by French ideas, developed. The reactionary Abdul Hamid (1876–1909) feared their westernizing influence and persecuted them even to exile, but their ideals spread among the limited number of educated Turks.

Well-to-do Turks employed European governesses for their children, especially for the girls, who were not sent to Turkish schools. It was customary for government officials to take their families with them to foreign posts. The children thus educated abroad naturally returned with an outlook on life quite different from that of their comrades who had never left Turkey. The establishment of foreign Christian schools—French, American, Italian, Austrian, English and German—in the latter half of the nineteenth century influenced especially the Christian and Jewish minorities and through them indirectly the Turks, whose attendance at these schools was violently opposed by Abdul Hamid. The greatest influence among the Turks during this period was exerted by Galata Serai Lycée for boys, established by the Turkish Government in 1863, where Turkish and French professors have taught side by side ever since, and by the *Mulkieh* and the Schools of Law and Medicine. Robert College had been in operation for forty years when its first Turkish graduate received his diploma in 1903. After the deposition of Abdul Hamid the number of Turkish students—girls as well as boys—in foreign Christian schools rapidly increased. In 1927–1928 nearly fifty per cent of the students in Constantinople Woman's College and Robert College were Turks. In the foreign schools outside Stamboul almost all are Turkish. A total of 1500 Turkish students are enrolled in American colleges and mission schools in Turkey.

The great war brought to women, especially to those of the cities, sudden and tremendous changes. When most of the men were soldiers with no pay, many Turkish women and girls were forced to leave their homes to go to work in telephone, ticket and business offices and in shops. Some even became street-cleaners. At first veiled, the necessities of their work soon led them to unveil. A change vastly greater than they could realize was going on within the minds of the Turkish women of the larger cities. They were awaking to the fact that they were of the life of to-day

and to-morrow, and not bound by the limitations of yesterday. The wonder and salvation of the situation was that progressive women leaders counselled moderation. As early as the spring of 1914, Halidé Edib Hanoum, the famous feminist pioneer, had said to me: 'Turkish women want freedom and are working for it. It is surely coming, but we realize it must come slowly so as not to arouse opposition. We must not remove the veil too suddenly.' Before the great war, during the earlier attempts at liberation for women, extreme or indiscreet action had met with instant punishment. One evening a group of unveiled Turkish ladies appeared in a box at a public theatre accompanied by several gentlemen. The press on the morning following burst into indignation over the insult offered to Turkish womanhood by a deed so bold, so unfeminine, so contrary to religious law. The husband of one of these ladies immediately divorced her. The others were hurried into seclusion and silence.

The whole world knows the dramatic story of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his band of patriots who organized a new, independent government in the wilds of Anatolia after the ruin of the Turkish Empire during the great war. They drove the Greek army into the sea. After the Treaty of Lausanne, the allied armies of occupation withdrew from Constantinople. When the victorious Turkish army entered Stamboul, October 6th, 1923, behind the soldiers and boy scouts marched long columns of unveiled Turkish women and girls with banners—teachers and students. Throughout the day unveiled Turkish women drove in the company of men about the city. The last Sultan of Turkey had fled on a British warship in November 1922. On October 29th, 1923, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed.

Then began a series of amazing transformations benefiting women even more than men. The Koranic law, the Sheriah, proved too antiquated to direct a modern state. After vainly trying to reform it, the Grand National Assembly adopted *in toto* the civil code of Switzerland, the penal code

of Italy and the commercial code of Germany. These went into effect October 1st, 1926. The first part of the new civil code to be studied by jurists was the section concerning family law and women's status. This included seven topics —personal rights and marriage, divorce, the matrimonial régime, parent and child, guardianship, inheritance and wills, intestacy and administration of estates. Each of these topics was dealt with by a sub-commission composed of two jurists who had studied in Europe and one learned in Islamic law. Special effort was made to render the whole code intelligible to the people by using common Turkish terms rather than Arabic legal phrases. The civil code abolishes polygamy, already out of favour in Turkey except among the peasants, where a man needs many women to work in his fields. Turkish girls used to marry men selected by their families, and a bride did not see her husband till he lifted her veil after the marriage. Even at the solemn religious ceremony, the *nigia*, bride and groom were not present, being represented by two proxies who took the vows for them. No women could attend the *nigia*. At the *duyun*, or wedding reception, men and women were in separate rooms. A man could divorce his wife by merely saying three times, 'I divorce you.' She had no redress. The new code prescribes a simple civil marriage and gives equal divorce rights to husband and wife. Divorce may be granted only after a period of three months. Under the new régime there is social freedom among young people and love matches are frequent.

A powerful factor in bringing about these legal reforms was a women's organization in Constantinople, 'The Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women.' Delegations of these Turkish women, the most enlightened in the country, visited Angora and brought such pressure to bear on the Government that a number of important reforms were made even before the new code was adopted.

The Government has greatly encouraged women to come out of their seclusion and to mix with men. Harem cur-

tains keeping women apart in trams, boats and other public places have been removed. In large cities most women have discarded the *charshaf*, replacing it by modern dress and a veil like a toque, wound daintily around the head but never over the face. Some wear hats. The changes are coming far more slowly in interior towns, depending on local conditions. Home life also is being influenced and improved by the new education. Women study western books and magazines on home-making. Much credit is due to Turkish women for having been able to adapt themselves to the rapid transformation with dignity and energy, without indulging in much excess. Many of them feel their new responsibility and opportunity to work for their country. They have a number of welfare societies doing useful work. The Red Crescent is now carrying on industrial work and teaching poor girls to copy the beautiful old Turkish embroideries. The Green Crescent, largely composed of women, is working for temperance. Other organizations maintain baby clinics, and care for orphan children in homes and orphanages.

The most encouraging indication of the development of women is the widespread interest in education. The Government, realizing that the lower schools are entirely inadequate in number and methods, has increased and improved its normal schools, especially for girls. Normal students pay no tuition fees, but must serve the Government for a term of years after graduation. They are required to teach at first in newly established schools in interior towns and villages where conditions are utterly primitive. Last year I saw what is being done in the poor little town of Isnik (the ancient Nicea of Nicene Creed fame). Among the ruined walls, churches and dilapidated houses the only modern buildings were a large school and the government centre. The intelligent teacher, a graduate of Stamboul Normal School, welcomed us. She and the village people spoke with pride of the school and of the good it had already accomplished. Some of the older pupils expected to become

boarders in the Lycée at Brousa, the nearest city with higher schools. It will take many years to establish such schools in the thousands of villages of Anatolia, but the beginning made shows hope for the future. A few of the larger cities have lycées for girls, and some private schools have been started by Turkish women.

The Government has employed for the last three years an American teacher of household arts in a girls' lycée and in the Stamboul Normal School. This is a new and important subject in Turkey. The Stamboul University, entirely Turkish, now occupying the large building formerly used by the Ministry of War, has opened all its courses to women. The faculties most popular among women are medicine and law. In the medical school alone are enrolled four hundred and fifty women, thirty of whom graduated this year. Medical graduates are required like teachers to practise for a few years in needy interior towns. Some Turkish girls have gone to Europe and America for further study ; a few have made successful lecture tours in western lands. Another Turkish institution giving opportunity for men and women to study together is the Turk Ojak (' Turkish Hearth '), a national club with social and cultural aims. It has over three hundred and sixty branches, where people young and old mingle for classes, lectures and social events.

The foreign schools have led in the emancipation of women. Constantinople Woman's College, the first institution in Turkey to give higher education to girls, has trained many worthy Turkish women. Outstanding among these is Halidé Edib Hanoum, who graduated in 1901. Her activities have extended into fields of political and social service. During the revolutionary period of 1908–1909 she, first of Turkish women, dared to make public addresses to mixed audiences in mosques and clubs and on the street. Her speeches, newspaper articles and editorials aroused the national spirit of men and women. One of her great contributions was her furthering of girls' education

from 1909–1918. Following the armistice, she openly took up the cause of nationalism, and in 1920, pursued by the allied occupation of Constantinople, fled to Angora to work with the new Government.

Several Turkish alumnæ of Constantinople Woman's College have studied medicine and are working for public health in Turkey. One, aided by a society of Turkish women, was a pioneer in starting baby clinics and milk-stations in needy Stamboul. Other graduates, increasingly Turks, have become teachers, business women, Y.W.C.A. secretaries or good wives and mothers. The Woman's College and Robert College are a strong influence for healthy social relations between boys and girls, teaching them to use their new freedom aright. For many years these students of both sexes have enjoyed meeting at occasional college receptions, plays and picnics, where they play games and sing together in a happy natural way. The groups often include Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews, Russians and Albanians. Such friendships are lasting in spite of national differences. These colleges are like a League of Nations, working for racial co-operation in that storm centre of racial discord, the Balkans. They have an extraordinary opportunity to train for the new Turkey leaders, women as well as men, who shall be progressive, unselfish and public-spirited, with high moral standards and broad-minded toleration.

The Y.W.C.A., in the form of two service centres in Constantinople, has eight hundred and fifty members, of whom a quarter are Turkish girls. These centres are classified by the Government as ' private schools,' coming under the same regulations as other schools. The educational classes, clubs and other activities, led by Turks, Greeks and Armenians who are trained by foreign secretaries, are highly popular. Girls of every race are being prepared for self-support in business and language courses. Many who have had little educational opportunity are developing personal initiative, acquiring general culture and catching

the spirit of service. In addition to many classes in physical training, the department of health education conducts special normal courses for leaders who teach gymnastics and healthful recreation in the local schools and orphanages. This teaching, new in Turkey, has been so successful that the Minister of Education has secured Swedish teachers to give physical training to men and women students in the government normal schools. At the Y.W.C.A. summer camp on the Sea of Marmora hundreds of girls have discovered the joys of outdoor life and learned to love nature. Swimming and life-saving play an important part. Last summer three camp girls, one a Turk, rescued a man whose boat had capsized and who could not swim. Four girls—a Turk, a Greek and two Armenians—swam the Bosphorus, an unheard-of feat for girls of Turkey.

The American Hospital in Constantinople conducts the only training-school for nurses in Turkey along western lines. This is developing a new and much-needed profession for women. In 1926 the Governor of Smyrna invited the American superintendent of the hospital to assist him in establishing a baby clinic in his city. One of the first Turkish graduate nurses was put in charge. The work of this young trained nurse is having phenomenal results in the reduction of infant mortality. Nursing as a profession in Turkey demands the pioneering spirit among girls to overcome public opinion, which does not yet set upon it the stamp of social approval. Opposition from the older generation, less educated and more conservative, is gradually weakening, thus allowing young women to enter new careers for which they are educated and in which they are needed.

Turkey's sweeping religious changes create serious problems for her young people. The Republican Government abolished the Caliphate on March 3rd, 1924, thus renouncing the Caliph of the whole Moslem world. The *medressehs* (mosque schools) and the *tekehs* (monasteries) were closed and all the dervish or monastic orders banished

from the land. The western era and calendar have been adopted in place of the Moslem dating from the Hegira. Religious teaching is no longer allowed in any school, Turkish or foreign, except that some Christian schools may teach their faith to Christian students. After the age of eighteen, every one is free to choose his religion. It is forbidden to any but parents to teach religion to Moslems under eighteen. The Grand National Assembly in the spring of 1928 voted to remove from the constitution the clause stating that Islam is the state religion. In law courts oaths are no longer taken on the Koran. Mosques are open and the old-time worship is practised by the lower classes. Women in mosques worship on the main floor with men, instead of behind lattices. Sermons are now preached in Turkish instead of in Arabic. Mosque worship, however, does not hold educated Turks. Many are frankly agnostics. Although often hostile to formal Christianity, orthodox Turks consider Jesus as a prophet and as one of the greatest of all teachers. During the great war an educated Turkish woman said to me : ' Christ is too great for Christians alone. The Churches have not obeyed His teachings ; He belongs to all of us.'

Women as well as men read the Koran in its new Turkish translation, or in French or English. Some read the Bible and other religious books in a search for truth. Most wish to teach their children moral principles, but they often fail to see the connexion between religion and morality. The Turkish press contains animated discussions of religious questions and much is written deeply critical both of Islam and of Christianity. Rumours are afloat that changes will be introduced in the forms of mosque worship, and that Islam may be reformed to make it a religion practical for to-day. The Turks are not an irreligious people. They cannot long be satisfied with mere agnosticism or the worship of nationalism. Unless the leaders of Turkey can find some moral or religious force capable of maintaining the first enthusiasms of a successful national movement, there is

grave danger that selfishness and corruption will undermine the new republic as they did the old empire.

Foreign residents in Turkey, thankful for the hopeful renaissance and the eagerness among the people for better things, desire to co-operate with these earnest seekers in making their noblest dreams come true and in developing an enlightened human brotherhood. The Turkish Republic offers Christians a great opportunity to prove by character, friendship and service that the conflicts and misunderstandings of the past have been buried.

Turkish women must play the part of pioneers in this difficult rebuilding of their nation. They have the opportunity ; they have also the ability.

BURMA IN TRANSITION

By W. C. B. PURSER

BURMA—like all the other countries of the Orient—is at the present time passing through a period of transition. It is hard enough, even in normal times, for a westerner to make a correct analysis of the affairs of an eastern country : it is impossible to do it under the changing conditions of a time of transition. All that can be attempted is to select certain obvious factors in the general situation and seek from them to gain some general impression of the whole.

This survey only proposes to deal with the moral and spiritual conditions of the country as seen from the standpoint of the experienced missionary. If the reader considers that such a survey is likely to be *ex parte*, it may interest him to refer to a similar article written by a well-known Burmese Buddhist journalist for the *National Christian Council Review* and published last year.[1]

The conspicuous factors in the present situation in Burma which we select for comment are : The growth of crime ; the lack of public spirit ; the advent of compulsory education ; and the opportunity of the Karen Christian.

Ever since the outbreak of the Great War Burma has enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being the most criminal province of the Indian Empire. A few years ago a Home Office expert was called in to advise the local Government on this question and an interesting report was produced.[2] But although the report was eagerly accepted by the Government and a whole series of reforms framed in accordance with its

[1] 'Modern Tendencies of Burmese Buddhism,' by U Maung Kin, *National Christian Council Review* (Poona), 1927 (December), pp. 734–40.

[2] *Prevention of Crime in Burma*, Alec Paterson. 1927.

recommendations, the amount of crime—after a temporary improvement—continued to increase. A quarterly statement has for some time been issued by the Government giving statistics of the various kinds of crime committed during the period, and in the last statement available (that for the first quarter of 1928) there is no sign of improvement. It must be a cause for grave anxiety when in a country with a population of only fourteen millions there should be an average of about four murders every day. The Rangoon press, in commenting on the last quarterly statement, whilst pointing out that the immediate steps to be taken must be the suppression of political agitation and the increase of the police, incidentally made the following significant comment :

> Burma will continue to suffer from the depredations of criminals as long as a strong communal sense—opposed to the criminal and determined to rid itself of the evil—does not exist. And that communal sense will not manifest itself until education has taught the people of the country that crime is anti-social and that it causes losses not only to those who suffer at the hand of the criminals but to the Province as a whole.

The lack of an educated public opinion is frequently commented upon by the Burmese press. Comment of this kind is usually called forth by the fact that in Burma the criminal is rarely brought to justice. Even when a murder has been committed in broad daylight, and when there must have been actual spectators of the crime, the murderer has been allowed to get away without interference. It seems quite clear that this deficiency in a sense of social obligation on the part of the Burmese people must in large measure be laid to the charge of their religion. Buddhism, with all its high standard of ethics for the individual, is deficient on the side of corporate morality.

An interesting and convincing proof of the truth of this statement is furnished by the well-known fact that it is almost impossible to get Burmese assessors to concur with the judge in a verdict of murder, however circumstantial the evidence may be, or even in the face of direct evidence against the murderer. The Buddhist doctrine that all

forms of taking life are alike evil—without any discrimination—results in the Burman believing, and acting on the belief, that he may not condemn a murderer to death without incurring a breach of the first and great commandment of the law, *Panati pata*, ' Thou shalt take no life.'

It is clear from what has already been said that the growth of crime is but a symptom of the general disease of bad citizenship for which Buddhism is in part, at any rate, responsible. When it is remembered that theoretically Buddhism teaches that all forms of livelihood are imperfect except the monastic life, it will not be difficult to see that its teaching with regard to home and civic responsibilities must be defective.

Moreover, such moral sanctions as were supplied by Buddhism in the past have been rudely shaken by the new conditions that have arisen during the period of transition. Institutional Buddhism is breaking down at its strongest point in the face of western science and civilization.

The stronghold of Buddhism in Burma has hitherto been the monastic school. In the villages this is still true to a certain extent. But even in the villages the authority of the monk and the influence of the monastic school is waning. The boys are no longer sent there for their lessons as a matter of course. The villager is beginning to see, what his compatriot of the town has long known, that the education given in the monastic school is inadequate to meet the demands of modern competition.

The Buddhist monk in Burma finds himself in a dilemma. He is uncertain whether to maintain the traditional aloofness of his Order with regard to secular affairs, or to descend into the arena and take sides in party politics. In either case he stands to lose : for if he holds aloof, he forfeits his position as the natural leader of the masses, who discard him in favour of the political agitators ; on the other hand, by becoming a politician he offends the strictly orthodox and devout and also arouses the antipathy and jealousy of the political agitator.

As a matter of fact, the majority of the Buddhist monks of Burma are incapable, through lack of knowledge of the political issues involved, of taking any intelligent leadership in politics, though even the most ignorant are often drawn into the political arena by their antipathy to the British Government. A few of them, however, like U Odama, have exercised great influence and have served terms of imprisonment for sedition.

With the exception of these outstanding characters, the Buddhist monk on the whole has lost influence, and even these outstanding characters have alienated important sections of the political and religious life of the country. In the welter of Burmese politics it is difficult for the outsider to distinguish any definite line of cleavage except the one between the clerical and anti-clerical groups. The clericals surrender Buddhism to political agitation, and the anti-clericals attack Buddhism for usurping the rights of the professional politicians. Political agitation—which is one of the most pronounced features of present-day public life in Burma, as elsewhere in India—may be definitely said, therefore, to have had a disruptive effect on institutional Buddhism, to have demoralized the Buddhist priesthood and to have emphasized that lack of public spirit which even at ordinary times Buddhism to a great extent displays.

The increase of crime in Burma and the palpable—even if it should prove merely temporary—demoralization of the Buddhist forces, constitute a challenge to the Christian Church which may be met through the demand for compulsory education and the emergence of the Christian Karen, the other two factors in the present situation which call for notice.

For years past, Christian missions have maintained efficient institutions for higher education all over the non-Christian world. In Burma, thanks to Dr Marks and other pioneers, such institutions have long been regarded as indispensable to any mission headquarters. The new Rangoon University has a Christian college under the auspices of the

American Baptist Mission. That university, both from its phenomenal development, the efficiency of its staff and the immense sums which have been voluntarily raised to erect its truly magnificent buildings, is undoubtedly the most impressive feature in the educational life of the Province. But however impressive they may be, institutions for higher education can never be the most important part of the educational system of a country. The vast mass of the population must always lie outside their scope and can only be touched by elementary education. The true test of educational policy must always be whether or no it is dealing wisely and adequately with this problem.

That elementary education in Burma, as in the other provinces of the Indian Empire, has hitherto been greatly neglected is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. That it cannot be neglected in the future is becoming more and more obvious. Already in India experiments are being tried here and there in making elementary education universal and compulsory, and a start is about to be made in Burma to apply the same policy to the urban districts of Rangoon and Mandalay, with a view to extending it ultimately all over the Province, when the administrative difficulties shall have been overcome.

What action is called for on the part of mission boards in view of this situation? Not an increase in the number of village schools; this is virtually impossible in view of the hostility of the local bodies which control the opening of new schools. If it were a question of extension, there would not be much scope for missionary activity so far as vernacular schools in Burma are concerned. Fortunately the chief desideratum in elementary vernacular education is not quantity but quality. It would be quite possible to institute universal elementary education and to find it universally ineffective. The training of teachers and their supervision after the completion of their training; the inculcation of a sense of vocation in the teachers and of a professional pride in their work; the adaptation of modern methods of pedagogy to the special conditions of rural life obtaining in

Burma ; the teaching of the children how to play as well as how to work ; the fostering of hobbies which will enable them when they have grown up to occupy their spare time profitably and so to save them from the life of crime which is the present antidote for ennui to the youth of Burma ; the building up of manly and womanly character—this is the programme which awaits the missionary worker who is prepared to take up the all-important subject of elementary vernacular education ; and it is a programme which he alone at the present juncture is able to carry out. The educational authorities of the Government, however much they may desire it, have not the requisite means for dealing with the problem.

In the sphere of education in Burma the present need is not so much for workers in institutions dealing with higher education as for men and women with qualities like Mr McKee's and for institutions similar to that at Moga.

The Karens of Burma, amounting in all to about one million out of a total population of fourteen millions, form but a small proportion of the population. But during the past century, under the twofold influence of British rule and Christian teaching, they have become increasingly important in the life of the Province as they have advanced step by step in the scale of civilization. The Christian population of Burma is mainly Karen, so much so that Karen and Christian are now convertible terms in the same way as are Burman and Buddhist. It is a significant fact that at the recent meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem the one representative of the Christian forces of Burma was a Karen.

The Karen Christian has virtues which the present writer need not expatiate upon here, as he has spent the greater part of his missionary career in emphasizing them. What he wishes now to do is to point out a weakness in the Karen character which, if it is not overcome, may prevent the Karen from playing the decisive part in the history of Christianity in Burma for which otherwise he appears to be destined.

The Karen leaders at the present time are obsessed with nationalistic aspirations which express themselves in a jealous regard for the preservation of their numerous dialects and in a suspicion of all things Burmese. This jealousy and suspicion is only too easily to be understood and condoned in view of the age-long oppression to which the Karens have been subjected by their Burmese neighbours.

But understandable as these feelings may be, they need to be scrutinized in the light of common sense and of Christian charity. There may be sentimental and practical reasons for using the various dialects in public worship, but when it is sought to make these dialects the exclusive media of education, such excess of zeal can only in the long run do damage to the Karen cause. But this zeal for the use of their own dialects is only a symptom of the real besetting sin of the Karen people, which is clannishness. It is this exclusive spirit which has prevented them hitherto from playing their part in the evangelization of the Burmese people and of becoming a really effective force in the public affairs of the Province.

There is a striking passage in Trevelyan's *History of England* in which he explains how the early Celtic Christianity of Britain was overwhelmed by Saxon heathenism so that the country had to be reconverted from Rome. He says : ' The Welsh hated the Saxons so much that they would not even attempt to convert them to Christianity ' (p. 43). Is the fate of Karen Christianity and of Burmese Buddhism to be parallel to that of Celt and Saxon ?

The present situation calls for an act of self-sacrifice on the part of the Karen. He must be prepared to risk the extinction of his own language and national culture for the welfare of the Province as a whole. He must be prepared to become ' Burmanized ' and to identify himself with Burmese political aspirations, in order that he may play his part in the period of transition through which the Province is passing.

Both Burman and Karen will profit by the transaction. The Karen will get rid of his inferiority complex in the

larger life into which he will be absorbed; the Burman will receive a contribution of stolidity and self-control which will reinforce his character precisely at the point where it is weakest.

The cynic and the pessimist will argue that the Karen will lose his Christianity if he acts in this way. Not so he that has any knowledge of God's method of working out His purposes. The jeopardizing of his language and racial integrity is the form in which the Cross comes to the Karen Christian, and in the fuller and richer experience which his self-sacrifice will produce he will perceive the fulfilment of our Lord's promise: 'He that loseth his life shall find it.'

W. C. B. Purser

RETAINING THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, Ph.D.

ONE of the outstanding features of Protestant missions is the college. Wherever the missionary, and particularly the Anglo-Saxon missionary, has gone, colleges have arisen. On them millions of dollars have been expended, and as the years pass the annual totals increase. In about twenty years one of the smaller colleges has had invested in it by the supporting bodies about half a million dollars in equipment and a million in running expenses. Out of this prominence of the college many questions emerge —whether the curriculum is adapted to the environment, whether the results are commensurate with the investment, whether the management shall remain foreign, and whether attendance at religious instruction and exercises shall be required of all students.

Most important of all questions, however, is that of maintaining and increasing the Christian character of the college. The prime object of the Christian college is to conduct education in a Christian atmosphere : the Christian college is founded upon the conviction that growth—education—into full-rounded manhood and womanhood has as its goal development into 'the fullness of the stature of Christ.' In many instances this involves deliberate and avowed Christian discipleship ; in others it may not entail a formal connexion with the Christian fellowship or a separation from the religious group of one's birth, but a more or less unconscious conformity to Christian standards of faith and conduct. If lives do not emerge more nearly Christ-

like than when they entered, however, from the standpoint of the missionary enterprise the college is a failure. In these institutions, therefore, the outstanding question will always be how to safeguard and increase their effectiveness in attaining this goal. It is to this problem that the present paper is addressed.

By the word 'college' two types of institutions are designated. One, with a British background, is usually of secondary grade, does not grant degrees, and prepares some of its pupils for the universities. The other, usually with an American origin, grants degrees, sometimes is ambitiously called a university, and occasionally, by the addition of professional schools, deserves the name. It is with this American type of institution that the author is, naturally, the more familiar, and it is only of that that we shall attempt here to speak. Much of what will be said, however, is probably applicable to colleges of the other type and is certainly in part applicable to secondary schools supported by American agencies. Such institutions as are maintained from societies on the continent of Europe may also find the conclusions a help.

In the United States experience has shown that usually the older, larger and better equipped a Christian college or university becomes the less closely it holds to its Christian purpose. The large majority of the institutions on the eastern seaboard and a substantial majority of those in the west and the south were founded, and many of them are still partially maintained by the Churches. Originally they were intended to 'raise up a learned and godly ministry' or to train men 'for service in Church and Civil State,' or, even, to convert and educate the Indians. Usually their earliest promoters were clergymen, and their initial funds were contributed, often at no small sacrifice, by those who were chiefly interested in the Christian character of the institutions. The college and university are, indeed, one of the greatest contributions of the Church to American life. As time passes, however, in many, probably a majority, of

instances, the college or university has become less and less avowedly Christian. It usually continues chapel services—although attendance at these is more or less on the voluntary basis—and may have a department of Bible or religion, and its seal and its charter bear witness to its original objective, but in practice this purpose is allowed to fade into the background and a large proportion of the students graduate with less of Christian faith than when they matriculated. To this trend, fortunately, many exceptions can be found: some colleges are to-day more nearly Christian in their influence than when they first opened their doors. So widespread is this de-Christianizing tendency, however, that it is accepted almost without comment. It represents, nevertheless, a gigantic breach of trust, all the more reprehensible because it is taken so much as a matter of course, and it is one of the major problems confronting the Church in the United States.

The causes of this defection vary somewhat with the institution, but in general they display a monotonous uniformity. First of all are the secularizing forces of the world in which we live. With the industrialization of our modern life and the accumulation of wealth religious enthusiasm and conviction suffer. Added to this is the effect of science. We have not yet adjusted our interpretations of Christian beliefs and experience to our new funds of knowledge about the material universe, and the result is that older theologies are questioned or rejected, and, by a natural confusion, the validity of religion itself is challenged.

Closely associated with this cause are others. The character of the student body is altered. In the earlier years of the life of a college the majority of the students are drawn by the avowed Christian purpose of the institution and come from religious homes. As the college becomes better established, students more and more enter it for other reasons—the social standing given by its degree, the prowess of its athletic teams, its reputation for scholarship, or the zeal of some alumnus. Before the older constituency

is fully aware of what has taken place, a student body has emerged which ignores or scoffs at the original purpose of the college.

This change in the student body is accelerated by the popularity of a college education. Formerly either a majority or a substantial minority of the graduates were claimed by the four older learned professions—the ministry, teaching, the law and medicine. The ethics and ideals of these professions, thanks in large part to the Church and the college, give striking evidence of Christian influence. Recently, however, a college education has been discovered to have monetary and social value : with the rising level of prosperity students are thronging our academic halls from decidedly selfish motives, and the graduates are flocking into business, traditionally a more predatory and less altruistic occupation than its older brothers.

Still another cause is the changing source of the funds of the institution. In its earlier years a college depends for financial sustenance largely upon those who give from interest in its avowed purpose. However, as alumni and friends increase, funds begin to come from those who have little concern for any specifically Christian programme, and indeed resent it. Administrators, too often sensitive to anything affecting their exchequers, trim their sails to the new direction of the breeze and quietly ignore a solemn part of their trust. More than one institution has bartered its soul for new buildings and endowments.

Still another factor is increasing control by alumni. Colleges and universities more and more pass into the hands of their graduates. Boards of trustees are usually self-perpetuating in theory, but tend to choose their members from among the alumni, and often the alumni have a charter right to elect part or all of the board. As time passes, those chosen to vacancies on the board are mostly ' practical men of affairs '—bankers, manufacturers and lawyers—supplanting the original clerical majority. Some of these are devoted to the earlier purposes of the institution, but

an increasing proportion are not, and a few are tacitly or openly scornful of religion.

The trustees—the legal governing body of a college—together with the president, can usually make or break the Christian character of an institution, and a chief reason why they can do so is because they control appointments to the faculty. Teaching staffs, being less subject to rapid change than student bodies, and being directly and constantly in touch with the students, are even more important than the trustees in their immediate influence upon the life of an institution. If the teachers are genuinely concerned that the entire impact of an institution be Christian, the effect will be seen in the lives of students; if they are indifferent to, or are covertly or openly contemptuous of, religion, the results will also be registered in the student body. Sometimes one teacher can undo the work of a dozen of his colleagues.

In America it is clearly the tendency of teachers to take a neutral or agnostic attitude toward religion. A generation ago, a large proportion of our faculties were recruited from the ranks of the clergy. The age of specialization had scarcely dawned, and the training represented by a bachelor's degree was deemed sufficient formal preparation for teaching any of the subjects in the somewhat restricted curriculum. Then came a multiplication of subjects, the rise of graduate schools and emphasis upon research. The clergyman-teacher, except in the fields of religion and philosophy, rapidly gave place to the products of the graduate school of arts and sciences. The emphasis in the preparation of the new type of teacher is upon research, not teaching, and breeds interest in subjects at the expense of concern for individual students. The teacher is to-day often judged as much by the quantity and quality of his books and articles as by his success in the classroom, and certainly more than by his devotion to his students. It is not many years since the head of the department of classics in a great college, founded 'to propagate the Christian Protestant

religion,' informed the instructors under him that if they wished promotion they must not attempt to help their students to achieve better characters, or even to become interested in Greek and Latin literature, but must drill them in Greek and Latin philology. The teacher of the new type, too, usually is quite untrained in the field of theology, and is either incompetent to help his students with their religious questions or himself has reacted against an earlier conservative environment and has become unintelligently and dogmatically opposed to religion and uses his lecture platform to air his views. Our graduate schools tend to regard any religious enthusiasm as unscholarly and unscientific.

College administrations may faithfully endeavour to keep up the Christian quality of their teaching staff, but the struggle has to be unintermittent and not infrequently ends in defeat. A chair becomes vacant through death, resignation or retirement, and must be filled before the new academic year begins; a number of new instructors must be obtained. It is not always easy to secure men who combine the requisite academic training with Christian faith and character, and the latter, being less tangible and less highly regarded by ' standardizing ' educational agencies, is sacrificed. Once employed, a teacher may be difficult to dislodge, for the cry of ' academic freedom ' is easily aroused. Many an institution, submitting to these tendencies, has watched the religious attitude of its faculty, and with it of its campus, change within a generation.

It is a matter of real moment that all the forces which militate against the Christian character of a college in the United States play, in an accentuated form, upon Christian colleges in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The secularizing influences of our modern life and the assaults made upon religious faith in the name of science are quite as strong in China, India and Turkey as in the United States. They are indeed often stronger. In a land where Christianity is suspected for nationalistic reasons and where no strong Christian tradition exists, the charge against Christianity—

and other religions—as unscientific and obscurantist is more easily hurled than in a land where the faith has long been firmly rooted. Witness China and Turkey.

Moreover, in countries where the Christian community is small the difficulty of maintaining a predominantly Christian student body is much greater than in lands with a large Christian population. Often the Christian institution is the best or even the only one of its kind, and political and social pressure is brought against discrimination based upon religion in admitting students. In China, indeed, absence of discrimination is one of the specific demands sometimes made by the State. Quite as much as in the United States, moreover, in ' mission lands ' students are attracted to Christian colleges by mercenary motives. English, or the scientific training given in the college, has monetary value, and few students, even among those professedly Christian, are drawn by what the college has to offer religiously.

The funds for institutions in Asia and Africa as well as in the United States tend to come more and more from others than those wishing to maintain the Christian contribution of the college. Mission boards, to be sure, usually continue their subsidies, but trustees partially or entirely independent of the boards are appointed, and the demand for native boards is strong. Large foundations, neutral on religious questions, are asked for funds ; or some wealthy giver, not much concerned about religion, adds substantially to the buildings or the endowment. More important still, the local government may be successfully appealed to for a contribution—and governments must usually be at best neutral on matters of faith.

Then, too, control by alumni becomes more of a menace than in the United States. The American tradition makes for government by the graduates. Often because of the nature of the student body only a minority of the alumni are even professedly Christian, and some may be violently opposed to any Christian influence, so that full control by

alumni would usually mean the speedy termination of any Christian purpose.

It is more difficult, moreover, to maintain a predominance of earnest Christians on the teaching staff. The same forces militate against it that operate in the United States—the emphasis upon specialization, the nature of graduate training and the like. In addition, because the Christian community is smaller, the available supply of Christian native teachers is much more limited than in America. For a time the lack can be made up by teachers from Europe and America. In better established colleges, however, where the pioneer days of sacrifice are passing, even some of the foreign teachers are little concerned about the Christian purpose of the institution, but join the staff from a desire for travel and residence abroad. Moreover, nationalism insists that the alien be supplanted by the citizen as rapidly as possible.

Not only do the causes which bring trouble in the United States exist abroad and in an intensified form, but others, as has been suggested, are added. Of these the chief is nationalism. Nationalism looks askance at anything that has in it the least hint of foreign imperialism, insists upon government supervision of foreign schools, and often demands that the trustees and president be native born. Nationalism, too, not infrequently protests against any use of Christian schools for what it calls propaganda, and may make impossible any religious instruction or worship except on a voluntary basis or for Christians. It may even forbid voluntary attendance at religious classes and exercises as in some extreme instances in local regulations in China.

From what has been said, the main lines of defence—if the Christian college is to continue to justify its name—ought to have begun to be apparent.

In the first place, certain points on which the defence usually has been concentrated—the maintenance of required attendance at religious instruction and services—may prove to be relatively unimportant. In principle the case may

seem to be clear : that students enter an institution of their own free will, are or ought to be aware of the regulations of the institution, and, once admitted, should not object to requirements of which they have all along been apprised. It is so obvious, however, that the Christian influence of a college depends primarily upon other features—the nature of its faculty, for example—that compulsion in attendance could be waived and the effect of the school upon its students be but little affected. So, at least, experience both in the United States and elsewhere seems to prove.

As to registration with the government, the wisdom of that must depend upon the conditions laid down. In principle no really cogent objection can be brought against it. With the growth of nationalism and the emphasis upon the State, the tendency the world over is away from private and ecclesiastical schools and toward stricter government supervision of those already existent. Unless that supervision interferes with attaining the distinctively Christian objectives of the school, there is every reason for conforming, especially for a school foreign in its origin and support. Nationalism abhors educational as well as political spheres of foreign influence, and an institution usually loses when it falls under this suspicion. If, however, government regulations militate against the Christian character of the school, the question becomes more difficult. Shall the school conform and hope for modification later, or shall it decline to conform and run the risk of being closed down entirely ? In Turkey the former course seems to be preferable ; in Japan the latter has apparently proved better. In China the problem has arisen too recently for experience to give an answer.

It would seem to be important to select a student body with care, not only on the basis of intellectual promise and achievement, but also on that of character. What proportion of non-Christians shall be admitted must, of course, vary with each institution. The Christian school can usually best serve the people among whom it works by providing

the Christian community with trained leaders and so enable it to make an impression on its environment. Possibly not all professedly Christian youths should be admitted: it would be decidedly unfortunate if in average ability the Christian students were noticeably inferior to their non-Christian fellows. Special financial privileges to Christians lead, too, to unhappy results; as one Chinese student remarked: 'Who would not be baptized for forty dollars a year?' However, the difficulties confronting the school are greatly augmented if it does not contain a substantial nucleus of strong Christian students and if it holds any considerable percentage of pupils obviously un-Christian in life.

As to funds, an institution cannot be too careful that in soliciting and accepting contributions it does not compromise its Christian position. It is easy to yield ground here and almost impossible to regain it when lost. Not only is this true when gifts are accepted conditionally upon removing Christian requirements, but also when large gifts entail so rapid an expansion in teaching staff and student body that the careful selection of both becomes impossible. Both rapid growth and bigness are perilous. The best results in character can usually be obtained in small units. There is something appealing to the imagination in huge institutions which can dominate the intellectual life of a great city or a country; and the waste of maintaining many small and struggling colleges is apparent. Yet large universities are seldom pronouncedly Christian in their results, and, while subdivision should not go so far that scholastic efficiency is jeopardized, the morale of a smaller student body is more easily maintained than that of a large one.

The election of trustees is a moot question. To-day the tendency in China seems to be to advise that these be chosen by the Churches, and so the integration of the college with the Christian movement be ensured. This is probably a wiser step than to have boards which are elected by the alumni, particularly since so many of the latter are either

lukewarm or opposed to Christianity. However, experience shows that to throw into local or national church assemblies the election of trustees controlling educational institutions may either entail ecclesiastical politics and dissensions, or the election may become so perfunctory as to mean that the board is virtually self-perpetuating. To adopt outright the principle of a self-perpetuating board, especially in lands without a tradition for high-minded trusteeship, is often to invite nepotism and disregard for the Christian principles of the college. It will be seen that the alternatives which confront the college in its administration are not especially pleasant.

The choice of a faculty is also fraught with perplexities. In theory it is perfectly clear that only Christians should be appointed even to temporary positions on the teaching staff. In practice, however, as we all know, this becomes all but impossible. In China, for example, Christians competent to teach the classical literature are extremely rare. Moreover, as between two candidates, one a professing Christian and the other not avowedly Christian, the latter may be of a stronger and more admirable character than the former, and may possess in addition better academic preparation. Although difficult, every effort must be made to obtain a genuinely Christian faculty. It may be necessary to fill positions by annual appointment until the ideal nominee can be found. Usually, however, if due care is taken to develop promising members of the institution's own student body and to help them with their graduate training, a competent staff can in time be gathered. The caveat must be added that it is dangerous in giving such help to have an obligation, either explicit or implied, on either side. From the standpoint of a student, such an obligation may prove irksome and prevent the acceptance of a, to him, more desirable position. From the standpoint of the institution, the student during his graduate schooldays may prove disappointing.

These, then, are the directions along which action must

be taken if a Christian college is to be true to its mission. There is no panacea for the ills which beset it. What, after all, makes great institutions? It is great teachers and administrators, and these are not always discoverable. The founders of a college, like the founders of a mediæval monastery, can never be sure that the institution will not degenerate, nor will any known safeguards written into the charter or constitution ensure continued health. The only hope is a strong tradition and unremitting care. That the struggle is by no means hopeless experience abundantly proves. The new religious movements which, for example, have intermittently during five hundred years and more begun at Oxford, and the continued service of younger institutions, both in America and in Asia, prove that a college or university, in spite of ebb and flow in its religious life, may for generations make substantial Christian contributions to the community that it is founded to serve.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

THE SPIRITUAL HEALTH OF THE MISSIONARY

By J. S. M. HOOPER

IT is a humbling and salutary experience to go home on furlough after a term of missionary service and to be reminded of the ideal of what a missionary is in the thought of our friends who support us. I need not dwell on that picture of utter selfless dedication, of unsparing service, of surpassing holiness. We in India are concerned with the actuality. We who have dedicated ourselves wholly to the service of God, we who are full-time workers for the kingdom of God, know that neither that first dedication nor the constant service in which we are engaged is sufficient to keep us on that level of holiness which many of our supporters so touchingly regard us as occupying. How is it that we fall so far short of the picture that they have formed of us, and that, in our moments of vision, we have seen for ourselves ?

We have all brought our own individuality into this service and uniformity is neither possible nor desirable. ' Standardization is for machinery, not for souls ; and what would be perfection in a billiard ball is futility in a saint,' [1] so that no one statement can be applicable to all. But in general it may be said that we are in danger of bringing some wrong things with us to the mission field, in addition to our own peculiar idiosyncrasies. Some of us, for instance, are so anxious not to be thought ' pi,' we are so resolved to show that religion and jollity need not be separated, so conscious of the sombreness of much of what passes for religion, that we are in danger of mere flippancy ; we are so ' jolly ' that we fail to be anything else.

[1] *Reality*, B. H. Streeter, p. 291.

Others of us are conscious of the unsearchable riches of the Gospel of Christ with which we have been entrusted; but we tend to forget that we hold it in trust, and we dispense it as if it were our own property, and its triumphs our own triumphs, with an air, or at least an inward sense, of superiority that is as far removed as it can be from the humility which is at once the foundation and crown of Christian virtue, and without which the manner of our offering the Gospel is likely to be an offence to those we would serve.

Then, also, there are things that we find in the mission field that do not help at first sight to the maintenance of the higher levels of Christian living. There are our colleagues; it may be that some of them are irksome to us, and, though we may not always remember it, we may be quite intolerable to them. We sometimes have to live with people whom we do not like, and all day and every day there is a strain to which we should hardly be subjected if we could only get away from people. We recognize their virtues, and they doubtless recognize ours, but how often we do not fit, and even if there is not outward discord the spirit within is strained and jangled.

Then there is the climate. Madras has a good climate, but not every one finds it so, and something or other seems to happen because it is hot and sticky, and because it prevents us from living the kind of physical life to which we are accustomed in a colder climate. It is impossible to separate spiritual health from the physical basis of our life. We must agree with a recent aphorism: 'How hardly shall a dyspeptic enter the kingdom of heaven.' There is a staleness, a kind of downward pull, an inclination to cynicism, of which many of us are conscious in India, to which we are almost strangers in a more invigorating atmosphere.

Then we lack many of the means of grace which are provided for us in our own lands: the hearty congregational worship, the refinement and beauty of some of our services, the many opportunities we have of taking in spiritual and

intellectual food. We are conscious, again and again, that in India we have to be giving out and most of the time using up our spiritual capital instead of replenishing it.

And then there is our work itself—the rush of it, the eagerness to be efficient in it, the claims of the organization —so that, busy about many things, we find that insensibly we have become as worldly in our absorption in outward things as any man or woman for whom the outward things do not bear a religious label. It is not the things in which we busy ourselves that matter most of all, it is the spirit which we bring to bear on them that determines whether or not we are worldly or unworldly. The very multiplicity of our duties means that again and again we are not only in the world but of it. As J. H. Oldham has well said, 'Our powers become rapidly exhausted in our work. If we occupy ourselves exclusively with the world, even for the purpose of serving it, we become worldly, superficial, unreal and ineffective.' [1]

These are real and constant problems, and there are others like unto them which our own experience might add. We have many of us tried correctives for them with greater or less success. But it is clear that if we are to fulfil our missionary vocation and not merely to continue to exist, to live at what an old hymn calls 'this poor dying rate,' we must do something other than treat the symptoms by taking spiritual medicines and tonics to keep ourselves going. The problem of the missionary is not merely to maintain his own spiritual existence, but to have such reserves as will suffice for infecting others with spiritual health, for communicating to them a secret of vitality, even for redeeming them from the depths of impotence. He has not only to live in the eternal world, but so to live that others who meet him may have such a sense as that of the mystic poet :

I saw Eternity the other night.[2]

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[1] *A Devotional Diary* (1928), First month, day 6.

[2] Henry Vaughan, *The World.*

Are we really religious ? I do not mean pious, I do not ask whether our work is concerned with religious things, our teaching and our preaching and our medical and industrial work directed towards religious ends. I mean, are we of such a sort that we bring the sense of God with us where we go ? or are we merely an army of professionals doing our duty because it is our duty, but professionals ? The supreme need is not for more professionals in service, but for amateurs, those who are in it for the love of it, or rather for the love of God, and who do it well because of love. And if this personal zeal, making communion with God the great privilege of life to us, be lacking, all our efficiency will be but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. To bring religion to men we must be religious, and religion is in danger of being crowded out of our busy lives.

I do not profess to say anything new, but there are one or two things of which I think we should do well to remind ourselves. The first is that we are not judged by the people whom we have come to serve only or chiefly by the service we render when we are, so to say, on duty. It is not service rendered officially that counts for most, but the little unpremeditated and instinctive acts of kindness that spring from a loving and sympathetic heart and an alert imagination. People judge us as human beings, and not least when we are unconscious of being judged, when we are off our guard in the life of the home. It is impossible to separate one part of our life from another in the matter of effective service. To be courteous and kindly to those among whom we work officially, and to be fretful and snappy with our servants or *munshis*, is largely to nullify the impression that our lives should make. To preach trust in God and to be agitated and distrustful in the little affairs of every day is to make the word of God of none effect. To proclaim love as the supreme Christian virtue, and among ourselves to yield to over-sensitiveness, personal pique, jealousy and malicious gossip is fatal to that unity of life which is a

condition of our own spiritual health, as it is fatal to the effectiveness of our message.

It is, I think, probable that much of the nervous breakdown which from time to time occurs in our community is due to the failure properly to unify our lives; inward peace is gone, and the inward conflict results ultimately in nervous and spiritual prostration. It is not worth while to forfeit the peace of God for anything, and while there are these destructive elements in our relationship with one another, and this disharmony within ourselves, we must be without that poise and serenity which should be the mark of those who bear the name of Christ. I do not ignore the fact that these things are often to be set right by a timely change of scene or companionship; the physical and mental in this, as in all else, cannot without peril to sanity be dissociated from the spiritual.

A second thought is this: that in judging ourselves we must be patient with ourselves. Some of us may be inclined to too lax a judgment of ourselves; and any who are conscious that for them the peril is there will be ill-advised to accept encouragement in carelessness from anything I may say; but I am inclined to think that for many the temptation is the other way, and that there is an impatience and hastiness to reach perfection which we should recognize to be unreasonable if we were dealing with others rather than with ourselves. In the letters of St Francis de Sales there is nothing more impressive than the recurrence of this advice to those who consulted him, that they must be patient with themselves. And sometimes when we are worried about ourselves we may find our worries disappear if we turn our minds away from self and that introspection which is so characteristic of our age, on to the work that has been given us to do or on to some absorbing hobby or interest. There are some well-known verses of Rudyard Kipling in which he urges people, when they feel that they are getting what he elegantly calls 'the hump,' to go and dig in the garden until they 'gently perspire,' and they will find that

the hump has somehow disappeared. We do not need the exhortation to perspire; but the recipe is good. And we must not lose our sense of humour: a good laugh at ourselves is a solvent of many threatening evils.

And thirdly, we must somehow get a better attitude than one of quiet, brave endurance towards the inescapable disabilities and difficulties imposed upon us by the conditions of our lives. A passage in Canon Streeter's *Reality* expresses better than I can what I mean.

> The most natural effect of suffering is not to ennoble but to embitter, not to purify but to weaken. Joy is a necessity of life, of the highest life as well as of the lowest. The natural and normal reactions of the organism to suffering are vindictiveness, degradation, peevishness and despair. Where the contrary result is found it is because there is something in man, or at least in some men, which can counteract these 'natural' reactions. And this something does exist.
>
> That secret, dimly grasped by heroic men and women throughout all the ages, was by Christianity first publicly proclaimed: the *natural* consequences of suffering can, by the spirit and manner in which it is borne, not only be avoided, but actually reversed. Look upon suffering as a necessary condition of labour for any cause worth working for—whether it be the learning of a lesson, the production of a work of art, the bringing up of a family or the steering of a ship to port—and its character is changed. Realize that the stupidity, the indifference, the malice and the selfishness of man have always been such an obstacle to progress that every forward step has been paid for in blood and tears; that, because casualties are the price of victory, sacrifice, pushed at times to the point of martyrdom, though not in itself a thing to be desired, is necessary and worth while—and things are seen in a new light. If it is in this way and in this spirit that the Divinity immanent in the world is suffering, striving, overcoming, then to take one's share in the work is to be allowed, as St Paul puts it (Col. 1, 24), to pay part of 'the unpaid balance [so it reads in Greek] of the sufferings of Christ.' Then, indeed, not perhaps every day and always, but at least in our moments of deeper vision, such pain becomes no longer a burden but a privilege (pp. 244–5).

It is, again let me say, by our attitude as ordinary human beings, not as professionals, to the calamities, disappointments and petty annoyances of life that we stand or fall in India.

A fourth thought concerns the place of faith in our

The International Review of Missions

A QUARTERLY

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VOLUME XVIII of the *International Review of Missions* will open in January 1929 with a Survey of the year 1928, seen especially from the point of view of missionary work.

In April 1929 a year will have passed since the Meeting in Jerusalem of the International Missionary Council. A question often asked is: 'What will be the outcome of that meeting?' The April issue of the Review is being planned to answer, in some degree, that question. Men and women from the four quarters of the world will write in that number what has been done during the year, and what is being planned for the future, in their own lands.

SOME WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN VOLUME XVIII

(SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION)

The Rev. Canon C. E. Raven, D.D., will contribute a further article on the Teaching Method of Jesus Christ.

The Rev. J. de Ghellinck, S.J., Professor of Patrology in the Universities of Louvain and Rome, will write on the Roman Church in China in the Fourteenth Century.

Dr Frimodt-Möller will develop his views on the relation of Medical Work in India to the Indigenous Church, which aroused so much interest in Jerusalem.

Mr J. D. Rheinallt Jones has promised a study of Acts relating to African Native Marriage Customs.

It is hoped that the following will contribute to the April number: Dr David Yui (China), Miss Helen Kim (Korea), Professor D. D. T. Jabavu (South Africa), Professor Erasmo Braga (Brazil), the Baroness van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam (Holland), Professor D.Theol. Martin Schlunk (Germany) and others.

Mr K. T. Paul, Mr P. O. Philip and the Rev. T. Narasimhan have promised to write on Indian subjects, Professor Latourette on the future of Christian Institutions in China, Mr Grimshaw on relations between the International Labour Organization and Missions, Professor Richter on Christian Education in view of the changing World Civilization.

Articles are also expected from The Bishop of Dornakal, Dr Edwin Bevan, Mr J. H. Oldham, Professor Hocking, Dr Cornelius Patton and other writers of note.

The Editors will contribute a Survey of the year 1928 for the January issue.

What other Papers say about the Review

'It is surprising to find that a number of people, who might know better, still regard missionary literature as being in the rather childish stage which was perhaps typical of it in the 19th century, and comparatively few realise that material for a science of the presentation of the Christian faith to non-Christian peoples is being steadily built up by the thought and research of missionaries of various nationalities. . . .

'To this Queen of Sciences Sociology, Ethnology, Comparative Religion, and Educational Method make their characteristic contributions, and these are noted in the carefully compiled International Bibliography, which is appended to each number of this Quarterly.

'"The International Review of Missions" should be more widely known in the University than is at present the case; many who are not prepared to identify themselves with the missionary activities of any church would find in its pages much that is of interest. . . .'—*The Cambridge Review*, May 1927.

'This volume [XVI] opens with a pertinent review of missionary enterprise in China . . . the sincere and serious statement of the whole position by writers who know something of China—one of them is a Chinese Christian—is the product of sympathy, insight and candour. . . . Those who bear any measure of missionary administrative responsibility will find some things worth thinking through.'—*British Weekly*, June 1927.

'Nous continuons à recommander ici les pèriodiques qui servent les causes religieuses . . . sachant bien qu'on ne nous rendra pas la pareille, et éprouvant d'autant plus de plaisir à nommer les principaux, les familiers: . . . *The International Review of Missions*.'—*Revue de Christianisme Social*, January 1927.

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EVANGELICAL
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lives. The perfecting of our organization has meant that we are sometimes in danger of curbing the free action of the Spirit of God. Careful calculation of men and means rather than the continual remembrance that God Himself is our one great resource and that our whole enterprise is folly unless He be in all of it, all the time, tends to make our whole spiritual life prudent rather than adventurous. And a life out of which adventure and exploration have gone has surely lost a great part of its faith. I do not undervalue our organizations and the work that is done by our innumerable committees; but we are in dreadful peril of being dominated by the machinery we have created, so that sometimes the temptation comes to be like the people in Butler's *Erewhon*, and to smash the machinery in order to save our souls alive. I do not believe that we need smash the machinery, but for it to run effectively and to do the work for which it was created there is needed an ever-increasing supply of spiritual power; and if the committee becomes a substitute for prayer it is doing the devil's own work. The more elaborate the machinery the more indispensable is the presence of the Spirit of God to work it.

If these things are so, we are left with one great necessity —that we should give time to God for Him to supply all our need. Our trust is in Him, and we must allow nothing to blind us to our dependence. Again, I would re-emphasize some old and elementary things. And first among them, at all costs we must begin each day with a period of quiet. I know how full of practical difficulty this is for some. The only possible time for a *munshi* often appears to be the time that would naturally be given to devotion. Or there has been an immemorial custom in the school or hospital of having some duty or other that demands one's presence in the early morning. Some of these difficulties are made to be overcome, and I would urge with all possible emphasis that only in the last resort should anything be allowed to interfere with a regular period of quiet, before the jars and problems of the day have a chance to get in first.

As to how the time should best be used, each must decide for himself. The use of books and symbols and the various other ways in which men and women have sought to prepare the way for the approach to God are things depending largely upon differing temperament and upbringing. If we start from where we now are, recognizing that this is a thing of prime importance, coming from north and south, east and west by many paths, we shall find our way at last into the Presence we desire.

As to how long we should give, again I cannot profess to speak; but there should be some sense of leisure so that we need not fear interruption; it is not the length of time, after all, but the fact of intercourse that makes all the difference to the day. To quote again:

> Among the open rewards of secret prayer we would specify presence of mind and composure of spirit; prayer calms and fortifies the mind, and prepares it for the rapid incidents and sudden emergencies of the day. But it does more than this; just as you have noticed those who have moved in the higher circles, who are accustomed to the loftiest society, not only continue calm and collected when others are embarrassed or unhinged, but in circumstances of delicacy or distress to others, by a certain high-born address, a certain conscious felicity, they not only save themselves from awkwardness, but give a happy extrication to all around them. There are certain persons belonging to the peerage of the faithful, men of as old a family as Enoch's, princely natures, who are wont to converse even with the King of kings, men who in their walk with God have learned the happy art of possessing their own souls and tranquillizing the souls of others; their assurance comforts and composes others.[1]

During the day we should take advantage of every opportunity that may come of recollection, to recall us to the eternal world in which we are living.

Concerning the value of fellowship—whether that of the Church itself, with its sacred ordinances, or a fellowship of a smaller group within the Church, or a fellowship that overleaps church boundaries or even the boundaries of religions—many of us have found that in this way God draws near. Not always when the intellectual discussion in a group is the keenest, but when in stillness we can wait

before Him, we know that He is present. I would not urge the breaking down of any sacred and delicate reserves in spiritual things; but I would suggest that among us there is sometimes a kind of spiritual shyness that is not sacred, that interferes with that meeting of two or three in the name of Christ, that sharing of experience, to which His presence is promised.

Apart from such fellowship, each day brings other opportunities; the very saying of grace before meat, with intention, may be a real means of grace, and there are other means which we may find for ourselves. There are more sacraments in life than those to which we usually give the name, and the practice of the presence of God may lead us from the centre of our routine into the region of the beatific vision. St Catherine of Siena wrote to one like herself immersed in affairs, 'You will seldom be able to have an actual cell, but I would have you always dwell in the cell of the heart, and always bear it with you. For, as you know, when we are locked into that, our enemies cannot offend us. Then every exercise that you do will be directed and ordained by God.'

> Yet some there be that by due steps aspire
> To lay their just hands on that golden key
> That opes the palace of eternity.[1]

In conclusion I would say one word about our closing thoughts at night. How to say their prayers is to some a real problem. There are mosquitoes without; there is an almost intolerable sleepiness within; and what are we to do? Certainly we should not make a fetish of any particular place or posture, nor feel it necessary to spend a particular length of time or go through a particular series of devotions, such as under other circumstances we might desire. But, no less certainly, we must not abandon the practice of bedtime prayer. Modern psychology has afforded interesting support to a number of religious practices, but to none more emphatically than to this, in its emphasis on

[1] Milton, *Comus*.

the sub-conscious realm in which our spirits move during sleep, and on the importance of the last conscious thoughts with which our minds are occupied, as giving the direction for good or ill which they are likely to follow while they are beyond our direct control.

One thing only do I believe to be essential; that as far as possible we should avoid distressing or perturbing thoughts after the evening meal is taken; we pay too big a price during the hours of sleep if we encourage such thoughts at night; in any case our last conscious thoughts as we go to sleep should be thoughts of peace and love and trust in God. So we shall find the old word fulfilled in our case: 'He giveth to His beloved in sleep' (Ps. CXXVII, 2).

J. S. M. HOOPER

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GITA, LOTUS AND FOURTH GOSPEL

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA: A Study of Three Masterpieces—Gita, Lotus and Fourth Gospel. By KENNETH SAUNDERS. London: S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d. New York: Macmillan. $2.50. 1928.

THIS title arrests our attention, and this author, by reason of his many previous good books, commands our respect. What, indeed, is the gospel for Asia? Does this book set it forth? Have we in this volume merely a restatement of three gospels, Hindu, Buddhist and Christian, or so much and, as well, an exposition of the good news of an ideal goal and of a sufficient way thither? Our expectation and our hope rise high. If we examine the book with care, we find it well constructed. Its contents flow in logical sequence and, generally, with power and precision of movement. The author, we know, is admirably equipped through scholarship, experience and temperament to discuss his arresting theme, but still we ask, Has he really discovered at last, in the midst of the abundant materials at hand, and amongst the intricate and somewhat confused currents of oriental life and thought, the Way of Everlasting Life?

While the book is not hard to read, although it certainly was not intended for laymen, it requires close application. The materials are interesting and the style engaging, but the problem—yes, the problem—keeps the reader eager and anxious, and after the entire work has been weighed, a paragraph at a time, there are wholesome doubts that linger in the reader's mind. Does the book after all make plain the path for the feet of Asia's millions? Does the little volume measure up to its great opportunity and responsibility? We do want to know the gospel for Asia, and we are assured that there are millions willing to accept it when it is found. These questions and comments may indicate at least what has been going on in one reader's mind. And it may be added that the feelings which have been stirred within him, and the thoughts engendered which have run out into the larger areas and lie too deep for words, make the task of reviewing the volume a difficult one.

In any event the book is a success and has a certain permanent value. It is in the form and temper of the best apologetic of the times. It should be read and pondered by all for whom it is intended —moulders of religious thought and life. It has, of course, its limitations. It sets its own bounds, even in defiance of the vast outreaches and possibilities of the theme. It suffers somewhat from both inevitable and unconscious omissions. The Hindu *Bhagavad-gita*, the Buddhist *Lotus of the True Law* and the Christian *Gospel of St John* are the burden of the work. The author considers these three writings to be of 'central importance,' 'the very cream of orthodoxy' and 'the fine flower of the three religions'; 'the noblest expression of Asiatic religion,' on which 'the Church of Asia must be built'; and 'all works of mystical worship of a loving Saviour,' realizing 'that a great Idea must tabernacle in human flesh to have redemptive power,' and representing the three religions 'fittest to make' the claims to universality and supremacy.

These three literary sources, then—and 'they are all inspired,' says Dr Saunders—provide the gospel for Asia. They are all 'expressions of religion,' and although they are expressions of 'different religions,' 'they can bring men together,' for 'religion at its best is the noblest of human activities and may become the chief bond uniting the races.' Dr Saunders makes us see in his own way that they have much in common, of history, composition and interpretation. They are all virtually expositions of the Logos doctrine, and built round the central idea and experience of an incarnation. He rightly does not count much upon the possibility of Christian influence upon the *Gita* and the *Lotus*, nor of Indian influence upon early Christianity. He treats the writings as essentially independent expressions of common hopes and experiences in the quest of Reality, and the authors as all in search of the One behind the phenomena of life, who is in all and through all. In one work Reality is Brahman, in another the Dharma and in still another the Logos. Reality has made itself—himself?—manifest in Krishna, in Buddha and in Jesus. Dr Saunders finds in his sources sufficient indication of the processes and lays in them a basis for the important conclusions at which he arrives. Altogether he deals with worship in the three cults, architecture ('the liturgy both moulds and is moulded by the form' of the house of worship, he says), the gospel authors and their times, their general philosophy of life and religion, the goals they set, and their ethical and doctrinal interpretations of the Way.

His conclusions, in brief, seem to be that while there is much in common in these three central writings there are fundamental differences in them ; that ' the three Beloved Ones are in a real sense rivals,' that no man can be at once a Buddhist and a Hindu, a ' Krishnian ' and a Christian ; that Jesus is the best Beloved, who, while judging the lower worthiness of the others, fulfils their highest aspirations (this might be called ' sympathetic intolerance ') ; that the religion of Jesus will mould the future of the race, because it is ' that religion which sets the highest value on personality in God and man, and makes righteousness, ever more deeply conceived and understood, supreme ' ; that Jesus Himself is His own gospel and the Ideal Figure. Or, to put the matter in other words of the author, Christianity is original (unique) not primarily because it teaches things which the others do not teach, but in ' the fact that it sums up these, and gives perfect and poignant expression to processes that are operative everywhere, and to truths that are eternal,' and Christianity is final, ' because these truths, as we discover more and more, are the very warp and woof of our universe, and it seems unlikely that they can be superseded, unless this world is replaced by an entirely different one ! '

We can agree with Dr Saunders that Christianity at its best is the gospel for Asia, that Christianity at its best is passionate, grateful, resolute, brotherly, pure, intelligent and triumphant love ; but we can still feel that his case is too readily made. With all due appreciation of the quality and scope of the fascinating treatment of the subject, we may insist that certain omitted facts should at least have been recognized, even though space were not available for freely discussing them. He seems not to take sufficiently into account the fact that the masses within the fold of each faith have a more or less permanent religion unexhibited in the three chosen sources. It is amazing that he disposes of ' environment ' in a few pages only, when factors in the environment bulk so large in the total situation. He disregards ecclesiastical development, in which inhere permanent elements that will affect the final gospel. He seems to err as Buddha did in minimizing time and space, thus omitting vital elements in the concept of progress. Seventeen pages for the presentation of ' the eternal order ' in terms of Logos, Brahman and Dharma seem less than adequate for his purpose, the treatment of the third term, especially, appearing to miss some of its essential meaning. And the thought might flash upon one that the book is in the last analysis

scarcely more than a liberal Protestant gospel. How many Hindus, Buddhists and Christians can and will accept the conclusions ?

However, we must remind ourselves that a small book cannot be all things to all men for the sake of their salvation. We grant the soundness of this volume's thesis, illuminated as it is by the fact that Christianity is now fulfilling and judging the faiths of Asia. And we accept as sound policy the preaching of Jesus as Bhagwan and Dainichi until He is seen to be the full manifestation of God as the Light and Love and Life of the world. That the volume stirs our feelings and excites our minds must be taken as part of its great virtue, for it does point the way toward the gospel for Asia.

John Clark Archer

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CHRISTIANITY AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

Das Heidentum als Missionsproblem. By Professor Julius Richter. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann. M. 0.50. 1928.

IT would be difficult to compress more valuable matter into a little space than Dr Richter has done in this singularly instructive pamphlet of thirty-four pages. He treats of the question whether, as it confronts Christianity, heathenism is a unified thing or a number of things. To this six answers were given in former times, none of them satisfactory. To-day three important views prevail. The first is held by the evolutionary historian, who refuses to see any generic distinction between religions. Here Dr Richter mentions one interesting variant which to me is novel : ' Each civilization (*Kultur*) inevitably develops social poisons, such as we have clearly before us in the poverty of great cities and its attendant moral neglect and religious barbarism, as well as in the class-war. But human society has the same power and tendency as any other organism to produce antidotes to these poisons. This is done in the form of religions '—which means that it is folly to transfer these antidotes to civilizations of a completely different kind. Second comes the social gospel, which urges that all religions must get together in the fight with great world-evils. The third view calls for a sympathetic interpretation of spiritual values, in whatever faith they may be found. But this Dr Richter puts aside as too intellectualist ; missionary work is not amicable confabulation but a holy

war. It is not enough to argue for the superiority of the Christian religion ; we must proclaim its uniqueness.

Dr Richter is surprised to find so much of the work done in preparation for the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council conforming to this third type, and rather unnecessarily brings it into line with the Ritschlian theology, which he criticizes in a style now somewhat out of date. Why make at this point the sweeping assertion that values are subjective ? Are those values subjective, for example, which are enshrined in the moral law; are they dependent on the opinion of the individual ?

Dr Richter passes on to contend that the heathenism which stands opposed to Christianity is a whole, a unified antagonism. He adds that this is the German view as contrasted with the Anglo-Saxon : but I confess that in later pages there is adduced no cogent evidence proving that a majority of Anglo-Saxon Christians might not agree with Dr Richter's interpretation as given above. There follows an admirable section in which it is shown that heathenism is wholly devoid of what Christianity calls faith, *fides qua creditur* ; that Christianity is the religion of personality alike in God and man, unlike Hellenism which makes man the one focus of life, or Mohammedanism which places the one focus in God ; that over against the religion of Christ, as its chief opponents, stand two families of worship, all of them sharing, and resting upon, a pantheistic conception—' the unchangeable laws of the world-harmony,' as Chinese thought puts it ; or transmigration and Brahman-Atman, as in Indian religious philosophy. Christianity is not pantheistic, it cannot and will not spare man the great ordeal of moral choice. While it is true that our faith comes to meet the same needs and wishes as other faiths, its self-consciousness is of a different kind. ' The inward attitude of the missionary is not that he has something better to offer the heathen than previously he possessed. . . . He comes rather as the emissary of the God of heaven and earth, and in His name offers divine salvation. If he be uncertain of this, he should leave missions alone.' We must follow St Paul in regarding heathenism as simply defection from God, and defection which in the last resort is guilty.

Dr Richter's argument is really completed at this point, but he adds a few pages we should have been sorry to lose. Here a striking picture is drawn of the methods of propaganda followed by Islam and Hinduism, in their own countries and in Europe or America. The pamphlet closes with the contention that in the field of truth

Brahmanism is the chief adversary, and that the living moral and social forces resident in the non-Christian religions have yet to prove themselves equal to the strain of modern conditions.

A careful reader would perhaps have welcomed a brief statement, either on the first page or the last, of the exact course of Dr Richter's thought. Each successive paragraph is lucidity itself; the trend of the whole is less evident. But what I have said will reveal to the discerning how rich is the content of the separate discussions. Wide perspectives are opened; appeal is made to motives than which, at least for the Christian mind, none can be greater.

H. R. Mackintosh

Edinburgh

RELIGION, HISTORY AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Reich Gottes und Weltgeschichte. Vorträge von Wilhelm Lütgert. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. M. 8 und M. 10. 1928.

ALTHOUGH the contents of this volume are a number of varied lectures and addresses, yet the missionary interest is prominent. The occasion for the publication was the fiftieth meeting of the Saxon Missionary Conference, of which the author was appointed chairman; and this work is offered as a token of gratitude for the honour thus shown him.

The first five sections (pp. 1–75) are on distinctively missionary topics. In the first address the author seeks to magnify the importance of missions. The philosophy of history yields the conclusion that the purpose in history is the coming of the kingdom of God; hence as the agency for bringing the kingdom missions hold a central position, even if the world does not recognize the fact. In the second address stress is laid on nationality as a decisive factor in religious thought, life and work; but while the author insists that Germans must do their work as Germans, he recognizes that it is not the German type of Christianity which missionaries should seek to foster abroad, for he admits the claim of India, China or Japan to give to the Christianity it receives its own distinctive character. In this address there seems to be a tendency, only too common in German writings, to assert the superiority of this German type as marked by its inwardness in contrast to the practical character of the Anglo-Saxon type. These generalizations have their dangers

of misunderstanding and estrangement. I believe that the nearer German or English Christians get to Christ, the less will their differences be.

In the third address the author shows most convincingly how the Gospel, which was recovered at the Reformation, by its very essence carried the motive to be missionary, but he explains from history how this motive in German Protestantism remained ineffective until Pietism took the initiative. The fourth address contrasts mission and propaganda. To summarize his argument, propaganda seeks to win individual converts for a sect, the mission seeks to win nations for Christ, although nations are won as individuals are, and Christians must associate themselves with some Church. The fifth address shows the relation of missions to the kingdom of God. The treatment of the theme here disproves the assumption elsewhere that there is so fixed a difference between the German and the Anglo-Saxon (this is the author's term) type of Christianity; for he contends for that view of the kingdom of God which most of the German delegates at the Stockholm Conference repudiated as Anglo-Saxon activism. He regards the kingdom as present, and missions as a contribution to its progress. He rightly qualifies this statement, however, in two respects: first, he denies that the perfect consummation of the kingdom can be in this world; and, secondly, he pleads that we should not say that man works with God but rather that God works in man. It is impossible to convey the wealth of thought in these addresses, eloquently expressed; only the leading idea have I ventured to report in my own words.

The remainder of the volume is varied, but the inclusion of all the contents may be justified in this way. All are in one way or another related to the philosophy of history and the kingdom of God as the purpose of history, in which, as the first address shows, missions hold a central place. The space allowed for this review forbids the consideration of any of the other subjects included in this volume, distinguished no less for its moral and religious insight than for its learning. As the writing is admirably clear and orderly, it can be warmly commended to those whom the too common style of German theological or philosophical works might bewilder and baffle.

Alfred E. Garvie

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CHRISTIANITY: THE REDEMPTION OF AFRICA

MAYIBUYE I AFRICA! KEHRE WIEDER, AFRIKA!: Erlauschtes und Erschautes aus Südwest-, Süd- und Ostafrika. Von LUDWIG WEICHERT. Illustriert. Berlin: Heimatdienst Verlag. M. 7 und M. 8. 1928.

IN 1926–27 Missionsinspektor Ludwig Weichert of the Berlin Mission undertook an evangelistic tour at the invitation of the German congregations in South-west, South and East Africa, and seized the opportunity not only to visit the stations of his society but beyond that to see and hear as much as possible. And since he had previously industriously studied African questions, he was able to observe with a keen eye and penetrating comprehension. He has written the results of his study in a book to which he has given as a title the Zulu song of freedom, '*Mayibuye i Africa!*' As a sub-title he adds, 'Things seen and heard.' He might have included also the words, 'Things learnt.' His book is a veritable storehouse of knowledge; it might be characterized as a lecture on missions for educated people who despise them, following the famous example of Schleiermacher's lecture on religion. For Weichert, as an evangelist in missionary service, daily meets with educated people, who contemptuously express their usual prejudices on the subject of missions. He knows the narrowness of the thought life of such people and here attempts to link up his travel experiences, reminiscences, thoughts and results of study with a fine *apologia* for missions.

As a lecturer and writer with power to touch the heart he has included in his book sections which one cannot read without being deeply moved; for instance, the description of the social conditions in the slums of Johannesburg.

Weichert divides his book into two parts. First he deals with colonizing and Europeanizing, then with missionary work. And he does not confine himself to South-west, South and East Africa, but includes anything from the history of colonization and missions in the dark parts of the earth by which he can support his argument.

The line of thought is simple: The civilization of the white man is pressing in on the old, beautiful Africa of primitive custom and culture as at the same time a great disruptive and a beneficent influence, and is rapidly bringing that Africa to an inevitable end. If Africa is again to recover a spontaneous, permanent way of life,

only Christianity can help her. But this simple thought is worked out with such wealth of illustration from economics, politics, religion and history that one has to read on page after page and learns to love and sympathize anew with Africa as a friend of missions.

It would be of especial interest if Weichert's attempt to portray the characteristic English and German methods of colonization and of carrying on missionary work, could be thoroughly examined from the English side. We need much fuller exchange of ideas in international relationships. It is a satisfaction to find the second part of the book end with an account of the new British educational policy, opening up a new road for missions. We can only rejoice that this policy is as firmly established as the author found it to be on his tour, and as he describes it on p. 268. Professor Westermann, the Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, has written a foreword rightly commending the book. It is indeed one of the most able books on the evangelization of Africa which has appeared in German for the last decade.

M. Schlunk

Hamburg

THE RELIGION OF THE ARAB

The Expansion of Islam: An Arab Religion in the Non-Arab World. By W. Wilson Cash, D.S.O., O.B.E. Preface by Professor D. S. Margoliouth. Map. London: Edinburgh House Press. 3s. 6d. 1928.

HERE is a book both new and old. The several pages present details familiar to students of Islam, but the book is none the less quite original and important. Expositions of Islam by learned scholars abound; as do manuals of strategy for Christian missionaries to Mohammedan lands. But here the telescope has been reversed and for the first time successfully focused, and Mr Cash invites us to stand with him at Mecca and observe Islam as a missionary and colonizing power. We see what this Arabian religion assimilated from its foreign provinces, what it deposited there, and above all the reasons for its successful and hitherto tenacious occupation of countries where it has replaced all rivals, including sometimes the Christian Church. The task of the student of human affairs is the utmost simplification consistent with the diversity of facts. Mr Cash has done in 296 pages what would seem to require volumes,

and the result is this book, the value of which for the expert in Islamics is just as great as for the casual reader. In point of style it is remarkable to note that, in spite of the density of ideas per square inch, Mr Cash has turned out the most readable book on Islamics since the war ; he maintains in timely anecdote and pointed epigram that attractive presentation conspicuous in *The Moslem World in Revolution.*

In any account of Islam chronology is a stumbling-block. There is traditional, orthodox Islam ; and there is the post-war, insurgent Islam ; and few statements can adequately cover both. Mr Cash keeps his eye steadily on Islam as it is to-day, though he carries us back to the very beginnings, over and over again, to deduce the forces of expansion, which have been the same everywhere and at all times. The study is complete, right up to events coincident with the writing of the book ; but the arrangement is neither wholly chronological nor wholly topical. It is topical by chapters, and chronological within each chapter. The reader follows successively the expansion abroad of Islamic theology, culture, morality, empire and the cult of the Prophet, as each has impressed itself upon those who fell under the dominion of the allegedly last and greatest of the world's religions.

In the opening chapter we are oriented to Islam to-day, turbulent instead of static as it had been since the golden age of Haroun-al-Rashid. We are shown how, in this new Muslim world, nationalism has replaced pan-Islam, and is still doing so swiftly and effectively. Save in Arabia, where it is reactionary, this nationalism is modelled on western secular politics, from whence it would fain borrow all, and nothing but, the secular and the materialistic. One of the most interesting sidelights is the ironic rôle played by the Turks, who in the Middle Ages, as the champions of orthodoxy, destroyed the Abbaside culture and liberalism, and to-day have dealt to orthodox Islam its most irreverent and humiliating blows.

The evaluation of Mohammed's own career errs on the side of generosity, the right side on which to err. One must be generous, of course, especially in these days when all around us we are told that one religion may well be as good as another. And as this book has already been attacked by Muslim propagandists, Mr Cash was wise as well as chivalrous. But facts are stubborn, and when the author states that Mohammed practised a morality somewhat lower than he taught, the reader may silently multiply that euphemism

by any convenient number without fear of error. Is it, after all, a kindness to let sincere Muslims continue in misguided reverence for a prophet far below them in personal honour? Canon Gairdner, who loved Muslims as much as any man ever did, felt this obligation so strongly that he wrote *Ecce Homo Arabicus*. Mr Cash goes straight to the point when he leaves the man Mohammed and turns to the system of Islamic teaching. There he shows, what cannot be gainsaid, that Islam takes human passions at their lowest and legalizes them; while Christianity takes them at their highest and then transmutes them into something finer still.

Interesting and illuminating as are the chapters which trace the political and theological conquest of adjacent lands, Mr Cash is at his best in his final deductions for the present and the future. He rightly attributes the marvellous expansion of Islam to five causes: The simple, clear doctrine of the One God; personal loyalty to Mohammed, an oriental Napoleon to his followers; pride in Islamic culture and the sense of absolute fraternity; easy moral license, permitting almost unrestricted sensuality, even permitting perverted practices at times (it is interesting in this connexion to note that the Qur'an accommodates male passions only; Mohammed needed soldiers, and the women of his day had no vote; the paradise of the Qur'an is silent about the delights in store for women believers); and missionary zeal which inflames merchant and bandit as well as imam. No doubt Christianity is tactically handicapped by discouraging the active co-operation of those who break all its commandments. Mr Cash is sound when he concludes that the common ground between the religions is not in Hebrew or Christian history, which is to be found variously garbled in the Qur'an, but in the flame of pure mysticism wherein Muslim and Christian saints have approached the very heart of the Eternal God. It is to be hoped that Protestant missionaries will heed this lesson; and, leaving historical and textual controversy, will build on the rich tradition of Christian mysticism, Catholic and Protestant, mysticism which knows no barriers of language or creed, which has drawn Muslims toward heaven.

We can be grateful to Mr Cash for stating once and for all the valid reply to Muslim arguments based on the abuses and tyrannies of the western world: Christians sin in violation of Jesus' teaching, while Muslims, unhappily, may sin against self and others with religious sanction; Christians do not claim the western world, nor

the civilization of the twentieth century, both of which have matured largely godless. We claim a Saviour who through the centuries has redeemed human life from futility and despair. To Him alone we bow the knee, and Him alone we lift up that all men may be drawn to Him. He has saved individual lives, and nations, when they let Him, and He is ready to do so again, east or west of Suez.

There are points where one might differ from Mr Cash, but they are not many. He over-credits Islam's success to its flame of devotion to Allah. That dogma is indeed potent, but less potent than the social, civil and financial advantages that accrue to the convert to Islam. Four hundred Copts become Muslims annually, but I have never known of an Egyptian whose conversion was devotional. Where Muslims are in a minority, and do not control social and commercial life, these conversions simply do not occur. The dominant motives are sex and property. Also Mr Cash notices a tendency for Muslims of different nations to convene and confer together to repair the breaches in their former empire. This trend is feeble in the Near East. Caliphate conferences have been boycotted and scouted by the secular Arabic press. The Muslims of Syria expected to fraternize with their co-religionists among the occupying Indian and Moroccan troops, but they received only kicks and insults as allies of the enemy Turk. No potentate except Ibn Sa'oud would risk his position to volunteer as Caliph, and Ibn Sa'oud is cordially hated by other Muslim rulers. The insult he gave to the Egyptian pilgrims to Mecca a year ago aroused great feeling. Pious sheikhs do indeed confer, but nobody notices them. Unless we misread the signs of the times, Islam is politically dead. Finally, Mr Cash excuses too much in Mohammed's life and teaching by pleading the morals of the times in which he lived. True, but this does not make Mohammed a moralist for all time.

In one direction the book might have gone further in making concessions to this formidable antagonist. It is time for the Christian Church to distinguish more sharply between the Old and the New Testaments. Muslim propagandists have the best of us when they compare Mohammed with patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament. It is only too true that both Moses and Mohammed set up tribal, parochial religions, and as such both religions made the same ungenerous nationalizing interpretations of providence and salvation. We get nowhere opposing the Bible as a whole to the Qur'an, however superior it may be. Allah and Jehovah are both

incomplete revelations of the loving heavenly Father. Jesus and the Gospel stand alone. This truth, repugnant as it still is for many Christians, must be declared before Islam can be convinced of our candour.

William Alfred Eddy

Cairo

CHINA AND THE WEST

China and England. By W. E. Soothill. London: Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. 1928.

Chinese Realities. By John Foster. London: Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 6d. 1928.

Enter China: A Study in Race Contacts. By George G. Barnes. London: Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 1928.

What China Wants. By A. M. Chirgwin. London: Livingstone Press. 6d. 1928.

Ten Weeks in China. By Margaret E. Wenham. London: Edinburgh House Press. 1s. 1928.

THESE five books have been written to aid the British people in understanding and appreciating recent developments in China.

Professor Soothill's book is almost wholly concerned with the political and commercial relations between Great Britain and China, but in two chapters, under the title of 'Cultural Importations,' he sketches the history and present position of Christian missions. In his discussion of British policies he is on the defensive throughout, and he attempts to prove too much. No human government could be quite so good as he attempts to show the British Government has been. Towards the Chinese there is rather too much of an attitude of patronizing superiority. The two chapters that discuss the *People's Three Principles* are given wholly to fault-finding. The criticisms are true to a large extent, but there is no evidence of an understanding of the meaning of the book or any appreciation of its power.

Moreover, while Professor Soothill brings forward a great many facts that are essential to a knowledge of the history of China in its relations with other powers, there are unfortunately so many inaccuracies as greatly to reduce its value. The discussion of extraterritoriality may be taken as an example. The definition of the term is not correct, for it confuses diplomatic protection with extraterritorial privileges, whereas protection of nationals abroad is a

common principle in international relations everywhere, regardless of extra-territoriality. The statement that St Paul's appeal to Cæsar is a parallel is quite mistaken, for surely China is not a colony of Great Britain nor of any other nation, as Palestine was of Rome. Neither is the former position of the Manchus a parallel. The principle of extra-territoriality is applied only when an alien is a defendant, and it provides then only that he is to be judged in a court of his own nation, in which the court will apply whatever laws are applicable to the case, the law of the place as well as the legislation of his own government. It is not true, as is suggested, that the alien in China is not subject to Chinese law. Neither is the history accurate, for it is stated (p. 38) that the law of extra-territoriality was not declared nor defined till the treaty of 1858, whereas it was stated in the United States Treaty of 1844. The Commission of 1926 was not attached to the Tariff Commission, but was an independent body. The author has two opinions about the abolition of extra-territoriality, and that expressed on p. 91 contradicts what was printed on p. 58. There is little recognition of the progress that has been made by China in modernizing her laws and courts. The author's opinion of the new Provisional Court in Shanghai was apparently founded on biased newspaper reports that have been contradicted by the formal statements of British and other officials.

In several places there are uncomplimentary references to Americans that are hardly based on a knowledge of the facts. As one example, attention may be called to what is said in several places about the Boxer Indemnity, in which the common mistake is repeated of drawing the implication from the return of part of that indemnity, that the United States had demanded an excessive amount. The facts are, that the demands of all governments, Great Britain included, were based on estimates. Later, in dealing with the claims of their nationals for losses sustained, the United States, as well as Great Britain and other countries, referred them to courts of law. The United States has published the results of that judicial examination, and has made a complete public accounting of the indemnity funds.

Chinese Realities is a good antidote. Mr Foster has lived in South China and has witnessed the progress of the revolution there. The reading of this book will help greatly in understanding the revolution that is not yet complete. It is altogether an excellent book for that purpose. It closes with a strong appeal for missionaries.

The day of foreign missions is not over because that of the Chinese Church has begun. This book will help the missionary candidate who is doubtful about the opportunity for lifelong service in China and whether it would be worth while.

Enter China is a fine study of race relationships. It is not mere theory, for Mr Barnes apparently has been trying to apply his principles as a teacher in South China. It is a plea for understanding, especially on the part of the young West in its relations with Old China now becoming New China.

Mr Chirgwin's booklet is an informing statement of what New China is striving for. It is sympathetic and hopeful, although in a few places a little too idealistic.

Ten Weeks in China was written for girls, but older folks, and boys too, will read it if they get a chance. It is a vivid and interesting story of a visitor to Peking and to mission stations in Shansi.

A. L. Warnshuis

New York

STUDIES OF SUDANESE PEOPLES

Etudes Soudanaises : La Religion Bambara. By L. Tauxier. Paris : Geuthner. Fr. 80. 1927.

On the Trail of the Veiled Tuareg. By Dugald Campbell. Illustrated. Map. London : Seeley, Service. 21s. 1928.

MONSIEUR TAUXIER, colonial administrator, has published six or seven remarkable works on the black populations of the Sudan and of the Ivory Coast. The volume under review is a careful study, the result of research, which is sure to commend itself to all students of ethnography, sociology and the history of religions.

The Bambara inhabit the valley of the Niger and comprise some 540,000 individuals. They are one of the chief races of the great Mandé family, and are an agricultural people, somewhat thick-set in physique and slow mentally. Their religion is here described under four headings : Religious ideas, deities, priestly organization and rites.

We have here the rare case of an animistic people having resisted Islam, although in contact with it. A few things may, however, be noted which they have taken over from Islam. For instance, the

Bambara name for the supreme deity is 'Alla.' Monsieur Tauxier does not think that the Bambara possessed the idea of this deity before the Islamic invasion, although other authors think that they did. Again, in the chapter on feasts and sacrifices, some Islamic infiltrations are noted: the Bambara keep *Ramadan*, and celebrate at midsummer by sacrifice the festival of the earth and the sky god, the sacrifices being related to the Fast. They celebrate also the sheep feast, consecrated to their ancestors. On the other hand, they have kept uncontaminated their purely pagan fire-festival.

The chapter on *ntana* and *tabus* should be noticed. The author, basing his theory on original legends, is convinced that the origin of the totem, or *ntana*, is some occurrence in fact—perhaps some lucky event which befell a man, an animal or a vegetable. A man, perhaps, was made aware of the presence of his ambushed enemy by the unexpected appearance of a large black monkey, which thus saved his life. No more is needed to establish a friendly feeling between man and animal, between the tribe and all animals of that species; and since among primitive peoples there is no friendliness apart from relationship, the totemistic bond is forged.

The circumcision schools should also be noted. These have been described, in South Africa, as being demoralizing; but they have not that character among the Bambara. The one who conducts them gives the boys a thorough moral training, tells them that as they are now men and no longer children, they must learn what is right to do and what is wrong; duty owed to one's parents, to old folk, to neighbours—nothing is omitted. The girls receive similar teaching from an old woman. The schools last three months, and if M. Tauxier is right, they have an indisputably strong social and moral influence.

There is a chapter on secret societies. These exist all over Africa. The chief society, however, among the Bambara, the *Komo*, is first and foremost a society for protecting the community, punishing promptly and efficaciously murderers, thieves, adulterers, sorcerers and sinners of many kinds against the common weal. This rôle is sufficiently remarkable in a secret society, and also sufficiently rare in Africa, to deserve mention.

The book is a fine contribution to the study of the black man and deserves a worthy place in all African bibliographies.

Mr Campbell's book is an extremely living account of a journey by one who knows thoroughly well the Sahara, and its inhabitants,

the Tuareg. Without being exactly a scientific work, his book contributes appreciably to our knowledge of this nomad people who roam the trackless desert, and whose history goes back so far into antiquity.

What is their origin ? They are a branch of the Berber family and hence related to the ancient Syrians, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, with admixture of Ethiopian, Iberian, Etruscan and Greek blood, also (in historical times) of Roman and Vandal. The Arab inheritance came at a more recent date. Their origin, therefore, is both Aryan and Semitic. Their custom of veiling—on the part of the men only—is of great antiquity.

The book is filled with vivid and animated descriptions of manners and customs. Especially well worth reading are the accounts of sandstorms, of ' demon caravans,' of the anguish when a route is lost ; also the accounts of the French administration and police, the ' white knights of the Sahara,' and the amazing history of Agadis and of Assode, the lost city.

Mr Campbell throws much light on the Tuareg religion—Islam with a strong admixture of animism and some totemism. The Arabs speak of the Tuareg as renegades, for they are strict neither in their observances nor in their dealings with Christians. Formerly Christian for several centuries, these people have conserved in their language words of Latin Christian origin. The cross predominates in their ornament. Monogamy is nearly general : indeed, ' the lady of the tent ' is honoured, well treated, even waited upon by her husband.

The Tuareg tongue, Tamachek, is a written language, poetical, rich in imagery and with an abundant literature ; it has works on history and wars ; love literature, legends and poetry also exist.

We cannot help being strongly attracted by this mysterious people. Are they not waiting, behind their veil, for some one to lead them back to their first faith, that they may continue along the road they were traversing when interrupted by Islam ? The veil lifted, Christendom would recognize them as brothers, and be astonished at the richness of their contribution to the human family. But where are the missionaries devoting their lives to converting the Tuareg people ? As far as the reviewer knows there is not a single one.

F. Faure

Paris

BRITISH MALAYA TO-DAY

THE MODERN MALAY. By L. RICHMOND WHEELER, B.Sc. London: Allen & Unwin. 15s. 1928.

THE author of this well-written book has lived in British Malaya for seven years, and at the present time is an Inspector of Schools in the Federated Malay States, and also a prominent worker in the Boy Scout movement.

Mr Wheeler has made an intimate study of the Malay race, and here gives its past history with accuracy and its modern condition with full and up-to-date information, having gathered his material not only from standard works and government reports, but also from his own experience.

He ably shows the great changes which have occurred since the establishment of the British Protectorate at the invitation of the Malays in 1874. In one generation the Malays have advanced from the sixteenth to the twentieth century as regards civilization, liberty, justice, commerce, revenue and education. The Malays are in a minority in their own country owing to immigrants from China, India, Ceylon and other countries, yet, as Mr Wheeler rightly says, Malaya is an excellent example of how many diverse races and classes can live and work together in harmony and fellowship.

Malaya is now a wealthy country whose development has only been made possible by the labours of the Chinese, Indians and others, aided by British and Chinese capital, and above all by having a stable government and security. The Chinese were the pioneers of mining, they were also the carpenters, masons, brick-makers, traders and merchants, whilst the Tamils were the clerks and labourers. Mr Wheeler rightly praises both races. The Malays have been the paddy planters and agriculturists. The author has high praise indeed for the modern Malay, considering him one of the most attractive and charming types of humanity, bright, gentle and trustworthy, but inclined to take life too easily, a judgment with which the reviewer cordially agrees, after a thirty-five years' residence in Malaya in close contact with the people. As regards religion the Malays are Moslems, but not bigoted.

Mention is made in the book of the splendid educational work done by the various missionary societies. The Government would find it difficult to carry on its work were it not for the thousands of English-speaking Malays, Chinese and Tamils. There is also refer-

ence to the rubber and tin industries, and up-to-date statistics are given. The first third of the book, amplified and made more interesting, would, the reviewer considers, form a good historical reader for use in the schools of Malaya, and would meet a real need. So few of the text-books now in use give any information of the country. The book may be recommended to all students of the Malayan race.

WM. E. HORLEY

BRISTOL

JAPANESE BUDDHISM

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHISTS IN JAPAN. By ROBERT CORNELL ARMSTRONG. (World's Living Religions Series.) London: S.P.C.K. 6s. New York: Macmillan. $1.25. 1927.

'THE Missionary Approach to Japanese Buddhism,' or something similar, would have been a more appropriate title for this interesting but somewhat discursive and anecdotal volume. Its scope and purpose is not merely to describe the Buddhists and the Buddhism of Japan, but rather the way in which the peaceful penetration of Christianity is going on in that country, so that Japanese Buddhism is slowly but unmistakably taking on a Christian complexion. The writer senses a danger in this and expresses this hope: 'The day is not far distant when pious Buddhists who are dissatisfied with modern attempts to ape Christianity will open their minds and their temples to the magnetic influence of Jesus and His saving grace.'

Taken together with the two other volumes in this series by Dr Kenneth Saunders [1] and Professor Hodous,[2] a good bird's-eye view of the Buddhist world is possible: a view which supplements usefully that given in Hackmann's more scholarly and comprehensive work, *Buddhism as a Religion*. There are chapters dealing with the history of Buddhism in Japan, the institutional, social, and philosophical aspects of the religion, and the various sects of Japanese Buddhism. It will be news to those who only know Southern Buddhism that there are actually sects of the Hinayana in Japan, and that 'the priests take wives, eat meat and drink wine.' In Burma such monks as these would be unfrocked and chased out

[1] *Buddhism and Buddhists in Southern Asia*, 1923. (Reviewed, October 1923.)
[2] *Buddhism and Buddhists in China*, 1924. (Reviewed, July 1924.)

of the village, even as their prototypes, the 'Ari' monks, were dispossessed of their monasteries by King Anorata.

Two quotations must suffice to indicate the scope and interest of the book. The first reveals one of the inherent weaknesses of Buddhism and marks it out as a non-social religion :

> An ancient writer reflects the typical Buddhist conception when he describes a mother nursing her child as one of the saddest possible sights. Another ancient priest called woman 'the messenger of Hell.'

The second quotation demonstrates the superiority of the Mahayana ideal of the Bodhisattva to the Buddha ideal of the Hinayana school :

> The essential difference of the doctrine of the Bodhisattva as distinguished from the other schools, consists in the belief that all Bodhisattva are incarnations who, not by their evil karma previously accumulated but by their boundless love to all mankind, assume corporeal existences and associate themselves with the masses that they may lead them to a state of enlightenment.

W. C. B. Purser

London

LIFE IN THE PACIFIC

Orokaiva Magic. By F. E. Williams. London : Oxford University Press. 15s. 1928.

In the Isles of King Solomon. By A. I. Hopkins. London : Seeley, Service. 21s. 1928.

IT is a treat to read a book by a competent anthropologist which has charm and human interest. Mr Williams has given us three studies of Papuan life and custom which are enthralling from beginning to end. He presents his facts and suggestions in an admirable atmosphere of modesty and courtesy. Furthermore, as Professor Marett points out in a generous and whimsical introduction to this work of one of his old students, Mr Williams 'hits a happy mean between too much and too little sympathy with the native point of view.'

The first section of the book deals with the Taro cult—a new and dramatic religious movement among the Gulf people in Papua. The taro is the yam of the Pacific, an immense tuber with flesh like that of the potato but much coarser, and the main food staple of the

people. The origin of the movement is alleged to have been the result of revelations received by a Papuan who believed himself possessed of the spirits of the taro, and to whom were given in vision the magic rites by which a good taro crop could be ensured. Hence the acceptability of the cult to a people for whom food is a central object of thought.

The interesting fact, from the point of view of anthropology, is that the movement has had its origin and development within the last few years, thus proving that the old maxim of anthropology which regarded native custom as of an almost absolute stability may need considerable modification. The author quotes Dr Strong, the Papuan Government Anthropologist: 'The way in which waves of culture, e.g. the Baigona and Taro cults, have spread temporarily in the Northern Division make one think that primitive culture is not always the fixed and unvariable quantity which most anthropologists seem to assume it is.'

The cult has startling resemblances in its phenomena to some of the ancient and vagrant cults of Christendom, and we read of apparitions, shaking fits, dreams and visions, paroxysms and speaking in tongues as familiar features of this modern primitive religion.

The author points a moral for the missionary and wonders whether Christianity cannot be made more acceptable to the people by giving them more to do—providing a more interesting ritual and one in harmony with their own native life:

> A new native religion, like the old, should possess an attractive and engrossing ceremonial, and it should not despise the mere dressing-up, dancing and feasting, but should actually incorporate them. If Christianity cannot condescend to employ such methods, if it cannot adapt itself so that the Christianity of the native is part and parcel of his life, in which he takes really spontaneous interest and pleasure, then in my opinion Christianity is not suitable for him.

The second section of the book deals with garden culture and gives a detailed account of the methods of agriculture of the Orokaiva tribe and of the magic appropriate to the growing of food. Papua is a harsh country with a poor soil, and the author maintains that it is necessary to improve native agriculture in order to ensure that which is so sorely needed—a better and more varied diet. He suggests that by the introduction of new products such as rice, maize and gram, and by improving agricultural methods, much can

be done to help the race. *Inter alia* he points out that it is far better that the native should learn to work for himself than that he should engage his services to a European planter.

In the third section the author discusses magic itself, and tries to get beneath the surface of the native mind and discover the logic of magic—if it have any. It is common knowledge to those familiar with Pacific peoples that they have an exaggerated suggestibility, and it is probably upon this weakness that the magician—both sincere and insincere—works. The belief that sickness and death are not of natural origin and must therefore have a supernatural cause furnishes the sorcerer with fertile soil in which to sow his seeds of fear. 'It follows in the main that it is not the practice of sorcery which does the harm, but rather the belief in it, and especially the fear of it.'

In a quite different category is *In the Isles of King Solomon.* Mr Hopkins is an honoured member of the Melanesian Mission (Church of England) and has given over a quarter of a century of service to the people of the Solomon Islands. The book is slighter than its companion, but is nevertheless informing as a general description of life in the Solomons. It is remarkable that two men working in different fields, one a scientist and the other a missionary, should have come to so many identical conclusions, each man's book serving as illustration and commentary to that of the other. This is the case particularly in the tolerant views taken of native custom, with the warning that even the worst custom should not be hastily scrapped. Both, too, emphasize the need of agricultural education as means of expression and support to native life—though the missionary (with more experience) is not nearly so sanguine regarding success as is the scientist.

In regard to cannibalism Mr Hopkins makes the significant remark, which applies not only to the Solomons but to all parts of the Pacific :

> It is noticeable how people who never have been cannibals despise the horrible thing, and how quickly it disappears on a cannibal tribe coming into contact with a wider world than that of their own bush villages. Directly daylight falls on the habit it withers away. This is remarkable when we remember the sanctity of it in primitive man's eyes.

A defect in the book is that there is no chapter dealing with Christian missions. Excellent work has been done by the Melanesian,

Methodist and Roman Catholic missions, and it would have been inspiring had a chapter on this aspect of the new life in the Solomons been included.

JOHN W. BURTON

SYDNEY

CONTEMPORARY WORLD HISTORY

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Volume II. By C. A. MACARTNEY and Others. Appendices. Maps. London: Oxford University Press. 25s. 1928.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION. Minutes of the Twelfth Session, held at Geneva from October 24th to November 11th, 1927 (including the Report of the Commission to the Council). Geneva: League of Nations. 1928.

THE first volume of the Survey was concerned with the Islamic World only; the present volume deals, in four parts, with the rest of the world. Part I (World Affairs) makes by far the most cheerful reading. After a perusal of 'the Locarno Conference and resulting Treaties,' or of 'the Work of the International Labour Office,' or of the activities of the League of Nations in regard to health organization, opium, slavery and other matters, one is heartened by the evidence that the human race is making at any rate some progress in things that matter. This warm glow gradually cools as one passes on through Part II (Europe), which occupies one-third of the volume. Controversies over waterways, over territory, over frontiers, over refugees, over minorities; negotiations, compromises, delayed ratifications—these things bulk too largely to leave room for any sense of pride in the European events of 1925. They make only too obvious how great a gulf lies between a state of peace based on trust and a state of abstention from war, fraught with suspicion.

The section on the Far East (Part III) opens with a brief outline of the internal history of China from 1920 to 1925, since, as the writer truly says, 'in the case of China the status or internal condition of the country is itself an international affair.' Then there follow most useful biographical notes on half a dozen of the chief Chinese leaders, and, thus equipped, one launches out on the events of 1925, which, it will be remembered, was the year in which the clash between China and western powers was at its greatest. The

whole section makes sad reading down to its last three pages, which are occupied with the first session, at Honolulu, of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which

> aimed at promoting among the representatives of the various countries who took part a frank heart-to-heart interchange of opinions which should assist each nation in appreciating the point of view of the others and so bring into their mutual relations that spirit of intelligent sympathy which is the antidote to international distrust and racial prejudice.

The volume—apart from appendices—closes with a short section on the American Continent (Part IV), chiefly concerned with relations between the United States and the Latin-American republics and with those of the latter among themselves.

It was perhaps inevitable, owing to the amount of work necessitated, that this survey of the year 1925 should not appear until three years later. But in the interval the stream of events has travelled so far that one regrets the absence of any supplementary statement bringing certain matters up to date; for instance, as regards affairs in China, or the question of disarmament.

The reader whose mind is set towards missionary work will find no explicit mention of it in this book; he will search the index in vain for such clues as 'missions,' 'Christianity' or even 'religious bodies' (he will, however, if he seeks industriously, find the characteristic entry, 'Y.M.C.A., Conference proposed'). Yet the whole book largely deals with questions in which missionary work is implicit, and to which it is vitally related; for example (turning again to the index), 'Korea, at Institute of Pacific Relations'; 'League of Nations: . . . Health Organization: . . . sleeping sickness investigation'; or again, 'Malaya, opium consumption in.' The survey is therefore one which we missionaries cannot overlook. It is an excellent piece of work, and a thoughtful reading cannot but drive one to one's knees with the prayer that the 'spirit of intelligent sympathy' (see quotation above), in which alone lies hope for real peace on earth, may grow between the nations.

From time to time the Permanent Mandates Commission issues minutes of its sessions. As a notice of these documents has not yet appeared in this Review, it seemed suitable to make mention here of the latest issue.

No one who has formed the habit of following the actions of the Commission, as related in its minutes, will lightly break it. The

members become like personal friends; one rejoices in their unfailing courtesy, their unswerving determination to get at the facts, their admirable conservation of the dignity of their trust. The sense of loss occasioned by the death of Madame Bugge-Wicksell was almost personal; one had grown to know exactly the questions she would ask and to welcome their searching keenness. The Commissioners never fail to express politest thanks to those who report to it; and on their part the latter never fail to express a deep sense of gratitude for their reception and the courteous hearing extended to them; but one is at liberty to surmise that in certain cases representatives of one or another mandatory power have approached the Commissioners' table with uneasy minds, for if circumstances warrant it the courteous hearing will not preclude a grave rebuke. The Commission represents the League of Nations and, rightly, has no mind to be flouted.

Since so great a part of 'the mission field' is in mandated territory, a careful and regular study of these recurring volumes is recommended to all missionaries and to those engaged in missionary administration. They will find it engrossing.

M. M. Underhill

Croydon

DAUGHTERS OF INDIA

Daughters of India. By Margaret Wilson. London: Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d. 1928.

THIS is an absorbingly interesting book; the story, which is slight, is the description of the life in an American mission amongst outcastes in the Panjab. It is obviously written by some one who knows intimately not only the district she is describing but also the people, both Indian and American, of the place. It does not pretend to be an inclusive study of Indian life, but within its limits it gives an intensely vivid and moving picture, seen by an observer who possesses the humour that can laugh at herself as well as at other people.

It has the same quality of beauty as Mrs Sitwell's and Miss Christlieb's books, but it also has a finished beauty peculiarly its own: 'Sitting there among the hungry children watching their evening bread being baked . . . observing the firelight on their little brown faces, something had risen and cried within her—again

and again it had happened—" You *belong* here ! You have always lived in India ! This is home ! " ' There is the description of Davida Baillie's lover, who lived in Franciscan poverty and was held as mad, ' but . . . Indians, being quite as mad about religion as he was, loved him reverently. They could understand from the ground up a man who went barefoot for his God's sake.' There is the old lady missionary who scarcely understood the language, ' she only loved them. And love is a force before which they are utterly defenceless.'

It is to be hoped that the book will be widely read, and specially that all young missionaries and would-be missionaries will read it, also those who advocate or organize the cause of foreign missions at home ; there is more wisdom and understanding to be found in it than in many weightier and more imposing volumes.

GRACE M. PATON

ST ALBANS

THE FIRST SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION YEAR-BOOK

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA. Edited by J. DEXTER TAYLOR, D.D. Lovedale : Institution Press. 7s. 6d. 1928.

THIS book describes itself modestly in a sub-title as ' A Year-Book of South African Missions,' but it is vastly more than that. It contains all that a good year-book should contain—names and institutions and statistics in abundance, with brief descriptions of all the more important branches of the Christian Church in South Africa. All this collated information is extremely useful, not only in the country itself, but also in other countries.

But of its five hundred pages nearly two hundred are occupied with brief but informed and most valuable articles on almost every conceivable topic relating to the African people. There are twenty-one of such articles, and they range from questions of government to missionary homes. The outstanding matters of interest and of deep concern in South Africa to-day are those of the relation of government to the native peoples—in matters of land, of labour, of conditions of employment, of education, of franchise. On all these subjects the book has something of value, and on some of them the writers speak with no uncertain voice. For instance, the deprivation of the Natives of nearly all the land has led to intolerable

conditions: over-population in native areas, over-stocking, impoverishment of the land and deeper impoverishment of the people. The passing of the Colour Bar Act, with its declared purpose of segregating the Natives, has in effect barred their progress and made it impossible for them to advance beyond the merest menial labour. This Act, it is pointed out, only makes the position of the Native worse, without that advantage to the European which, callously enough, it sought to achieve. It has further embittered racial feelings without doing anybody any good. In addition, the cruel protective duty on native clothing has pressed the Native still further down below the poverty line. In fact, 'South Africa may be saddling itself with a "poor black" problem beside which the "poor white" problem may be child's play.'

The reading of this book enables one to realize how great and complicated are the problems which South Africa has to face, and how necessary it is that the wisest and most Christian solutions should be sought. It is clear that the Churches, in addition to their splendid contribution through evangelism and education, are trying to face all these questions in the light of the Gospel, and this book, by its statement of the questions and the proposals made by the various writers, is a real contribution to the highest interests of all the peoples, black and white, with whom it is concerned.

W. J. Noble

London

SONS OF AFRICA

Sons of Africa. By Georgina Gollock. London: Student Christian Movement. 5s. 1928.

Lives of Eminent Africans. By G. A. Gollock. Portraits. Maps. London: Longmans. 3s. 6d. 1928.

THE first book is a valuable addition to the existing biographical literature on Africa and a particularly helpful contribution towards an understanding and appreciation of Africans and things African.

The reviewer has been asked by quite well-meaning people if Africa south of the Sahara has ever produced any outstanding people. Miss Gollock gives an admirable answer. In an engagingly readable book she writes vividly, briefly but informingly about some two dozen 'sons'—three of whom, by the way, are daughters. Among

those whom she has chosen will be found a great administrator, Sir Apolo Kagwa of Uganda ; an African Anglican bishop, Samuel Crowther ; a warrior, Tshaka ; Moshesh, builder of the Basuto nation, and a number of others, some of whom may certainly be called outstanding even when judged by western standards. To know Francis of Basutoland, Mapopé of the Transvaal and Kibangu of the Congo is to know men who admittedly do not stand in such a unique light, but who are nevertheless by true test sons without whom Africa would be the poorer. With a sense of proportion, unusually penetrating understanding, and at times ill-concealed admiration which characterize her treatment of all the characters, Miss Gollock performs a first-class service in bridging for us the gap which has come since Dr Aggrey's death, thus making him real and powerful in the world of to-day. He was a saint of God, worthy of the author's pen and of the reader's attention.

The book has been carefully compiled ; it does not give exaggerated praise, nor is it unmindful of what are called 'the rights of Africans.' At the same time, it faces the conditions of the present day and speaks helpfully about the possibilities of a future acceptable to all concerned. In reference to the future of Africa, co-operation between African and white man, the nature of that co-operation and the African's share in it, the author's treatment indicates a great hope for and belief in this continent.

Chapter XIII, 'Among the Prophets — A Study of African Heretics,' is one of those excursions away from the ordinary biographical task where the author draws upon her well-reasoned philosophy of missionary methods. Speaking of these 'prophets' she says :

> It is easy to fling stones at them ; the stones in abundance are there. But what matters is that the Church should learn how to use her prophet-children who have in them that urge of leadership which their fellows recognise (p. 222).

Miss Gollock wrote the second book for use as a reader for African colleges or training schools. Here for the first time is a book which gives young Africans the chance of entering into the significance of their racial heritage.

MAX YERGAN

ALICE, SOUTH AFRICA

LIBERIA—OLD AND NEW

LIBERIA—OLD AND NEW: A Study of its Social and Economic Background with Possibilities of Development. By JAMES L. SIBLEY and D. WESTERMANN. Illustrated. Maps. New York: Doubleday, Doran. $3. London: James Clarke. 7s. 6d. 1928.

THE value of this book is enhanced by its joint authorship. Dr Westermann of his wide knowledge of Africa contributes chapters on native life and custom, while Mr Sibley brings his experience of American education to bear on the educational problems of the Republic which he serves in the double capacity of advisor to the American societies working there and to the Liberian Government. He also gives an historical outline and shows the relation of the United States of America to Liberia, which shares with Abyssinia the distinction of being under direct African rule.

From the inception of Liberia as a colony of freed slaves, the United States has had special interests and responsibilities there. Colonization societies, missions and the Government—all have played and are playing a part, and the latest development is that an American company is embarking on a large scheme of commercial development. Mr Sibley is confident that the Firestone Rubber Company will render a service to Liberia through the husbanding of natural resources, the attraction of capital and the setting of a good standard of life for workers on its plantations. He meets the objection that concentration of labour on the plantations will disorganize village life by pointing out that the policy of the Company is to scatter plantations over a wide area and to establish villages upon them. He believes that the African will be encouraged to produce rubber on his own holding and so better himself, and looks to the Company for effective welfare work. The natural resources of the country are undoubted, and it remains to be seen whether the best interests of the people of Liberia and the demands of the West for raw material can be reconciled in its policy.

The main interest of the book centres round the educational principles outlined against the background of history and custom. Liberia faces the same problem as her northern neighbour, Sierra Leone, in that both countries contain two distinct elements in the population—the communities of freed slaves on the coast who speak English and have no tribal ties, and the people of the interior who live according to tribal custom. There has been friction in the past

between these communities, but, of recent years, striking progress has been made by the Liberian Government in bringing about a more satisfactory relationship. District Commissioners now represent the Government in the interior, and in the central administration both elements are present. The educational policy outlined is based on an intimate knowledge of the elements involved and in the recognition of the fact that Liberia is pre-eminently an agricultural country. The school is shown as the hope of the village community, and native customs, including initiation rites, are examined from the point of view of their educational value. The experience of the United States in Negro education is being drawn on through white and Negro teachers from that country, and textbooks with an African background are being issued. *Liberia—Old and New* is of value not only to those who are interested in this West African Republic but to all who have at heart the development of education in Africa in relation to the needs of the community.

LONDON M. WRONG

INDUSTRIALISM IN THE FAR EAST

INDUSTRIALISM IN JAPAN. By WALTER F. FRANCE. Preface by Cecil, Bishop of Southampton. London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 1s. 1928.

FARM AND FACTORY IN CHINA. By J. B. TAYLER, M.Sc. London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. 1928.

A GREAT movement in the Far East, with effects more far-reaching than those of the World War, is the spread of industrialism. It has affected the peoples of those remote lands with ancient traditions in a revolutionary manner. It has come to them with more steady and compelling force than political ideas. Whereas the fall of the Manchu dynasty—an empire during three centuries—and the founding of a republic have not changed the Chinese, with the exception of the 'returned students' and others with modern education, a small handful as compared with the stolid mass of four million people, the spread of industrialism is swiftly changing them. The whole of the Far East is being transformed. A new social fabric is being woven, and it is affecting the rest of the world.

The rise of modern textile mills in Japan has already radically altered the outlook of the British cotton trade in India. The night work conducted in the mills on remote hillsides in Japan is causing business depression in Lancashire, and the cheap labour employed in China is pulling down the price of European goods in Asiatic markets. Thus the significance of the spread of industrialism in the East cannot be overrated. The world is watching the phenomenon with keen concern.

It is for this reason that these two books are of special interest. And in view of the comparative dearth of authentic literature on the subject, the appearance of any book which treats it seriously must be welcomed.

Mr France skilfully presents pictures which arouse one's attention. We commend his sincere attempt to be fair in describing labour conditions in Japan. His book is well worth reading. It has two chapters, the first of which describes the appalling situation prevailing in Japanese workshops, mines and so on, while the second argues at length the need of the Christian religion for the removal of the evils.

It would be unjust to say, though the impression remains after reading through the book, that the statement of facts in Chapter I is too short, while the arguments in Chapter II are too long. A Japanese, however, specially interested in and following the social progress of his country, will inevitably find flaws here and there in the observations of a foreigner. Thus, a book published in 1928 treating the labour problem in Japan would have done well at least to mention the great advance made in labour legislation and also in trade unionism in the past three or four years.

No student of the labour problem in Japan, to our mind, can ignore the epoch-making steps taken by Japan in labour legislation in 1926, by bringing into force the Health Insurance Act, covering some two million workers ; by repealing the obnoxious articles in the police law to give larger freedom to trade unions ; by enforcing the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act in order to bring about industrial peace ; by bringing into force the Minimum Age Act to suppress child labour entirely. All this happened simultaneously on July 1st, 1926, together with the bringing into operation of the Factory Act Amendment Act, which alone was a great event, worth receiving mention.

Perhaps it may be said that the mention of so many laws would

be to make the book too technical, and it was obviously not intended for specialists. But in any case we should like the writer to know the facts concerning what he calls the 'Geneva Conference' on labour, where he says Japan 'was represented,' as though it happened only once. At this conference, which is an annual event, the Japanese Government does not, as he says, 'reserve the right of postponing or modifying the application of any resolution passed at these gatherings.'

However, these remarks are severe, and coming from a Japanese they might seem ungrateful, whereas we do sincerely appreciate the sympathetic attitude with which the book is written. The sombre pictures drawn there are, alas! true to a large extent, and no Japanese who loves his country can afford to be content with a few labour laws copied from the West. When long hours are worked, women are toiling through the night in dingy mills, and awful inhumane conditions still prevail in the dormitories attached to factories, no Japanese can refute the accusation that his country has no religion. Japan has to awaken, if she has not as yet, to the terrible reality of the present situation, and we are grateful to the writer for pointing out our failures.

An important point, however, on which we are not fully satisfied with Mr France's book, is his assumption that 'the West'—a broad term he uses—is Christian while Japan is not. In one place, for instance, he says:

> And it is here that the East and West separate, for in the handling of the industrial problem in England, either by the expert or the street-corner orator, there is the whole background—often quite unrecognized—of Christian experience. The western conception of 'justice,' 'right,' 'truth,' 'compassion,' 'love' and the like is not only, as is often reiterated, 'saturated with Christianity,' it is Christian in origin, and Christian only. This is often overlooked and ignored. Justice and truth, as we know these graces, have little foothold in uninfluenced oriental life. Compassion and love, as we know them, have none.

But is that really so? How about Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Marx, Lenin, who have taught the West about 'justice,' 'truth' and so on? Were they all Christians? And is the writer prepared to say that Confucius is devoid of the graces of justice or truth, or that in Gautama's precepts one does not find compassion? Space does not permit any lengthy argument. Let us only say that these un-

fortunate assertions do not convince and do not greatly help. Let the writer remember that the West, which he calls Christian, has its abundant evils of industrialism. He need not think that his book has not been worth writing if it has not made clear that the industrial problem in Japan is essentially religious, but he must not overlook the fact that industrial and social problems are universal and rife even in the so-called Christian countries. Remember that industrialism in the East is of western origin and comes from what the writer calls 'the Christian West.'

After Mr France's book, which provokes comments because of his exuberant missionary zeal—which is not to be condemned—the one on China by Mr Tayler has a different effect upon the reader. It is more objective than the former book; it only describes, without arguing, but it stirs the imagination of the reader none the less. It brings home to him the ethical implications of the spread of industrialism. In the six chapters of this small book the writer has thrown into pictures the development of most primitive home industries to large-scale, elaborate and effective modern factories. The villages of China and the peasant farmers' toilsome life are shown first, followed by the description of the home and workshop industries which are just beginning. Then we are shown the industrial revolution and its social effects. Housing conditions in cities, the rise of the labour movement and tendencies in industrial organization are briefly traced, and in the last two chapters the writer has attempted to show the direction in which the industrial policy of China must develop, and its international aspects.

The last paragraph of the book, where the writer modestly states his conclusion, reads as follows :

> For Anglo-Saxons, who will form the majority of its readers, it is well to remember that while China has drawn and should draw inspiration from many sources, the mainspring of her new national ideas has been Anglo-Saxon liberalism and especially American democracy. However far China may ultimately go, the best western industrial practice and social ideals are urgently needed and, generally speaking, warmly welcome to-day; and for the sake of future world-development, the West cannot afford to be represented by any but her best.

I. F. Ayusawa

Geneva

RURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

FOURTEEN EXPERIMENTS IN RURAL EDUCATION. Edited by A. B. VAN DOREN. Introduction by K. T. PAUL. Illustrated. Calcutta: Association Press. Rs. 2. 1928.

IN 1920 the missionary societies sent out a commission under the chairmanship of the Rev. A. G. Fraser of Trinity College, Kandy, to study village education in India. Concern with the needs of mass movement areas had been steadily growing at that time, and since then this interest has spread and developed. The education of villagers all over India is the subject of much thought and experimentation. A conference on rural education, held at Moga in the Panjab in 1922, drew attention to an experiment which was being carried on there in the utilization of modern methods, their adaptation to Indian conditions (and in particular to the village community) and the training of teachers for rural work.

This book is an account of a number of experiments in different parts of India, all aimed directly at the solution of the problem of the education of the village community. The examples are carefully chosen—from north, south, east and western India—and represent the work of Americans and British and independent efforts of Indians themselves.

The experiments are of all kinds—in the training of village teachers at Moga; in the village primary schools round Dhamtari in the Central Provinces; in the training of a whole community as in Mr Narasimhan's attempt at the reclamation of criminal tribes at Atur; and in the training of girls and women in the arts of making better homes and rearing 'better babies.'

The problem of the simultaneous training of boys and girls is tackled by co-education at Dornakal and by parallel schools at Ankleswar, where the schools are about a mile apart and are run on a carefully-thought-out and co-ordinated plan. Nearly every school has some scheme whereby the pupils can earn small amounts by work included in the school time-table which enables them to pay their own way; a scheme which not only teaches practical arithmetic but discourages that ready acceptance of charity which older mission methods were apt to foster.

A criticism that might be made is that the descriptions are all written by the experimenters themselves, who can hardly be expected to give the kind of dispassionate estimate which an outsider would

give. Few of these experiments, however, have reached the stage for critical estimates. They are not offered here as models to be copied but as suggestions for fellow-experimenters not only in India but in Africa and the Far East also. Collections of this kind from other parts of the world, offered in this learner's spirit, would be of great value to the rapidly growing numbers of those who are trying to cope with problems of rural life, to wipe out the reproach of ignorance, narrowness and stupidity from country folk, and to make the agriculturist conscious and worthy of his high calling of working with God to produce the elementary necessities of life for the whole world.

CHIPSTEAD, SURREY B. D. GIBSON

A TRAVELLER'S IMPRESSIONS

A WAKING WORLD: Christianity among the Non-White Races. By STANLEY HIGH. New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press. $1. 1928.

THIS book records the impressions made upon a singularly frank mind by a visit to Africa, India, Malaya and the Far East. For this visit Mr Stanley High was granted leave of absence by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and their policy is amply justified. The author carries the reader into many scenes, some of which will be unfamiliar even to the missionary student; such, for example, is 'Trouble Night' in the Methodist Episcopal Native Church in Elizabethville. On that night the recalcitrant members of the Church appear before the native board of stewards and a 'trouble book' is kept.

In his attitude to missionary problems the author confesses at the end that after seeing, hearing and asking, as a good reporter should, he has found for himself 'not only a case for foreign missions but a case for the uniqueness of Christianity.' The word 'heathenism' has gone back into his vocabulary. His book is valuable for the many fresh illustrations; but the reader of a book in which the writer deals so largely with incident has to be on his guard lest some particular incident may not be representative. It will be unlikely that readers will endorse all the judgments of Mr High, but they will be thankful for so frank and picturesque and fearless a guide.

LONDON E. SHILLITO

SHORTER NOTICES

A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America. By Monroe N. Work. (New York: Wilson. $12. 1928.) Dr Work has rendered a great service to all students of the Negro. This book is a select reference bibliography with more than 17,000 entries, covering the publications of most value in different languages issued before 1928. The book has been a quarter of a century in the making, dating back to 1904, when Dr Work was Professor of History at the Georgia State Industrial College for Negroes. Later he became Director of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, and in 1912 issued his first edition of the *Negro Year Book*, which contained a select bibliography. Since then he has issued editions of the Year Book from time to time which have grown in importance as well as in size, until it has come to be recognized as the standard bibliography in America upon the Negro. The plan of the present bibliography took on its final form in 1926–27, when Tuskegee Institute and the Phelps-Stokes Fund made it possible for the author, after completing his studies in the most important libraries in the United States, to visit the great collections of Europe, so as to make sure that his bibliography on the Negro in Africa was as comprehensive as that on the Negro in America. Every possible facility was placed at his disposal by such representative libraries as the British Museum, the British Colonial Office, the Royal Colonial Institute of London, the Colonial Institutes of Brussels and Hamburg, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the Library of the League of Nations, as well as by other university, public, colonial and missionary libraries. The value of the work is enhanced by the inclusion of an index enabling the student to find the chief works of the authors under their appropriate headings.

J. L. S.

Rajarshi Ram Mohun Roy. By Manilal C. Parekh. (Rajkot, Kathiawad: Author. Rs. 3 and Rs. 2. 1927.) Mr Parekh has added another to the series of 'Makers of New Hindustan,' which he began with his biography of Keshub Chunder Sen. The present volume is readable, and gives in convenient form most of the important facts about one of the most influential men in the whole of Indian history. Mr Parekh in no way exaggerates the extreme importance of this great man. The book does not, however, add

much to our knowledge of the subject, and we should have liked to see more attempt to work out the line of thought made familiar by the author, that Ram Mohun and Keshub are the two chief leaders of the Hindu-Christian church that is to be. The interesting suggestion is made that Ram Mohun's ideal of an extensive British settlement in India, which should 'infuse new energy into the country,' has been to some extent realized by the settlement in India of numbers of missionaries. On the question whether or not Ram Mohun died a Christian Mr Parekh is not quite definite, but shows evidence for the view that he had become dissatisfied with a unitarian interpretation of the Person of Christ before his death.

W. P.

Our Asiatic Christ. By Oscar Macmillan Buck. (New York: Harper. $1.25. 1927.) The title illustrates the attitude of many in India to-day, being indeed a phrase used by an educated Hindu. Taking it as a text, and a challenge, Dr Buck in these five lectures seeks again an interpretation of the life of Jesus Christ which shall satisfy the East. He seeks it through the contemplation of Jesus Christ in relation to the Hindu conceptions of *ahimsa*, *yoga*, *jiwan-mukta* and *ānanda*. That Dr Buck is aware of a danger point is shown by his observation that 'there are the decided beginnings of a Christ-cult within Hinduism.' The present generation is likely to see the result in the straitening of the cult or the bursting of the bounds of Hinduism. In the meanwhile, all true interpretations of Christ are to be welcomed. M. M. U.

Students and the Future of Christian Missions: Report of the Tenth Quadrennial Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Detroit, Michigan. December 28, 1927, *to January* 1, 1928. Edited by Gordon Poteat. (New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 1928.) This volume is made up of the addresses and reports of discussions. The addresses presented facts gathered through experience and observation. Such names as John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, Francis Wei, Max Yergan, Henry Hodgkin, Sherwood Eddy are an index to the breadth of interest and experience represented. An outstanding feature of the addresses is the awareness of problems that are commanding the attention of college students to-day. They link in no uncertain way the Christian Gospel and the Christian Mission to the practical

world of the student's life and thought. If one finds in certain speeches a remoteness from the problems interesting students to-day, the discussions which follow correlate that experience to the experience of the student. The appeal throughout is one of international need and of interdependence. The make-up of the book, which is long and contains a mass of material, is unusually attractive, but in one aspect it is disappointing: it has no index. To one interested in specific questions in missionary work this makes access to much of the material difficult. E. B. S.

A Mind for the Kingdom. By H. T. Jacka. (London: Edinburgh House Press. 1s. 6d. 1927.) The sub-title describes this book as 'A Study in the Principles and Practice of Adult Missionary Education,' which the author sees as 'a whole view of the world in the light of a belief in God, an equipment in vision and knowledge for the true service of God and of man for His sake.' The subject being thus caught up on to the highest plane is not allowed to drop to a lower. Most practical are the suggestions for reading, for taking and keeping notes, for lecturing and speaking, for leading and being led in a study group; and most searching are quiet statements which occur on nearly every page. Every chapter, especially the short closing one, makes one wish Miss Jacka had written at greater length on the subject.

Alexandre Mackay: Missionnaire en Ouganda (1849–1890). *George Grenfell: Missionnaire au Congo* (1849–1906). Par F. Faure. (Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. Chaque Fr. 3. 1928.) These are Nos. 10 and 11 of the Paris Society's admirable series of *Cahiers Missionnaires.* Each has a map and a portrait and contains some seventy pages of text. The main facts in the life of each man are clearly brought out. The pages are considerably broken up by the black subject headings which occur at frequent intervals; but this and the simple French in which the books are written certainly further ease in reading not only by those for whom they were primarily written but also by those of other tongues. Indeed, these biographies, written by a French missionary, suggest themselves as excellent for use by American and British missionaries preparing to work in French territory in Africa. M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Charles E. Raven, D.D., Canon of Liverpool Cathedral and a Chaplain to H.M. the King, has become known to a wide circle as a leader of thought on religious education.

Professor Tsu-Chen Chao, B.D., Litt.D., represented the National Christian Council of China at the Jerusalem meeting. He is Professor of the Philosophy of Christianity in Yenching University, Peking.

Monsieur le Pasteur Henri Anet, D.Soc.Sc., is Agent de Liaison between Congo missions and the Belgian Government.

Mr Walter H. Mallory is Executive Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, of New York; he was formerly Executive Secretary of the China International Famine Relief Commission, Peking.

The Rev. Stacy Waddy is Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and was formerly Canon of St George's Cathedral, Jerusalem.

The Rev. E. W. Thompson is Secretary for West Africa and the West Indies of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The missionaries of this society have been brought into close relations with the 'Harris Movement' in West Africa.

'A Western Woman Resident in Turkey' desires to remain anonymous. She has had ample opportunity to study the life of modern Turkish women.

The Rev. W. C. B. PURSER writes from long experience and with inside knowledge of Burma, having been a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Rangoon since 1904.

Professor KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, Ph.D., of Yale University, is well known to all readers of this Review.

The Rev. J. S. M. HOOPER has been in India since 1905, working with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. His article was an address given at a recent meeting of the Madras Missionary Conference.

The writers of book reviews are: Professor J. C. Archer, Ph.D., of Yale University; Professor H. R. Mackintosh, D.Phil., D.D., of New College, Edinburgh; Principal A. E. Garvie, D.D., of New College, London; Dr Martin Schlunk, who has just been made Professor of Missions in Tübingen University; the Rev. William A. Eddy, D.D., of the American University, Cairo; the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis, D.D., a Secretary of the International Missionary Council; Monsieur le Pasteur F. Faure, missionary of the Paris Missionary Society; the Rev. W. E. Horley, missionary in Malaya of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. W. C. B. Purser, who also contributes an article to this number of the Review; the Rev. J. W. Burton, Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australia; Mrs William Paton, who spent some years in India with her husband, the Editor of this Review; the Rev. W. J. Noble, Secretary for South Africa of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; the Rev. Max Yergan, Secretary of the Student Christian Association (Native Section) of South Africa; Miss Wrong, a (Canadian) Missionary Secretary of the British Student Christian Movement; Mr I. F. Ayusawa, a representative of Japan in the International Labour Office in Geneva; Miss Gibson, Assistant Secretary of the International Missionary Council; and the Rev. Edward Shillito, now a Secretary of the United Council for Missionary Education.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Professor Dr M. Schlunk (Tübingen), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 730.

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I. History

See, *418–9, 464.*

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO = *Church Overseas*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JCQ = *Japan Christian Quarterly*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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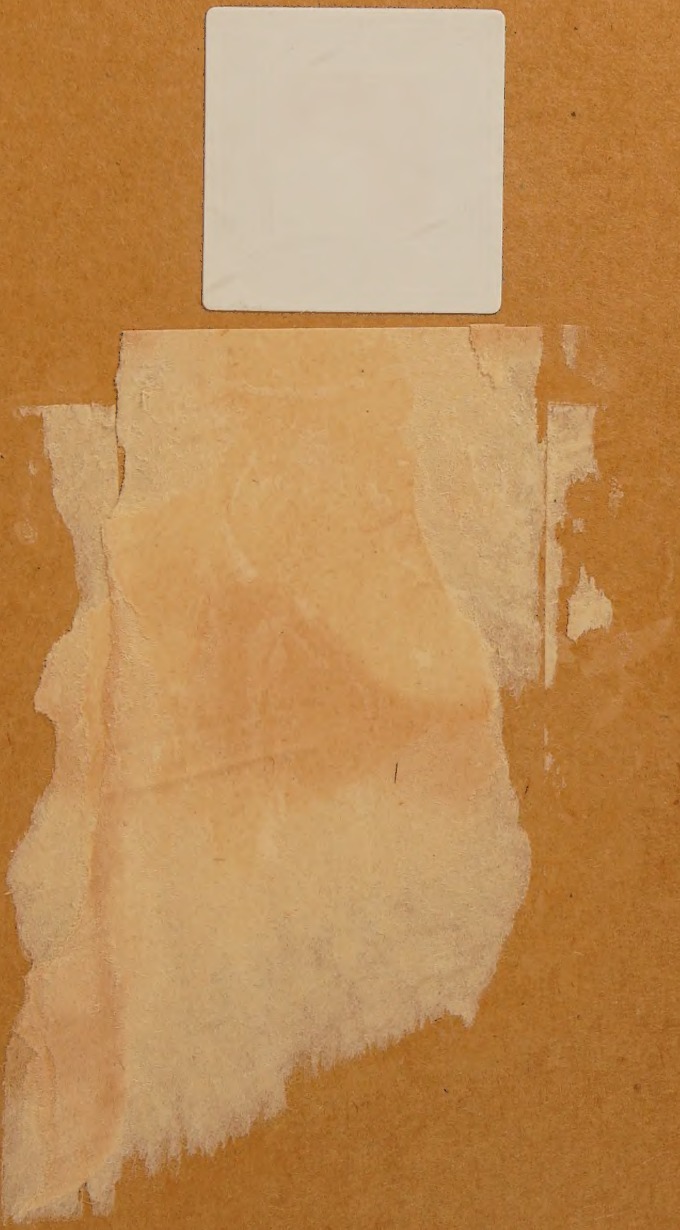

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